



DECEMBER 1964
60 CENTS

CHRISTMAS SAFARI

The drizzle and murk of another autumn
immerse the warrens of Foggy Bottom.
Election leaflets go down the gutter
along with the rest of November's clutter.

After the ranting, denouncing, branding,
somehow the Republic still is standing,
and the voice of reason is heard again.
Now is the time for all good men,
with zeal as fervid, hurrahs as hearty,
to come to the aid of the party—
a merry old party with a bulging sack
of Christmas bounty slung on his back.

From Montevideo to Kigali
'tis the season to be jolly.
So deck the halls with whatever they use
for decking in Bangui or Veracruz.

Let joyous carols reverberate
from Paramaribo to Kuwait.
And fill the bowl with whatever brew
they favor in Cali or Katmandu.

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Metropolitan Washington Truly Has a "Foreign Service Bank" in Security National!



Early in 1964, back in the February issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, we proudly announced that SECURITY NATIONAL BANK is truly Metropolitan Washington's "foreign service" Bank.

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Coincident with our February announcement, all posts in the U.S. Foreign Service were sent brochures giving detailed information of the innumerable services which we are prepared to perform for Americans—both overseas and in Metropolitan Washington—for personnel in the "foreign service" of STATE, AID, USIA, PEACE CORPS, DEFENSE, TREASURY, AGRICULTURE and other units of the Federal Government, and American business.

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by Dana Andrews

Marriages

BEAL-LASS. Miss Susan Robinson Beal, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Williams Beal, and Jack Lass were married on October 10, in New York City.

Births

COXON. A daughter, Susan Irina, born to Mr. and Mrs. Emmett H. Coxon, on July 22, in Bucharest.

CURRAN. A daughter, Diana Sheldon, born to Mr. and Mrs. R. T. Curran, on October 14, in Washington.

HUTTING. A daughter, Laurie Rice, born to Mr. and Mrs. Gordon E. Hutting, on October 29, in Bethesda. Mrs. Hutting is the daughter of Mrs. Maurice S. Rice.

HUGHES. A son, Paul Russell, Jr., born to Mr. and Mrs. Paul R. Hughes, on August 15, in Ruislip, England. Mr. Hughes is an economic officer at the Embassy, Mrs. Hughes is former FSO Patricia Anne Dawson.

ST. JOHN. A daughter, Maria René, born to Mr. and Mrs. John J. St. John, on October 7, in Washington.

TIPPETT. A daughter, Suellen, born to Mr. and Mrs. Michael C. Tippet, on November 1, in Ely, Nevada. Mrs. Tippet is the daughter of the Honorable Harry R. Turkel and Mrs. Turkel.

Deaths

BELL. Wayne T. Bell, FSSO, died on October 8, in Washington, D. C. Mr. Bell had served in Lagos. At the time of his death he was assigned to the Supply and Transportation Division in the Department.

BROOKS. Mrs. Marguerite J. Brooks, widow of Russell Brooks, American Consul General, retired, died October 24, in St. Petersburg, Florida.

HALLA. Mrs. Lucy Plumb Halla, wife of Philip J. Halla, FSR, died on October 14, in Washington.

NUHN. John A. Nuhn, FSR-AID, died on October 23, in Bangkok. Mr. Nuhn served in the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Navy prior to his appointment to AID in 1954. His Foreign Service posts were Athens and Bangkok where he was Deputy Controller of the AID Mission at the time of his death.

SCOTT. Theodora B. Scott, FSS, died on October 30, in Ankara, where she was assigned at the time of her death.

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

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

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

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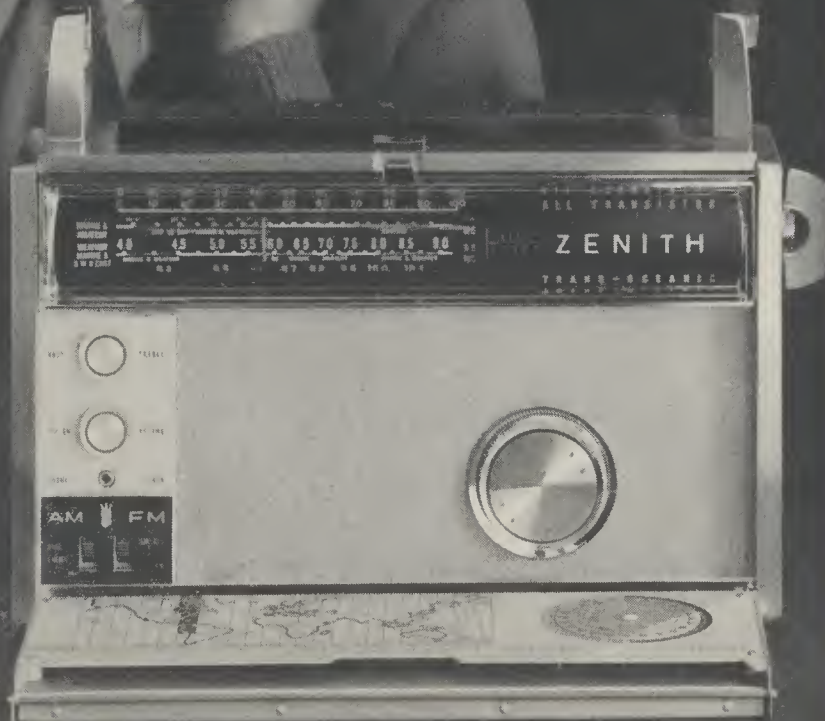
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IN a land far away there is a Chief of Mission's Residence that FBO did not build. It is constructed to suit EVERYBODY, even the Ambassador's wife.

The house is centrally located, in a desirable neighborhood, well away from the city. It has, of course, a commanding view of the river.

The site, at least four acres of ground, was selected to express SINCERITY and closeness to the PEOPLE. The 25-foot high iron fence which surrounds the property is, therefore, tastefully concealed by ivy, except for the bronze eagles which surmount it.

The garden is intimate in feeling and can absorb a Queen's birthday party. A new gardener is provided every day for firing.

A "water storage facility" is placed near the house, three feet deep at one end and ten at the other. No doubt for sanitary reasons, it is completely tiled in azure blue. (Swimming pools are prohibited.)

The access road is reminiscent of "Rebecca's" opening lines. The facade, from a distance, recalls our White House, although it carefully conforms to native style. Modesty is the keynote.

For perfect security, the building has no doors, or other openings. Ingress is Osmosis.

Once inside the Residence, the visitor finds a reception area that is expandable, accommodating from 6 to 18,020 guests. The dining room, while of course never large enough, seats 800.

The grand piano is a mandatory platform for the photographs of Heads of State and at least one bride, all inscribed "To Pottsy." There is a rumor that a Foreign Service officer once attempted to play the piano. Fortunately, an Inspector was on hand to reprimand him sharply.

In order to ease the problem of serving drinks, small spigots appropriately labelled Alcoholic or Nonalcoholic are tastefully inserted in the woodwork.

The kitchen is located at a distance from the dining room which an able-bodied servant can cover in 8.32 seconds while carrying a hot platter in his hands and soup turc on his head. Nothing can be done, unfortunately, about those disgusting odors which usually emanate from Foreign Service kitchens abroad.

The servants' quarters are designed to be totally invisible to visiting Congressmen. They are, however, close enough to the master bedroom so that the faintest cry of "Boy" will be immediately answered. This is known as the "Bwana" or "Yaas, baas" system of signalling which far surpasses electronics.

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ramps. Access to the second floor is thus from the outside only. This preserves the ARCHITECTURAL INTEGRITY of the structure, although admittedly the tenant may suffer some slight inconvenience in the case of rain.

The number of bedrooms is adjustable to the size of the Ambassador's family so that there can never be any question of putting up distinguished free-loaders. Should, however, the President of the United States pay a visit, he and his entire suite, including newspapermen, can be given bed and board within the Residence.

There are no less than two bathrooms per bedroom, complete with bidet in case the French Ambassador should come to call.

The wine cellar is of a size which allows the Chief of Mission to tramp out his own wine without disturbing the reserves of *Virginia Gentleman* and *Haut Brion*. A special room is also set aside to accommodate such typical Foreign Service impedimenta as a carved elephant tusk, a Hong Kong rickshaw complete with coolie, the Jivaro shrunken head, and a broken American washing machine. Naturally, a spur of the local railroad runs through the storage area to facilitate delivery of liquor orders, baby food, and kennel rations.

The colors are appropriate to the host government's policies—neutral, with a smear of puccinallimous. The furniture is recognizably Fontainebleau; the hotel, that is. And the paintings have been helpfully arranged so that each Alice Acheson can be turned to reveal a Grandma Moses.

Then, just to show how thoughtful the designer was, the den, used primarily by the Ambassador's wife to write letters to FBO, has a special lead-lined ink well to contain adequate supplies of vitriol.

MORAL: If you know a person who can please EVERYBODY, please forward him to FBO.

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Recipe for a Diplomatist

He who would enter the profession of diplomacy must examine himself to see whether he was born with the qualities necessary for success. These qualities are an observant mind, a spirit of application which refuses to be distracted by pleasures or frivolous amusements, a sound judgment which takes the measure of things as they are, and which goes straight to its goal by the shortest and most natural paths without wandering into useless refinements and subtleties which as a rule only succeed in repelling those with whom one is dealing. The negotiator must further possess that penetration which enables him to discover the thoughts of men and to know by the least movement of their countenances what passions are stirring within, for such movements are often betrayed even by the most practised negotiator. He must also have a mind so fertile in expedients as easily to smooth away the difficulties which he meets in the course of his duty; he must have presence of mind to find a quick and pregnant reply even to unforeseen surprises, and by such judicious replies he must be able to recover himself when his foot has slipped. An equable humour, a tranquil and patient nature, always ready to listen with attention to those whom he meets; an address always open, genial, civil, agreeable, with easy and ingratiating manners which assist largely in making a favourable impression upon those around him—these things are the indispensable adjuncts to the negotiator's profession.

"On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes," by Francois de Callières, 1716. (University of Notre Dame Press, \$1.95, paperback)

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ON DISSENT

by WILLIAM E. KNIGHT

TWO MAJOR premises lurk beneath the recent rash of exhortations that we rise and do battle right manfully in the discussion of Foreign Service issues. The first of these premises is that all is not well; the second, that no institution or body presently exists willing or able to exercise that guardianship over the career principle against the demands of expediency that is so continually necessary. (A minor premise also seems to be that without such exhortation the Foreign Service as a body will remain passionately anonymous, content to adjust itself placidly to whatever decisions affecting the career are made by those in authority.)

The exhorters seem to see this process of discussion largely in terms of a kind of mass town meeting from which truth will emerge from the expression of myriad points of view, and from which action will somehow flow.

Whether or not such an approach can bring significant concrete results, it is regrettably true that there does not now exist a vehicle suited to the conduct of this type of discussion. The JOURNAL offers its pages with sincerity and even fervor. But debating topical issues in the JOURNAL is like hunting rabbits with a howling hall. One has the uneasy feeling that by the time the shot arrives in the target area, the rabbit may be elsewhere. Nevertheless, we are adjured to hurl ourselves into the discussion, let the chips fall where they may.

Or rather, as it turns out, not quite where they may. There comes the word of caution. Our views must be stated, in the words of one commentator, "with tact, dignity, restraint and detachment." Our stilettos, in short, are to be so finely tooled that they cause no distress as they slip between the ribs.

The same commentator continues, "We must make every effort not to be in direct and irresponsible conflict with those in authority, and we must avoid public difference, if at all possible."

These hurdles are well-nigh insuperable. What question worthy of discussion is not associated in some way with someone in authority? The reorganization plans, the penetration of noncareer and even political appointments ever farther down into the hierarchy (as widespread opinion has it), the inflation of rank, the deflation of authority, the vigor or otherwise of our budgetary efforts which chronically leave us gasping for funds are all cases in point. Is it really possible to deal with such matters frankly without trampling any toes whatsoever?

Some would reply that it is not possible, and that we must accordingly attempt to exert our influence only rarely, when absolutely necessary, and exclusively behind the scenes. As we saw in the days of Wristonization, this can be a convenient device for concealing, even from ourselves, that we are doing nothing.

In truth the Service has never made up its collective mind about the proper role of dissent and open discussion. We are schizoid on the question. On one hand, we are dedicated to the proposition that we are loyal servants of constituted authority. This principle is never seriously attacked. On the other, we feel that as career officers, we know, or should know, more than anyone else about how the Service should be run, and that we have a duty to indicate the path to those charged with making decisions. In controversial and important matters it comes down in the final analysis to a judgment as to where the dividing line lies between constructive comment and obstructionism. We have generally resolved the dilemma by dissenting only on trivia, or in such cautious terms that our dissent is all but inaudible. This accomplishes nothing.

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The central truth, however, seems to me to be another—namely, that little can be expected to result from isolated expressions of opinion, no matter how well founded or how skillfully phrased. They may point to the existence of problems, but they can do little to resolve them. (How many of the splendid letters to the JOURNAL have had any effect?) What the Service needs for the long term is an institutionalized approach, a prestigious group, immune from censorship, and recognized as having not only the right but the duty to study and to express itself, if need be in public, on all questions relating to the strengthening of the career principle. Such a group might be headed by a retired Foreign Service figure of massive prestige, long experience and independent bent, one who would be suited to the task of pressing for the implementation of the group's views in the upper echelons of Government when necessary. If such a group had existed in the past, many of our current problems might have been avoided.

The Foreign Service Association is on the right track when it announces the intention to establish a committee to "deal systematically with the career service principle and the relationship of current policy and administration to the strengthening of the Foreign Service as an instrument of foreign policy." This is a hopeful beginning. Let us hope it does not die aborning. ■

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The photo is of two Thai fighters in Bangkok, where matches are held regularly. The attacks are so devastating that a high percentage of the matches ends with one of the fighters bleeding and senseless.

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—JACK GROVER

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THE CAP by JOHN Z. WILLIAMS

AUGUST 15, 1948 was an extremely hot, humid day in Seoul, Korea. I know because I was there. I was reminded of this the other day in glancing through the State Department's publication 3305 entitled KOREA 1945 to 1948.

That uncomfortable Korean day marked the formal inauguration of the Republic of Korea. According to publication 3305, the inauguration "was the culmination of American efforts, during a three-year military occupation of south Korea, to aid the Korean people in preparing themselves for self-government." It will also stand out in my memory as the day General Douglas MacArthur almost lost his cap. As I say, I was there and not only witnessed the inaugural ceremony from close range, but the "incident of the cap."

The "incident" and the inauguration took place on an improvised platform which had been erected over the steps of the capitol building. General MacArthur had not been to Korea prior to this hot August day and his appearance, on time for the ceremony and in the company of much of his headquarters staff, was impressive. Throngs of people lined his approach to the capitol and Military Police and a Korean honor guard stood at attention when his entourage wheeled up to the base of the platform.

Before mounting the steps to the platform where President-elect Syngman Rhee and other dignitaries of the government to be inaugurated waited, the General thrust his cap into the hand of the nearest military figure standing beside him. This happened to be a member of the Korean honor guard who took his suddenly acquired responsibility seriously.

The General mounted the steps and the ceremonies began to unfold. Mainly there were speeches and these were doubled in length by the need for consecutive translation. As the speeches and the time went by, the heat on the unprotected platform became more oppressive. From my vantage point just behind the General and his party, I witnessed Mrs. MacArthur and others urging the General to relax ceremony and use prudence—to put on his cap. When Mrs. Rhee added her voice to the opinion, the General relented and groped under his chair for the famous headpiece. It was not there, of course, and I and others in the second flight of chairs came under the suspicious glances of the august group just before us. I recalled to a three- or four-star rank ahead of me, quietly because the newly inaugurated President was speaking at the moment, that the General had disposed of his cap before mounting the stairs. The word was passed, quietly at first, but more agitatedly as it gathered momentum, to retrieve the General's cap at all costs—and quickly.

Finally the proud possessor of the cap was discovered. But no amount of polite persuasion or orders from up the line were enough to obtain the release of the cap. The General had presented it to the Korean guard and if it was to be returned, he would do it under one condition. He would have to present it personally to the General.

There, under the hot Korean sun, and while the inaugural ceremonies were still in progress (President Rhee spoke at great length), a sub-ceremony was quickly organized. The Korean guard was ushered to the platform. General MacArthur rose from his chair, the guard made a formal statement in presenting the cap and the General improvised a response. All of this was duly translated. The cap was handed over and the General settled back into his chair, the cap firmly fixed in place. The Korean guard was invited to remain on the platform in recognition of his service. Those privy to the little sub-ceremony returned their attention to the main event. ■

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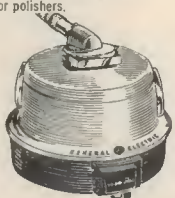
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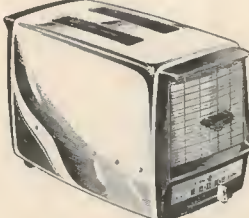


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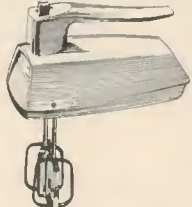



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25 YEARS AGO

IN THE JOURNAL

DECEMBER, 1939

by JAMES B. STEWART

Secretary Hull's Wartime Message

To the Foreign Service:

The thanks and appreciation which it is customary for me to convey each year to the officers and clerks of the Foreign Service through the *Foreign Service Journal* must this year be expressed with particular warmth. For the past four months the work of the Service has been carried on in the midst of a war, the consequences of which it is impossible to foresee. Dangers have had to be incurred, heavy duties have had to be undertaken and personal sacrifices made as different in kind as in degree from those characteristic of the Service in times of peace. That the Service has proved equal and more than equal to such conditions is a hopeful sign for the troubled days which lie ahead of us. . . .

—Cordell Hull

BRIEFS: The leading article in the December JOURNAL is titled "The British Commonwealth Goes to War," by Robert B. Stewart.

► Arthur C. Frost, Consul General, Zurich, states in his article on Liechtenstein, "Of the many German monarchies, which decked the map of Central Europe during past centuries, the tiny Principality of Liechtenstein is the last one that still survives. This monarchy, which has enjoyed an independent sovereignty since 1718, is the fourth smallest country of Europe as regards area, San Marino, Monaco, and Vatican City only being smaller. It is the third smallest in population, yielding in this respect to Andorra and Vatican City. Liechtenstein is in the very heart of Western Europe, a central point roughly equidistant from Berlin, Rome, Vienna, Brussels, and Paris"

News from the Field

Items came from Thomas A. Hickok, Manila; LaVerne Baldwin, Managua; Frederick P. Latimer, Jr., Istanbul; Gerhard Gade, Quito; Frank A. Schuler, Jr., Tokyo, and from Edwin A. Plitt, Paris. The latter reports: "We knew that the Gare St. Lazare would be crowded, but if we had expected that the JOURNAL's reporter would be obliged to cope with a gathering reminiscent of a Hollywood "premiere," we would have started out an hour earlier to procure a place more suited to a field correspondent to see Paris bid goodbye to Ed and Edith Wilson. . . ."

"Third Secretary and Mrs. Trimble recently arrived to join the Ambassador's official family. Vice Consul Woodruff Wallner has been given a month's detail in Paris before proceeding to his new post at Saigon.

"At times during the past week, the Embassy's lobby looked like a special session of Congress, while the delegates to the Oslo Interparliamentary Conference looked in, en route to Scandinavia. We had the honor to conduct some of them over the premises and let them see the wheels that make the Embassy work."

J. Rives Childs Succeeds the Late Cyril Wynne

After the tragic death of Cyril Wynne in 1939, J. Rives Childs of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs was named to succeed him as book review editor of the JOURNAL.

Dr. Wynne was Chief of the Division of Research and Publication. The Washington STAR wrote of him: Few men in the Foreign Service Career had a finer background or greater flair for it than the shiny bald-headed California giant and Harvard man, who had had a gallant period of



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service with the AEF in France before assignment to the American Peace Mission at Paris. . . .

In the December "Bookshelf," Carlton Savage reviews the book "Can America Stay Neutral?" by Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong.

Mr. Childs comments briefly on two publications as follows:

"GIDDY MINDS AND FOREIGN QUARRELS, by Charles A. Beard. Macmillan & Company. The racy rapier-thrust style is in the best traditions of the pamphleteer. The little volume bears the sub-title 'An Estimate of American Foreign Policy.'

"ADVENTURES IN GOOD EATING, by Duncan Hines. France has its excellent *Guide Gastronomique* and Michelin guides to incomparable inns and restaurants of the gourmets' paradise. Foreign Service officers, in touring the United States on leave, will find Mr. Hines' 'Directory of the Good Eating Places Along the Highways and in Villages and Cities of America' equally useful for this country."

Recent News Items

David Maynard, teaching at Foothill College, Los Altos Hills, California, made a tour of Europe and the Iron Curtain countries last spring. Ambassador Kohler was away from Moscow when Dave called but he had a good visit with Walter Stoessel and some of the younger members of the staff. In Sofia he had the pleasure of dining with Madame Ambassador whom he had met previously in Berlin. She had just delivered a brief address to a group in Bulgarian. "Mrs. Anderson made a great hit with my wife because she immediately recognized the name of my wife's grandfather and said she believed he was the first 'Minister' accredited to Bulgaria. My wife's grandfather, Charles Monroe Dickinson, was appointed Consul General to Constantinople by President McKinley in 1897. In 1901 he was assigned the additional duties of Minister to Bulgaria and proceeded to Sofia to investigate the case of the abduction of Ellen M. Stone, an American missionary, by a band of Bulgarian brigands. The negotiations took some months and were played up in the American newspapers. Churches and Sunday Schools took up collections to pay the ransom demanded, and finally some \$66,000.00 was turned over and Miss Stone was freed."

The Two Montevideos

Last June Henry A. Hoyt (APU) represented the Department at three days of ceremonies in Montevideo, Minnesota by which this town of 6,000 inhabitants annually celebrates its Fiesta by honoring its sister city of Montevideo, Uruguay. . . .

"This year the Fiesta was highlighted by an event which made a great impact on the people of Montevideo. Uruguayan Ambassador Yriart was asked by former American Ambassador William Dawson to present to the City of Montevideo a collection of statues, books, paintings and other mementos which Ambassador Dawson had received from Uruguayans during his tours of duty in that country. Ambassador Dawson served first as Consul General in Uruguay, then Minister and finally Ambassador. Any one who has served there after him is witness to the great love and esteem in which he is held by Uruguayans. . . ."

► Echoes from the Ceremony on July 1 commemorating the Fortieth Anniversary of the establishing of the Foreign Service: Secretary Rusk was seen showing John Hamlin and the Ed Montgomerys around the 8th floor reception rooms and pointing out to them the desk on which the Louisiana Purchase was signed and the one on which the Treaty of Paris was signed.

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► Miss Cornelia B. Bassel, of Foreign Service School fame, was seen stepping out of a Department of State car—a thoughtful compliment to a great lady.

► Consul Samuel Young, Maracaibo, has the honor of having as residents of his Consular District the robust Prieto quint—Robinson, Otto, Juan, Fernando, and Mario—who are now over a year old.

► 1876! Happy birthday greetings to a retired stalwart—Herbert C. Hengstler, one time Chief of Foreign Administration.

"ANOTHER STORY"

Who was Ramon Magsaysay? As a leader of Philippines resurgence and champion of anti-corruption, he was dubbed the "Abraham Lincoln of the Philippines."

Magsaysay, now deceased, was so well known that when journalists were looking around for something to call General Park Chung-hee, they called him the "Magsaysay of Korea."

The Koreans, of course, are known as the "Irish of the Orient," and their ex-leader was Syngman Rhee, known in some circles as "The George Washington of Korea." The Korean War and division of the country are familiar to all. So when fighting broke out in Vietnam some years back and the country became divided, people naturally talked of "another Korea."

The partitioning of Vietnam was caused ultimately by the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu. That defeat was called "another Pearl Harbor." Years later the critical battle at Nam Tha in Laos was referred to as "another Dien Bien Phu." Troops fled across the Mekong River in small boats like "another Dunkirk."

Some people were afraid that if Laotian fighting continued a partition would result and the country would become "another Vietnam." Western diplomats were hopeful, however, that the coalition would survive and that eventually Laos would become "another Austria." The dissenters thought the talks on Laos at Geneva were "another Munich."

One newspaper said "Laos could become another Cambodia." On the same page a story on guerrilla warfare said "Cambodia could become another Laos."

Cambodia's leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is supposed to be non-aligned like India's Prime Minister Nehru, whom some people called "another Gandhi." For awhile some people thought Indonesia's Sukarno might want to become "another Nehru" but lately, according to others, he has been sounding like "another Hitler." Sukarno's threats over West Irian in 1961 almost made it "another Congo."

Indonesia is referred to increasingly often as potentially "another Cuba." The British intelligence gap in the Sarawak and Brunei situation reminded some observers of "another Singapore," sadly unprepared at the outset of World War II.

Singapore is adjacent to Malaya which eradicated Communist terrorists. South Vietnam duly became "another Malaya." Its anti-Vietcong campaign is directed from Saigon, which has long been known as the "Paris of the Orient." In all this conflict the country that doesn't want to get drawn in politically is Japan, "the Switzerland of Asia." However, Japan's industrial reputation as the "Britain of the Far East" may force some involvement.

Another neutral country, Burma, could become the "Yugoslavia of the Far East." General Ne Win is often called the "Nasser of Burma."

Military rule does not suit all Burmese, and an editorial in a Rangoon paper said recently: "What this country needs is an Abraham Lincoln."—from "Traveller's Tales," by Edward Neilan, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, May 21, 1964.

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the meaning of MILITARISM in

LATIN AMERICA

A SERIES of sensational military coups d'état in Latin America during the past two years has focused considerable official and public attention on the broader problem of military influence on government and politics in the area. The fundamental issues and the interpretation of these events have been sadly confused by the stereotyped and sanctimonious emotional treatment of journalists and some academicians who consistently evaluate the coup through the distorted lens of Anglo-Saxon political concepts. "Civilian" governments and "military" dictatorships are separated into neat packages and militarism is made synonymous with all authoritarianism in the area. The resulting picture is one of blacks and whites, villains and heroes, the military being stigmatized across the boards in this superficial literary process.

American writers have widely disseminated a number of half-truths and erroneous clichés on this complex subject, and apparently these proposals have been swallowed whole by the unsuspecting reading public: The military is frequently branded a "tool of the oligarchy," threatening the Alliance for Progress. Military intervention in any Latin American country and under any circumstances allegedly "destroys" budding democracy and inevitably promotes the cause of Castroism and Communism. A prominent national political leader, for example, was recently quoted as asserting that "whenever there is an overthrow of constitutional government by a military clique, we play right into the hands of the Communists." The clear implication in these categorical conclusions is that any civilian regime, however corrupt, inept, arbitrary, or pro-Communist in tendency, is preferable to one which is temporarily subject to military domination. The subscribers to this school of thought invariably fail to point out the vital role which the military plays in many Latin American countries in promoting stability, blocking Communist advances, and supporting (or helping to restore) constitutional civilian rule. They fail to explain that the military, which in fact is generally composed of many factions of differing political orientation, is saddled with the difficult assignment of maintaining order in an area where violence,

subversive activity, and political and economic instability tend to be chronic.

AN understanding in depth of militarism in Latin America—a facet of authoritarianism—requires an extensive knowledge of the traditions, history, values, and institutions of 20 sovereign nations, each with its distinctive personality, background, and internal political structure. Like all sweeping generalizations about the area, those applying to the military institution are subject to innumerable exceptions and qualifications.

The military forces in Latin America have undergone a perceptible metamorphosis in recent decades; they do not act or react in predictable patterns at all times, even

by FRANK A. KNAPP, JR.

in the same country; their political and professional orientation varies considerably from one country to another. There has been a striking modification in recent decades of the military view of its legitimate role in politics, in professional and other training, and even in the motivation—or pretexts—for military intervention in government. US official policy toward *de facto* military regimes which seize power through extralegal action is similarly in transition.

The Roots of Militarism

The inseparability of the armed forces, the government and political action is probably the principal and most enduring characteristic of Latin American political history. Authoritarianism, whether civilian or military, was deeply imbedded in Spanish institutions at the time of the Conquest. The *conquistadores*, who brought with them the religious and military zeal derived from the protracted reconquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, carved out the Spanish Empire in the New World. They were literally the first men on horseback. Military men and military practices dominated not only in the conquest and expansion of the Spanish American Empire but in its governing institutions and practices throughout more than three centuries of colonial rule. A decade of wars of independence in the early 19th century spawned a generation of military *caudillos*. They and their successors were to hold sway in most countries throughout the century, carrying on in the normal military-authoritarian tradition inherited from the colonial era and filling the void of experienced civilian leadership. Because there was little development of representative governmental institutions in the period of Spanish domination, the theory and forms of democracy were artificially superimposed in a political climate which was fundamentally hostile to their successful operation.

Social, economic, racial, and geographic conditions, along with the Spanish colonial legacy, promoted and sustained militarism in Latin America. Military domination of government, as symbolized in frequent coups, thus did not flourish in a vacuum. Violence was the generally

accepted method among all elements of the politically articulate oligarchy for alternation of executive power—the only effective branch of government. Centralism, arbitrary rule, an overwhelming dominance of the legislative and judiciary by the executive at the local and national levels of government were institutionalized by both civilians and military men in the presidential chair.

Some form of strong government or authoritarianism seemed the only feasible means of retaining power and imposing a semblance of authority over far-flung geographic areas with serious impediments to transportation and communication—arcas which were by legal fiat nation-states but could not meet most of the modern criteria for this status. Neither political freedoms nor Anglo-American democratic practices were adaptable to nations whose populations were illiterate, impoverished, outside the stream of national life and accustomed to a rigid caste system.

Constitutions incorporating the advanced liberal ideas of the American and French Revolution were composed by the dozens. From the standpoint of implementation, however, they were sterile literary exercises and a great waste of paper and hence were scrapped about as frequently as a new military or civilian *caudillo* grabbed power in any given country. An almost complete lack of political party development as we understand it (except that which centered around a strong-arm or demagogic type of leader) was and continues to be a characteristic of Latin America and nourishes the authoritarian tradition. In these circumstances the army was the one durable institution through which a person could follow a government career with any degree of security and continuity.

Moreover, militarism in Latin America has never carried the derogatory connotation which it arouses in the Anglo-Saxon mind. The successful military man has ranked at the top of Latin American heroes, illustrating the value which is placed on glory, bravery, and masculinity symbolized by horse, saber, and uniform. To be sure, there are other heroes, including poets, educators, and statesmen, but these hardly rank with Bolívar, San Martín, Artigas, Miranda, and others of the uniformed category. It is not pure coincidence that Fidel Castro retains the trappings of his guerrilla warfare campaign—fatigues, cap, the rank of major—as a constant reminder to the public of his military prowess, audacity, and success against tremendous odds.

The Persistence of Militarism

An explanation of the persistence of military influence, domination and intervention in government in Latin America is highly complex. Well known and much discussed political, social and economic conditions which apply in varying degrees to most of this area (as well as other underdeveloped countries) seriously obstruct the advance of democracy and favor political and economic instability as well as authoritarian rule. These include high rates of illiteracy and a high percentage of Indian population which does not participate in national life, in several countries; an extreme maldistribution of wealth and national income; a caste system in which the lines are still sharply drawn against social mobility; widespread poverty and low levels of living; one- and two-crop economies; and imposing geographic barriers which make difficult the establishment of effective central government. The post-war phenomena of inflation, deteriorating terms of trade

for commercial exports, and declining foreign exchange earnings and reserves essential to diversify the economies have compounded the already serious problems of governing.

In addition to the entrenched tradition of authoritarianism and centralism, the Latin American peoples generally are inured to a rampant spoils system, widespread bribery and corruption in administration, arbitrary electoral practices and suppression of civil and political liberties. Constitutional law and even ordinary legislation are viewed by the Latin American as a brand of idealistic philosophy rather than as measures to be respected and applied in the real world. Military involvements in politics—in the light of Latin American history, the values and traditions of the ruling classes, and the severely limited supply of administrative and leadership skills—would seem more an accepted outgrowth of the political system rather than an extraordinary violation or deviation from it.

In a negative sense, the failure of civilian political leaders to develop enduring political parties with reasonable programs has either forced or provided a continuing opportunity for the military to exercise its influential role in government. Ephemeral political parties, which have generally been formed around a single popular leader (frequently of military background) have demonstrated a notable lack of discipline and cohesiveness. Once victorious at the polls, Latin American parties have tended to fall apart at the seams, often because of internal dissension and personal jealousies. And the opposition has almost invariably refused to play the role of the “Loyal Opposition.”

The civilian “outs,” rejecting openly or subconsciously their loss in even relatively fair elections, generally begin to employ all the legal, quasi-legal, and extralegal tactics in a bag of varied political tricks to obstruct and undermine an incumbent regime, civilian or military. Realizing that armed forces support is usually a *sine qua non* of government survival, the opposition almost always seeks to foment or exploit disaffection in the armed forces and/or to win the backing of key military leaders for a coup attempt. Civilians thus tend to enmesh the military in politics indirectly by paralyzing government action and directly by plotting with key military leaders.

In another sense, the military has little leeway for choice. Involvement is inherent in the primary function of the military in Latin America; that is, to support the constitutional regime and maintain peace and order. It is axiomatic that self-preservation is the priority concern of government. And even today in Latin America, most regimes must divert a substantial portion of their financial resources and energies for more constructive services in the pursuit of this elusive objective. As the fulcrum of survival, the military cannot avoid close association in the public mind with the policies of any incumbent regime. The officers, particularly the top leaders, must *ipso facto* risk their futures in supporting, withholding support, or taking direct action against a government in power. To protect their own skins, the military officers often feel that they must keep in touch with public opinion and determine at what point an administration has alienated the powerful political elements which are essential to stability. Otherwise, they may find themselves forced to command their units to shoot students, strikers, and political agitators promoting anti-government violence—actions which are serious blows to military prestige, how-

ever justified such counteraction may be in a legal sense.

Personal survival is thus a major concern to top officers who determine the political moves of their commands; they realize that the spoils system is not restricted to the civilians in government and may sweep them in its path in the event they wind up on the losing side in the political game. To a large degree, once an officer reaches the top ranks in the command structure he must be a politician, voluntarily or involuntarily, as well as a military man. He knows that he is an accepted participant and that the rules of the game bar no holds.

The armed forces have tactical and strategic advantages over civilian groups in the perennial political struggle in Latin America, in addition to control of arms, physical might and the internal discipline characteristic of military organizations. The army and other service branches are enduring institutions, indispensable for public peace and order in the emotionally charged Latin milieu. Governments of different orientation, parties, and leaders have come and gone in kaleidoscopic fashion, but the military institutions have remained. Officers may lose in the shuffle of political cards by overbetting their hands; they may be farmed out on foreign diplomatic assignments for excessive political ambitions or suspected plotting; exiled or jailed for failing in a coup attempt. Yet they know that one day they may have a chance to return to duty with the right change of names in the presidential palace. And their loyal brother officers generally will be lenient in the courts martial proceedings and in passing decisions on the retention of pension and other emoluments.

From still another standpoint, the military institution offers a citizen one of the few reliable paths for a government career and provides far more attractive prospects for political influence than do most parties. In fact, the military has served in many countries as a species of political party and the one most likely to enjoy consistent success. Members of the armed forces are probably held in as high esteem (and greater fear) by the public at large than civilian parties and their leaders; consequently, they have a professional status and job security which are not usually available to the leaders of the prototype personal political party in Latin America or to non-political government servants. The services also offer comparatively good opportunities for professional training and other education through military academies, as well as good salaries and fringe benefits in relation to the civil list. In contrast, a person seeking a civilian political or governmental career confronts a thorny and hazardous future, particularly since the development of non-political civil service merit systems is only in the rudimentary stage of formation in most Latin American countries.

Metamorphosis of Militarism in Latin America

Until the early decades of the 20th century, political action by the armed forces in Latin America was conducted arbitrarily, with little concern for the reaction of organized pressure groups. The military *caudillo* who captured the presidency by coup usually carried out the operation in a swift and often bloodless manner with the support of the garrison in the capital. He may or may not have had formal military training to justify the title he had adopted or forced the government to confer upon him. Frequently, the *caudillo* was merely a shrewd, demagogic politician masquerading in a uniform, who inspired fear, respect, or admiration among his followers. What-

ever knowledge he had of military strategy and tactics was often derived from the seat of his pants in the saddle rather than in the military classroom, on the drill field, or in battle experience. Having seized power, the military leader seldom had any intention of challenging the socioeconomic power of the oligarchy which controlled the nation's resources.

The military institution and its political practices have altered markedly since 1940. The transformation is not unrelated to the striking trend toward urbanization and industrialization and concomitant social and political changes throughout much of the area, particularly the multiplication of political parties, student, labor and business organizations, and other pressure groups. All of these must be taken into account to some extent in present-day political action. The simple, protozoan anatomy of the old-style coup has become a more complex organism.

The military also has become more sophisticated politically, more strictly professional in orientation, more qualified in the military arts. Military responsibilities have gradually come to comprehend "civic action programs" designed to promote economic and social development but which also serve to link the military with a broader segment of the public and to improve military relations with the people at large.

The officer corps is usually one of the better educated sectors of societies in which trained leadership is at a premium. The curricula of military schools have expanded and broadened and the level of instruction has generally improved in the past twenty years. Opportunities for advanced foreign training, especially in the United States, have increased since World War II. Several top officers in most Latin American countries have been exposed to this type of broadening educational experience and, at the same time, to American concepts of civilian-military relationships in government and to American views of Communist international objectives.

Domestic and foreign developments have forged modifications in the political outlook of the armed forces. The officer class, composed largely of middle-class representatives from urban areas, in most countries is not a political unity, but divided into factions varying from "reformist-liberal" to conservative to strictly apolitical. Service organizations have expanded in size and complexity. While still the dominant component, the army is no longer the single spokesman for the military establishment in matters political, particularly when strong action such as a coup is under consideration. Thus, the traditional service unity, in which the army played the decisive role, has been somewhat diluted by the development of strong naval and air forces in several countries. These little-brother branches of the service have at times demonstrated their political independence of the army. For example, the Ecuadorean air force shattered military unity after the ouster of President Velasco Ibarra in November 1961 and prevented the army from imposing its political choice on the nation. The Argentine navy revolted unsuccessfully on its own in 1963 against the political policy of the majority elements of the army.

Similarly, unity within the army for political action is more difficult to attain, as was pointed up by internal political dissension within the Brazilian ground forces over the accession to the presidency of then Vice President João Goulart in August 1961. There has also been

serious division within the Argentine army for several years over an acceptable government policy toward Peronists. The problem of welding political unity within and among the military services has probably been a deterrent on many occasions in recent years to arbitrary coup action.

Military leaders plotting political moves in the past two decades have generally felt compelled to estimate public reaction, including the prospects of violence by civilian groups, and to win at least a minimum of civilian collaboration. The potentially violent or passive opposition of sizable civilian organizations is apparently a strong new counterweight to hastily conceived military coup attempts, as illustrated by the many unsuccessful military-civilian efforts to overthrow President Betancourt and the predecessor interim regime in Venezuela after the fall of General Pérez Jiménez in 1958. This factor was also influential in forcing the Ecuadorean army leaders to accept, however reluctantly, Vice President Arosemena as the new chief of state in late 1961.

Along with its awareness of the strength and importance of pressure groups, the Latin American military is displaying an increasing concern over its public position and prestige, both at home and abroad. The discharge of most of the old officer corps in Bolivia after the MNR Revolution of 1952 and the subsequent establishment of paramilitary forces to balance the regular army was a sobering example to the military in the rest of Latin America. But the liquidation of the Cuban armed forces by the Castro regime has undoubtedly been the development of the century with the most resounding psychological impact on the military in the area. This action has concomitantly sharpened and at times accounted for real or exaggerated fears of Castroism and Communism among the armed forces elsewhere in Latin America and is at least partly responsible for a seeming resurgence of hasty military interventions against constituted governments.

It is as yet too early to estimate the longer range influence of recent United States policy and official attitudes toward military intervention, pressures, and coups. Although this policy, still in process of formulation, has not prevented several political moves by the military, it undoubtedly has registered a sobering effect. The prompt efforts by *de facto* military regimes of recent vintage to surround themselves with civilian collaborators, to announce a specific or general program for holding elections and restoring constitutional government, and to remove the limitations on the exercise of some or all civil liberties suggest a sensitivity to the US withholding of normal diplomatic relations and suspension of economic and military aid. Further indicative of this sensitivity, most of the recent military regimes have endorsed economic and social reforms in conformity to the principles of the Alliance for Progress and announced their intent to implement them during their tenures.

Similarly, the military collaboration with civilian groups in recent coups, both before and after the action is taken, and civilian cooperation in *de facto* regimes are important appendages of the new-style coup anatomy. They reflect a growing degree of public relations "sense," awareness of the strength of civilian pressure groups, and a tacit recognition that civilians should nominally control the administration under "normal" circumstances. In contrast to the past, a coup is seldom carried out today with military considerations as the sole criterion.

The reasons, motives, and pretexts for militarism are more complex today than even three decades ago. The armed forces in many countries have acted with bona fide concern to meet an ostensible or imagined threat to the security of their institution, to their careers, and to their responsibilities as guardians of the constitution and public order. Armed forces intervention in Argentina in recent years, for example, sprang from a real or exaggerated fear of the resurgence of Peronism and the impact on the military establishment. Often the underlying motive for political action is to maintain the military role as ultimate arbiter of the political destiny of the nation, including umpire status among bickering civilian political factions.

Another reason for armed forces intervention is the default, ineptitude, or excess of an incumbent civilian or military regime which tends to result in political stalemate, stagnation of government administration, and a breakdown of public order. Often there is widespread approval for decisive military action, as occurred with the ouster of former Conservative President Laureano Gómez in Colombia in 1953 and again with the removal of his military successor, General Rojas Pinilla, four years later. The overthrow of the Perón dictatorship in Argentina, which came about through the efforts of the military there, was enthusiastically acclaimed by the great majority of the people. A more recent case was the military takeover of government from the faltering President Carlos Arosemena of Ecuador.

In late March and early April of this year, a number of representative political groups and civilian leaders in Brazil combined with the military to oust the inept, irresponsible, and demagogic administration of President João Goulart. The manipulations of Goulart and his brother-in-law, Leonel Brizola, to win political support from the non-commissioned officer class and the rank-and-file in the services, were both a cause and an occasion for the "unconstitutional" change of regime. These machinations, directly affecting discipline in the armed forces, tended to crystallize military opposition to the former government. The revolution in Brazil, (which occurred subsequent to the drafting of this article), illustrates the close association of military and civilian elements in what was a sincere effort on their part to preserve the traditional constitutional order.

The alleged expansion of Communist influence in government has served the military as both cause and occasion of intervention and partly reflects military awareness to US official attitudes and the desire to mollify anticipated opposition from this country. The officer class in Latin America is strongly anti-Communist and genuinely concerned with the long-range threat which Communism and Castroism pose; it has taken effective steps to keep the armed forces relatively free of Communist infiltration. Many of the key leaders who have received training in this country have been educated to American views on Communist global strategy and subversive tactics in underdeveloped areas, including Latin America.

Military awareness of the threat of Communism and Castroism to their institutions, however, does not impede its use for immediate political expediency as recently occurred in the events which took place in the Dominican Republic and Honduras. Moreover, the military is often accused, with considerable justification, of lumping all its opponents together and conveniently branding them

"Communists." Although Communist infiltration of student, labor, and political groups and even bureaucracies is widespread in Latin America, Communist parties have little independent capability for seizing power in any country. On the other hand, civilian politicians are responsible to some degree for the existence of the domestic Communist threat as a cause and pretext for military intervention, because they are in fact excessively complacent toward the Communist movement and frequently willing to exploit—or be exploited by—Communist elements to achieve political objectives.

Still another cause of military intervention springs from the encouragement and collaboration of opposition political groups who seek to subvert elements of the armed forces and provoke their action against the incumbent regime in order to attain power or a greater share in its exercise. Such collaboration is evident in the composition of the *de facto* military regimes in Ecuador, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic—the latest coup examples in the area. While it is true that the military often takes political action on its own initiative to satisfy the ambitions of the military establishment, many of the coups of recent years in Latin America might have been prevented by a show of unity among opposition political groups in support of the regime in power or had the seed of coup action not been planted within the military by disgruntled "outs."

Trends in Militarism

Military trends may be evaluated over a short period of time but even these have fluctuated widely. To draft a balance sheet of victories and defeats for "military" vis-à-vis "civilian" rule in the area is an oversimplified and misleading exercise. True, journalists and academicians like to apply this yardstick for their reading public, using inflexible Anglo-Saxon political values. During the past decade the "Optimists Club" rooting for civilian democracy in Latin America has pointed to the overthrow, death, or retirement from power of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Marcos Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela, Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Fulgencio Batista in Cuba, Manuel Odría in Peru, Juan Perón in Argentina, and others, as signalling a new "democratic era" in the region. These optimists for the most part have subsequently joined the "Pessimists Club" as the result of military intervention against elected civilian regimes in Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Honduras and the rumblings of a possible military coup in Venezuela.

Unfortunately, this measurement is altogether too facile. Civilian elements are closely allied with the armed forces in predominantly military government and vice versa; and men with military titles are often in office through the electoral process or with the support of the principal political parties and pressure organizations in the country. And those who make a blanket denunciation of the military often conveniently forget that they have been highly responsive to competent civilian rule for many years in Chile, Mexico, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Colombia, and Brazil.

Moreover, democratic traditions in particular nations are not firmly rooted in a few decades and it cannot be proved that the military has been the major obstacle to their growth. Three successive civilian governments were elected in Ecuador after 1948 and all three presidents

completed their constitutional terms in office—a single term was a unique development in this country—and many observers evaluated this as the establishment of a democratic, civilian tradition. Subsequent events have demonstrated the fallacy of such a hasty conclusion. The collapse of democratic rule in Argentina, one of the most advanced countries in Latin America, demonstrates that even a seemingly well-established tradition of civilian democratic rule can be shattered under given circumstances. These examples have complicated causation, but probably arose more from a breakdown of civilian rule and political party discipline than from the greed of the military to exercise power directly or to obstruct "reforms."

The more reliable appraisal of militarism is not derived from a comparative statistical count of heads of government for selected years to determine whether the incumbents wore military uniforms or civilian suits. The trends seem to be lodged in the more subtle metamorphosis in the militaristic influence on politics which has been noted above: the growing non-political and professional outlook in the officer corps, along with a concomitant rise in the educational standard of its membership; a reluctance of the military to seize power arbitrarily without strong public acceptance or tacit consent; closer association with civilian groups in interim military administration; endorsement of the need for basic reforms; and a willingness to relinquish power, seized extralegally, within a reasonable period of time to civilian authority after the motives for a coup have been satisfied. This is not to imply that the military has not, and will not continue to act arbitrarily and irresponsibly in certain countries in opposition to democratic practices, as seems to have happened recently in Honduras and the Dominican Republic. But the role of the military in Latin America is unquestionably a more responsible one and more favorable to stability and to democracy than it was at the turn of the century. Even since World War II the military has shown an increasing respect for democratic political practices and effective civilian administration. Moreover, although subjective generalizations cannot be proved or disproved, the military class has displayed a greater awareness of national goals and the crying need for socio-economic reform than other elements of the ruling oligarchies, which have tended to be reactionary in their grasp of privilege and power.

The exercise of US pressures on the military in Latin America could have a perceptible impact on militarism and could be a strong deterrent to the use of the military coup against elected constitutional governments. Such a deterrent would not necessarily insure greater political stability, more effective civilian administration in the area, or more realistic policies toward the threat of Communism. Nor would it necessarily receive the approval of the majority of the civilian regimes in Latin America, which clings tenaciously to its fundamental precept in international relations—non-intervention in the narrowest juridical interpretation of the term.

Practical economic and political considerations in the past, probably continuing in the future, have made specific countries highly flexible and seemingly inconsistent in their policies toward militarism. For example, Chile in the application of diplomatic recognition toward *de facto* military regimes is likely to apply a practical standard toward Brazil, Argentina, or Peru and assume a more "ideological" position toward the distant Dominican Republic. The difficulties in obtaining hemispheric

action against Dictator Trujillo, prior to the Dominican-supported assassination attempt against President Betancourt of Venezuela, and against the Castro regime in Cuba are demonstrable proof of this assertion.

Militarism is as much the by-product or reflection of political, social, and economic conditions and Latin American values and traditions as a cause of authoritarianism and instability chronic to the area. Militarism—often erroneously equated to all authoritarianism—would not have flourished and persisted had not these fundamental conditions provided continuing nourishment. No foreign influence can easily or readily alter the imbedded political habits and institutions which are characteristic of Latin America—habits and institutions which are alien to the Anglo Saxon and difficult to judge by Anglo-Saxon standards.

There is a patent need for disciplined armed forces in Latin American countries to prevent a complete breakdown of law and order, given Latin American political traditions and approaches to law, especially the quick resort to violence to achieve political power and the tendency of civilian groups to develop irresponsible paramilitary support. The regular armed forces were dismembered or neutralized in three countries of the area during the past decade, and in all instances—to put it euphemistically—“democracy” failed to flourish. The Bolivian civilian regimes rendered the regular army virtually impotent after the revolution of 1952 and balanced it with a decentralized, polyglot, and undisciplined militia. The “revolutionary” civilian governments which have guided the destiny of the nation during more than a decade of chronic unrest and instability, have been highly authoritarian, often brutal and arbitrary in dealing with the opposition, and also notably corrupt and incompetent, even by Latin American standards. In Cuba, the Revolution demolished the armed forces, but in turn has become as militaristic and totalitarian as any which has been established in the hemisphere during the 20th century. Finally, it is probable that the Haitian populace preferred its relationship to a regular armed force than to Dictator “Papa” Duvalier’s brutal bully boys, the Ton-Ton Macoutes, who largely replaced the former. These examples might at least suggest to certain American idealists that sweeping aside the armed forces or reducing them to impotence is not the assured route to the North American style of democracy south of the border or to greater political stability there.

The definitive subordination of the military to civilian leadership in government and the removal of the military from politics will depend to a large degree on the demonstration by civilians of their ability to govern effectively and honestly within the Latin American framework. This in turn hinges upon the establishment of a tradition of loyal and constructive political opposition which takes its chances on victory at the ballot box to attain power and accepts the outcome with patriotism and good sportsmanship, rather than turning toward the path of plotting and obstruction. Both effective civilian government and a loyal political opposition are notably lacking in Latin America. When these lacunae are filled, militarism in the area is likely to decline. Meanwhile, astute handling of the military by civilians in office and the close coordination between the two of government policies affecting public order and Communism will serve to advance this much desired objective. ■

THE MEANING of MILITARISM in LATIN AMERICA: A CRITIQUE

by J. M. CATES, JR.

THE preceding article by Frank Knapp, Jr., “The Meaning of Militarism in Latin America,” meets the criteria of the JOURNAL’s “new look” in that it stirs the senses and moves one to ponder on his conclusions. Specifically, it raises the matter of definition of such accepted terms as, “militarism” and “the military” when applied to Latin America. Mr. Knapp’s conclusions are, I believe, correct in that the Latin American military establishment, as we think of it, has changed its spots. His assumption throughout that our evaluation of military-political events or changes have suffered as a result of having been seen through “the distorted lens of Anglo-Saxon political concepts” is likewise, I believe, correct although the adjective distorted is a bit strong. However, his point of departure, that this distortion has been “sadly confused by stereotyped and sanctimonious emotional treatment of journalists and some academicians,” I find not only misleading but also an error common to the so-called hardheaded realists, as dangerous to the formulation of our policy as judging all events and institutions by the Anglo-Saxon political concepts.

In reaching the final conclusion, it seems to me that Mr. Knapp has treated in a rather cavalier fashion the reasons for the change in the Latin American military. The appraisal of this change, as he neatly puts it, is indeed “not derived from a comparative statistical count of heads of government for selected years” but “lodged in the more subtle metamorphosis in militaristic influence on politics.” This metamorphosis he describes as a growing professional outlook, rise in educational standards of officers, the feeling of a need for public support of a military seizure of power and civilian participation in an ensuing government, endorsement of basic reforms, the performance of deeds as in “civic action” programs, and support for an early return to constitutional civilian authority. But how did this metamorphosis come about? Was it one of nature’s automatic life cycle metamorphoses from chrysalis to butterfly? Or was it a change brought about as a result of those very “stereotyped and sanctimonious emotional” pressures he decries and which might include such dangerous idealistic concepts as Jeffersonian democracy, Lincolnian idealism, grass roots representative democracy and the loftier aspects of the American Dream? And where do the Alliance for Progress basic concepts of the necessity for political as well as economic and social change fit into this picture?

Thus agreeing completely with Mr. Knapp’s thesis that “the role of the military in Latin America is unquestionably a more responsible one and more favorable to stability and to democracy than it was at the turn of the century” and that “the military institution and its political practices have altered markedly since 1940,” I am still left with the

question that if the old order has indeed changed, why has it changed? I am also left with the conviction that in any form the military political establishment *per se* is not a desirable governing body.

To avoid lengthening this comment into an article, I would like merely to suggest that we ask ourselves whether, where and for how long there have been truly professional military establishments in Latin America? What is the purpose of a military establishment: to defend against exterior aggression? To conquer a neighboring country? Is there a difference between the military establishment of a Caesar, a Napoleon, a Hitler, and the armed supporters of a local political boss who maintains his power by force—as Mr. Knapp describes him, “a facet of authoritarianism?” But in which sense is Mr. Knapp using these terms throughout? Is he perhaps not seeing the Latin American military through the rose-colored lens of Anglo-Saxon professional military concepts.

I believe we would all agree there is a difference, for better or worse, between a traditional, professional military establishment and a local political military (i.e., armed) establishment. The former is relatively new in most of Latin America. The change in the outlook of the local military/political establishment (and even the rare professional establishment) has resulted from a complex of forces. Among these forces are: a population pressure from below combined with a “revolution of rising expectations”; the realization of the effectiveness of the general strike; the complexity of modern political, economic and social organization which is more than the man on horseback can administratively handle; a growing sense of civic responsibility and an understanding of pragmatic democracy; the growing financial, industrial and intellectual middle class sharing a contempt for the traditional military boss and a knowledge of the need to maintain successful political and economic relations with countries such as the United States which (and the hardheaded may sigh), is motivated by a baffling meld of idealism and economic practicality. This meld might be said to consist of those revolutionary ideals behind our Declaration of Independence, our Bill of Rights and the Emancipation Proclamation and a determination to maintain and protect our financial and industrial integrity and leadership. Whether these ideals, apart from the practicalities, are more honored in the breach is not the issue here, nor is the historic fact of our diplomatic acceptance of various military regimes. The fact is that we do basically believe there are good guys and bad guys and that military dictators fall among the latter. We teach this doctrine to our school children and to Latin American military officers in the US-sponsored or influenced professional schools for senior officers. Our “emotional” reaction is a political reality. It is taken into consideration by the new breed of Latin American military officer. Also taken into consideration by him is the realization that to guarantee his own survival he must stay in the current. The current is social reform, economic readjustment, political responsiveness to a civilian public (perhaps, indeed, the masses) and the developing concept of a truly professional military establishment with constitutional obligations as well as privileges.

There are other changes in Latin America. Although it is true, in the past, political parties in our sense of the term have been rare, this cannot be said today of Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela and Mexico where parties are outliving their personalist founders. Nor, as a corollary, can we accept Knapp's charge of the “failure of civilian political leaders to develop enduring political parties with reasonable programs” when we recall various Latin American party building politicians, such as Betancourt, Haya de la Torre, Frey, Lleras Camargo, Orlich, Munoz Marin, Caldera, Bosch even though some have yet to reach the presidency and others, once there, could not hang

on. These developments have not gone unnoticed by military leaders.

Relevant to this discussion is the address by Thomas L. Hughes, Director of IR, before a conference of Latin American armed forces officers in Panama on June 8th (Department of State BULLETIN, July 6, 1964). Hughes assumes the metamorphosis which Knapp writes of but extends it to another dimension. For the officers, he said, “as for us, answering the demand for economic and social progress will become essential, not only as an ideological preference but as a strategic necessity.” He noted the Latin American military officer's unique chance to influence these developments in a favorable direction. However, he pointed out that “you know better than most others that power cannot become a substitute for people . . . the people whom armies and navies and air forces are supposed to serve.” Then, referring to the Communist subversion danger, he warned that this subversion “cannot be met by subverting the constitution in the process.”

And Hughes argued rightly, for herein lies the danger of the military regimes of the past: the substitution of the local armed establishment's views and interests for those of the larger collectivity of the citizenry. The intellectual danger for us lies in the calm acceptance of the military *fait accompli* when rationalized as the only answer to a Communist subversive threat or when overlooked as taking a worrisome reform government off of our watch list. This is the dangerous hand-washing approach unhappily revealed in John Paton Davies' “A Crisis of Casualness in Latin America” (HARPER'S *The Easy Chair*, August 1964).

I should like to thank Mr. Knapp for the effective needling provided by his article. It gave me a good deal to think about, much to differ with and much to agree with. I would hope this article with other writings touching on military/political development in Latin America would be the subject of substantive debate in such institutions as the Foreign Service Institute and the Inter-American Defense College. However, in resisting what Mr. Knapp rightly fears as the tendency towards “sweeping aside the armed forces or reducing them to impotence,” let us not go overboard on the alternative of excusing or rationalizing military regimes as such. The issue is not whether such a policy is the “assured route” to our form of democracy or “greater political stability.” It is, rather, do we want military regimes or to build up military establishments as such? Or do we want to encourage the development of the kind of a political society in which the traditional military establishment is *not* necessary “to prevent a complete breakdown of law and order” as Knapp believes is now the case?

On this restatement of the issue, I espouse the latter alternative and I stand with Hughes' conclusion that “in the long sweep of history the subversion of the right may be just as dangerous in terms of probable results for the hemisphere as the subversion of the left. The situation itself is revolutionary. We have the choice of joining the revolution and channeling it into the most constructive path possible or opposing it and delivering its leadership to forces which can destroy most that we hold dear.”

The danger of the military in Latin America is that as an establishment, content with its own and established society's status quo, it will oppose this contemporary revolution in political, economic and social thought and so in doing unite itself with other groups satisfied with the status quo. This is the danger of any establishment, a danger compounded by the very fact that the Latin American military roots go back more often to a privileged position, to an armed political force rather than to a patriotic constitutional protective force, as Knapp implies, and by the fact that in an illiterate society the sword is mightier than the pen and much more convenient to wield to assure continuance in power. ■

(Continued from front cover)

CHRISTMAS SAFARI

by TED OLSON

We'll dip in the JOURNAL's festive bowl
and drink an institutional skool
to ex-President Johnson (Alex, we mean)
and his gallant stand-in, Marshall Green;
to the Belethers, Toby and his fair lady,
untimely torn from us; to Lee Brady,
snatched off to Paris—a fate just bearable.
Really, the turnover here is terrible,
in AFSA's command (the JOURNAL's too).
Well, out with the old team, in with the new.
Hail, Sam Berger and Murat Williams!
Please stick around till the spring's first trilliums.
A minim of woe and a tun of weal
to Chairman W. T. M. Beale,
Nathaniel Davis, Benjamin Weiner—
we pray their shadows never grow leaner;
Nuel Pazdral, Patricia Byrne—
empty a heaker to each in turn—
Keith Adamson, Bill Pryce, Bob Black,
Frank Ortiz. And Santa, look in your pack
and see if you've something special stored
to welcome Ambassador Matthews a-Board.
May health, contentment and prosperity
smile on our AFSA directors *emeriti*:
George Roberts, who kept the firm's accounts;
we trust his own cheeks never bounce;
let no misfortune plague or pummel
Willis Armstrong or Arthur Hummel:
may never Establishment ears he deaf
to Harry Hinderer or Ed Nef;
may laurels abundantly crown the looks
of Grace Wilson and Richard Fox.

Tom-and-jerries we mix for scores
of loyal JOURNAL contributors.
Jim Stewart, of course, must head the list—
our wise and humorous archivist.
Ring the carillons all over town
for Si Nadler, John Brown,
Bob Rinden, John McKnight.
(What a delight when folks can *write*!)
To good Saint Nicholas we suggest
for Betty Kalish, who's fled our nest,
and Mary Stuart, our mystery guest,
unlimited drawing accounts at Best;
for Willard Beaulac and Ellis Briggs
similar privileges at Riggs;
a Flexible Flyer and a pair of skates
for Bob Smith Simpson and John M. Cates.
Varlet, hroah a butt of sack
for our artists, in color or white-and-black:
Patrie, Earl Wilson, Robert Sivard—
may their exhibitions be quickly starred;
Lilian Eisenberg, Sheila Isham—

fame and fortune we warmly wish 'em.
Sound the clarion near and far
for Wallace Marley, Lynn Millar,
Dan McCarthy, Y. Okamoto.
(When the Chief Executive wants a photo
Okie's the man he's prone to go to.)
And last—he soars while tyros putter—
Paul Child, come out from behind that shutter!
Pour out another round, and drink
to our peerless satirists in ink.
May never censorship put the erimps on
Ernie Williams and Howard Simpson.

Well, now, where do we go from here
in this distribution of Christmas cheer?
Merely to thumb through the FS List
should make the boldest bard desist.
How is a minstrel supposed to choose,
among twelve thousand, which names make news?
Well, bring 'em along, abreast or tandem.
We'll simply have to fire at random.

To Chip Bohlen and Foy Kohler
a Christmas and New Year free from dolor
(a wish outreaching their wildest dream).
Skool to John Cabot, Jacob Beam,
Walton Butterworth, Raymond Hare—
may fortune spare them eark and eare.
To Jimmie Riddleberger a toast;
in teen-age parlance he's the most.
A brimming beaker to Charlie Yost,
William Leonhart, William Trueheart,
Joseph Satterthwaite, Allan Stewart,
Allan Lightner, Roy Rubottom,
Outerbridge Horsey, Howard Cottam,
Elbert Mathews, Tony Freeman
(*mucho hombre*, which means he-man),
Elhridge Durbrow, Wally Barbour—
may their argosies all come safe to harbor;
Bill Tyler and Tyler Thompson—
men no adversary tromps on.
Frances Willis, welcome home!
Fritz Reinhardt, how are things in Rome?
A bowl of *skyr* and a mug of java
to the Penfields, up in the land of lava.
Take a dip for us in that outdoor pool.
Margaret Tibbetts, *gledelig jul*!
How's the skiing? To both the Bells,
John and James, *joyeux Noels*.
May sticks and stones spare the bones
of Howard, Wesley and Lewis Jones.
(Keeping up with that prolific clan
would tax the resources of any man.)

We've also a sizable flock of Martins.
 George Allen, send a couple of cartons
 to each one bearing that lambent name—
 two Edwins, two Edwards, and one Graham.
 We toast the Bennetts with right good will—
 Tapley, Josiah, Lowell and Bill.
 May the season's joys be freely showered
 on the Parsons', 'specially Graham and Howard.
 Saint Nick's reindeer are busy flying tons
 of holiday goodies to all the Byingtons
 and other bearers of the proud tradition
 that passes talent and a sense of mission
 from generation to generation.
 Pour out another stout libation
 for children of FS fathers and mothers:
 Norman Armour, Jr., Norman Achilles, Lucy Briggs,
 V. H. Blocker II, Frank Ravndal, H. Freeman
 Matthews, Jr., Thor Kuniholm and doubtless
 a number of others.

Sing out, sing out, till the echoes waken,
 for Pat Van Delden, Ruth Bacon,
 Eileen Donovan, Kay Bracken,
 and other gals who prove that no man
 dare underestimate the power of a woman.
 A bumper of ale, the best of the brewing,
 to Joe Phillips and Gordon Ewing.
 Fifes and hautboys, strike up a tune
 for Henry Byroade in Rangoon,
 Arch Calhoun, Malcolm Toon,
 Carlton Coon, John Noon,
 Maurice Bernbaum, John Burns,
 Moncrieff Spear, Monteagle Stearns,
 Henry Stebbins, John Nevins,
 George Stevens, Joe Evans,
 G. Mac Godley, Joe Godson—
 men you can safely venture odds on;
 Sax Bradford, Marvin Weissman,
 Howard Elting (a mighty nice man);
 Bill Wild, Bill Weld, Bill Witt, Bart Wells—
 another round of *Joyeux Noels!*
 Whip up a haggis and mull some ale
 for Donald MacDonald, Donald MacPhail.
 All hands round in an Irish reel
 with Elim O'Shaughnessy, Patrick O'Sheel.

May fortune deflect all slings and arrows
 from Charles Burrows, Leland Barrows,
 Andrew Corry, Edward Korry,
 Don Torrey, Larry Norrie,
 Henry Koren, Elbert Loren,
 Boh Ryan, Jack O'Brien,
 John Higgins, Warren Wiggins,
 Benson Timmons, John Crimmins,
 Joseph Brent, Mary Vance Trent,
 Wyman Stone, Tyler Wood,
 Pauline Best, Dale Good,
 Leroy Makepeace (we wish he could).
 Harold Haight, Mortimer Love,
 Paul Hawk, Charles Dove.
 (That ought to dispose of the popular fallacy
 that we haven't a flexible foreign policy.)
 And this is the moment to quaff a dram
 to Cecil Lyon and Donald Lamm,
 who symbolize our land's persistence
 in pursuit of peaceful co-existence.
 Hang up the stockings and mistletoe
 for Arthur Frost, Phil Raine, Bill Snow.
 Tapers in every window light
 for Ivan, Lincoln and Barbara White.
 The top of the morning, the keys of the town
 to Aaron, Ben and Winthrop Brown.

May the year be prosperous and serene
 for George Gray and Fitzhugh Green.
 Wrap up a candy cane—make it two—
 for Chester Opal and William Blue.
 (Whatever Birchites choose to think,
 we haven't a single Red or Pink.)

Waits, rally round; let's hear some glees
 for USIA's new integrees.
 Whether their target is class or mass
 they're no longer treated as second class.
 Open a jeroboam, empty a glass
 for Peace Corps volunteers, lad and lass,
 cheerfully leading the life precarious
 in those highly-publicized boondocks and barrios.

Santa, don't let your stamina flag.
 There are plenty of goodies left in your bag.
 Send a cigar (through the proper channels)
 to each member of the selection panels.
 He knows, no matter how hard he tries,
 he'll blight more hopes than he gratifies.
 A falser maxim was never let drop
 than this: "There's always room at the top."
 To the lucky, laurels; to the lorn, have cheer—
 'sixty-five is another year.

Can you rustle another round of toddies
 for the fellows who match up slots and bodies—
 those wizards of SPUD and SHMO and SHMAD?
 (If they tag you for Bamako, don't get mad.)
 Something in leather, rich and glossy,
 for Fraser Wilkins and his roving posse.
 (An inspector isn't always a gorgon.)
 Orchids for FSI's George Morgan
 and his faculty tutoring man and maid
 in the finer points of the FS trade,
 including the skill to chatter freely
 in Hausa, Tagalog, Thai, Swahili.

And now, as the twilight thickens clammily,
 let's briefly turn from the FS family
 to hail those Congressmen and Senators—
 our critics, gadflies, guides and mentors—
 who know our budget from A to Izzard
 and sometimes salvage what others scissored.
 Saint Nick, arrange with Rosemary Clooney
 to program a number for John J. Rooney.
 Find something fancy and wrap it pretty
 for Senator Jackson and his committee,
 who've made the best of all diagnoses
 of why Ambassadors get neuroses.
 Senator Fulbright, thanks for reminding us
 that myth and dogma might be blinding us.

Our punch bowl's dry, the good Saint's sack
 lies abandoned, flabby and slack,
 and Nick himself is sprawled on the floor.
 What's that I hear? Could it be a snore?
 The lights blink out in the White House grounds.
 Why, we've only begun to make our rounds!
 Of all that constellation of names—a skyful,
 from Sergei Aalto to David Zweifel—
 we've only contacted the merest fraction.
 Well, get out a circular; mark it "Action!"
 To Foreign Servants, wherever you are,
 Upper Volta or Zanzibar,
 Ouagadougou or Bujumbura
 or home on leave in Fulton, Mizzoura,
 in frozen sub-Arctic or blistering Isthmus,
 the JOURNAL wishes you "Merry Christmas!"



Deputy Assistant Secretary Katie Louchheim hears firsthand from the Samuel Wise family about their trailer trip to Colorado. The Wises were among the first participants in the program, inaugurated by the Office of Community Advisory Services, to loan cars and trailers to FSOs on home leave. In the photo are, Mrs. Louchheim, Jayne Wise, FSO Samuel Wise, Ann Wise and Mrs. Wise.

THE FOREIGN POLICY BEAT

by JOSEPHINE RIPLEY

WHAT'S so foreign about foreign policy these days? It's as close to home, in a sense, as the family television set and the daily newspaper.

And that is where a lot of "foreign policy" is manufactured—at home, by the armchair generals, the Americans who lean back with a positive air and expound.

"If I were President Johnson," they begin. "Or the Secretary of State, I'd lay it on the line, like this. . ."

And so on, every man to his own concept of how to achieve that better world.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk takes a great interest in his armchair counterparts. He likes to see Americans express an interest in world affairs.

After all, he told an audience not long ago, "Foreign policy is about you. It is about your home, your community, your safety, your well-being, your chance to live a decent life and to prepare a better world for your children.

"Foreign policy is not a game played by 'those people in Washington' with other players from far-off distant places. It is as close to you as the member of your family, or the neighbor's boy. . . as close as the taxes you pay to sustain the struggle for freedom, as close as the prices and the markets for what you produce. . ."

That is why the State Department is asking fireside policy-makers to pull up a chair and talk it all over with the men who carry out that policy, the returning Foreign Service officers.

This is made possible through a new program, a simple, even folksy one in which the Foreign Service officer back on home leave meets with civic groups, talks to school or college classes, or makes an informal talk at a church supper.

He tells about his job, what a Foreign Service officer does in protecting Americans and American business interests abroad, reporting to the State Department on political trends in the country in which he serves and the possible effect of such ties on relations with the United States.

He describes the country in which he serves, its customs, its people.

Secretary of State Rusk has called it a "dialogue" because it includes an exchange of views and information in which he feels the returning Foreign Service officer learns as much



about grass-roots thinking at home as his audience does about conditions abroad.

This new program is carried out under the Department's Office of Community Advisory Services, established last fall. Its head is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Katie Louchheim.

Despite its rather ambiguous and bureaucratic name, the new activity is proving itself an effective means of explaining American foreign policy in simple, human terms.

Its success is due, in major part, to the cooperation of the Foreign Service officers who have participated in this home-front dialogue by responding to requests for speeches, radio and television interviews while on home leave.

Mrs. Louchheim greets the returnee with a special cordiality and a particular interest in where he is spending his home leave.

Would he mind, she asks, if certain clubs and other groups along his path of travel are informed of his presence and availability for an interview or a speech?

Fin! She records the information and the Community Advisory Services goes into action. Notification of the Foreign Service officer's visit, along with his biography, is sent to local newspapers, radio stations, civic organizations such as the Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary or other clubs, as well as to colleges or schools in the area.

There has been a lively response to these advance notices, indicating a widespread interest in the foreign policy beat and those who cover it.

"We were all much impressed," wrote one club officer. "And learned a great deal about the Foreign Service. It was one of our best programs of the year."

Another commented that it was "worthwhile. . . to see and hear first hand an able representative of our country dealing with those of other lands. . ."

Mrs. Louchheim was particularly pleased with this response: "I can think," said the writer, "of no better way for most of us to gain a true picture of the State Department's objectives and operations than to meet, face to face, with the people from the field. . ."

One letter mentioned the advantage of "exposure to men of his (the Foreign Service officer) calibre from the State Department in helping us home folks to better understanding the goals and methods of the Department. . ."

What do Foreign Service officers themselves think of the program? What have they learned from it?

They report frankly. "The lack of knowledge about the Foreign Service is appalling. This program is twenty-five

(Continued on page 49)

HOLIDAY SPIRITS

by ERNEST WILLIAMS



"Listen, old man, now that I'm leaving, I thought perhaps you'd like to take my cook on."



"You don't mean to tell me that the Ambassador invites Foreign Service STAFF to his parties!"



"There are times when I wish he'd never cured the Ambassador's gout."



"Take it easy on this 'Stand and deliver' business until I see if I can put it on my travel voucher."



"This is the Ambassador's office calling, is the Security Officer there?"

THE BRASS SYMBOL

THE MIND'S EYE conjures up the picture of a gleaming brass plaque on the door of a box in one of the auditoriums of the J. F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The words on the brass plaque affirm the fact that the Foreign Service Association contributed \$10,000 to a worthy cause. The plaque is a symbol of an Association that exists solely to carry the torch for the American Foreign Service; the brass on the door will evoke pride in every member of the Service.

So far the plaque exists only in the mind's eye. The American Foreign Service Association in August, 1963 appealed for contributions to the Kennedy Center. It was explained at the time that if the total reached \$10,000 the plaque would be put on a box. The result of the appeal was \$8,300. A few recent contributions have narrowed the gap, but \$1,500 is still needed. The temporary custodian of these contributed funds is the Foreign Service Association. This effort on the part of the Association merits the support of our members. We hope that those who have not contributed will now do so. We hope further that those who have contributed will send in something more. This will enable the Association to achieve its worthy objective and, at the same time, demonstrate the generosity and high aspirations of our membership. We have got near the goal and it would be a vast pity to falter now. The brass plaque must become a reality! ■

EDITORIALS

POINTING OUT A PERIL

THE BOARD OF THE JOURNAL generally prides itself on being a forward-looking group. We are usually delighted when someone thinks up a new idea for improving the Service or managing it better. We would like to think that some of these innovations have resulted from pertinent editorials in the JOURNAL. We always reserve the right to ask questions which we hope reflect the legitimate and constructive concern which we all feel about the Foreign Service.

There is one area in which it turns out that we are all conservatives. We confess to a high degree of veneration and respect for the institution of meritorious service awards. To all of us these awards should signify what the name implies. The recent innovation of decentralizing the authority to select people who should receive such awards may make sense by placing the choices in the hands of those who can best make them. On the other hand, the danger exists that selections made at this level without higher review might dilute service-wide standards for performance which merits an award. When, as recently happened, all the Special Assistants in one office receive superior service awards the standards and, in fact, the whole meaning of the awards seems to us to have been degraded.

It seems to us that the system still used by USIA, and formerly used in the Department, has much merit. Nominations are best submitted by those who work closely with the proposed candidates. But there should be an impartial review board which matches criteria and performance and renders an objective judgment as to who shall be final recipients. Without some such safeguard the awards system will lose all significance. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLI

IT is the migration season for men as well as birds.

Many members of Congress, finished off in the Johnson landslide, have now had a chance to contemplate the choice: hang around in Washington or go back to the tall timbers. Washington seems to offer only pallid attractions such as selling real estate or infiltrating a law practice. No wonder, then, that most of the unlucky have opted for the native heath where, presumably, they will be able to return to their pre-Congress pursuits. The result of all this is that Washington real estate advertisements are showing a lively variety of houses for sale and apartments for rent.

An unexpected spell of fine days has got the birds completely befuddled. Many summer residents such as the sprightly orioles and the lazy, placid robins were packed up weeks ago, all ready for the takeoff to Key West and divers expensive resorts in the Caribbean. The return of warm weather induced them to linger and they have good cause to regret their indecision. For clouds of quarrelsome, blustering bluejays have decided to rest up in Washington on their flight South, and these have made life hell for the sedate birds.

The weather recalls two lines from Humbert Wolfe:

"Listen! The wind is rising
and the air is wild with leaves."

Brown and yellow and red they cover the lawns and pavements. The crackling sound of the rake striking the dead leaves echoes from the lawn of every prideful household. It is not the master of the house in most cases, however, who wields the rake. Most of those who can afford it hire a boy or handyman. The Americans are not addicted to gardening, mowing the lawn or raking leaves. In this zone of activity, most are *sclobberlotchers*.

The Question of Boozies

Now that the election is out of the way we should address ourselves to another serious national problem: the cocktail party. Who should give them? Who should go to them? Are official cocktail parties more tiresome than

private ones?

Only a powerful thinker should try to handle a problem of this magnitude. Fortunately the powerful thinker has already materialized. She is the columnist and author Peg Bracken who appears in the Washington STAR. Miss Bracken was spurred into activity by the pronouncement of another contemporary thinker, Mrs. T. Markoe Robertson, more fully defined as the former Cordelia Drexel Biddle Duke. Mrs. Robertson referred disparagingly to cocktail parties as 'boozies.' Here is the full text: "Some people do have boozies. But they're beastly. They pass those nasty little things. Just when you're talking to someone, someone huts in. I don't want any hors d'oeuvres. I want to kick the tray up in the air. It's such a bore."

This proclamation caused Miss Bracken to whirr into a powerful diagnosis. Not all boozies, she says, are bad. "It's the big boozy (or boozy woozy) that's terrible—the smoke-filled roomful of people, packed hiccup to hiccup, not doing the swim, only looking like it, as they writhe for a cigarette or a place to put a glass down."

But Miss Bracken defends "the small boozy or choosy boozy" and for these she supplies a set of four "ground rules."

1. "No more than a dozen people should be asked."

2. "Those nasty little things should be dispensed with. People come to drink and/or talk, not to mess around with cheese dip on cauliflower blossoms."

3. "When the cocktail (boozy) hostess says 6:30 to 8:30 people should arrive no later than 6:45 and leave no later than 8:45. If she wanted them for all night she would have said so."

4. "To shake hands? It is poor etiquette to do so, for, the hand that holds the highball is a damp and clammy mitt. Furthermore it is hard for women to shake hands at these things because they have so many possessions to juggle."

All this will not, obviously, settle all the problems of the boozy—big or

little. There is, for instance, the problem of the post-church boozy: "Won't you and Eleanor come by for a drink after church on Sunday?" Very often the authors of these invitations haven't been anywhere near a church. They have been sleeping nearly all the Sabbath morning. And many of the guests barely get their teeth brushed in time to scramble into the car and drive off to the post-church boozy. The question naturally rises: is it ethical for people to give post-church boozies—or indeed go to them—when they haven't put anything into the collection plate? Solution of the problem must wait for a later time. Perhaps Miss Bracken could be induced to tackle it. In any case we all of us owe her a debt for her codex on the choosy boozy.

Awards for a Word

The Washington Letter's December awards go not for spectacular deeds but for proper use of language. In describing the funeral of President Hoover both Phil Casey of the Washington Post and McCandlish Phillips of the New York Times used the word "coffin." How agreeable not to encounter the repulsive, pretentious, genteel "casket."

And while we are on the subject, would it be possible to bring back a few other sound old Anglo-Saxon words, such as "house," "sweat," "huy," "dining room," "writing paper." Sometimes it would appear they have ended their careers in the language. We hear instead, "perspire," "dining area," "purchase," "home," "residence," and "stationery." Example: "They purchased a lovely ranch-type home (or residence) out in the exclusive Dover Hills residential section."

Clear Road Ahead

Many Foreign Service officers haven't the foggiest idea of what to do with themselves when the day of retirement arrives. The same cannot be said of Frances Willis, former ambassador to Switzerland, Norway and Ceylon who is now busy tying up the loose ends of her distinguished

career of 37 years and laying plans for the future. The first item on her agenda is to do precisely what she wants to do—not what someone else thinks she should do. The first six months will be filled up with visits to relations, a bang-up Christmas celebration, reading books she had to put aside in the busy past. She will then turn her attention to settling into her house in California. "The future," she says with admirable assurance, "is not going to be boring. Out of my thirty-seven years in the Foreign Service thirty-four were spent abroad. Getting a look at my own country is going to be one of my principle pleasures."

For The First Anniversary

A memorial Tribute to President Kennedy has been prepared by USIA for the anniversary of his death. The original English version is already a reality and foreign language editions will soon be coming off the presses. "Legacy of a President" is a handsome 112-page volume containing memorable words of the late president, a tribute from President Johnson, a foreword by Dean Rusk and a series of engaging photographs (the dust jacket is a hitherto unpublished color photograph of Mr. Kennedy). This note is being written for posts abroad that will probably be interested in giving the book a wide circulation. It will not be available in the United States.

Premature Santa Claus

Santa Claus appeared at the front door of a Washington Bank on November 1 and he obviously intends to stand there looking winsome until Christmas. This is carrying things a bit too far. We must urge the new Congress as soon as it considers Medicare, to pass legislation requiring Santa Claus to stay at the North Pole till December 1—at least.

Detecting Those Twenty-Five Mistakes

You will recall the artful letter in the October issue, repeated in the November issue in which Edward P. Maffitt purposely wove twenty-five mistakes into his prose. The JOURNAL promised to give a free subscription to the reader who got closest to Mr. Maffitt's list. When the returns were tabulated William Gerber and Robert Rinden came out at the top. It was impossible to choose between them so each is awarded a subscription and with this goes the congratulations of the editors.

Although the purpose of Mr. Maf-

fitt's exercise was to point out some unquestionably incorrect usages in English, some answers confused the issue by going into abstruse matters of taste and personal whim. Two answers actually opined that the phrase "most of us older FSOs . . ." was a mistake. This was changed to "most of we older FSOs." Tut, tut, tut!

Prizes to Thinking Caps

If you observe one of these days that the letter you received from the Department of State or from an embassy or consulate abroad is bereft of the usual "courtesy copy" do not blame a secretary for being a slubberdegulion. The abolition of the "courtesy copy" is quite deliberate. It brought a prize of \$50 to Catherine George whose suggestion was part of the "Double E" Drive (Economy and Efficiency). Another prize winner (\$25 this time) was Elizabeth Brinton who suggested that "all door latches be adjusted so that door handle does not need to be turned . . . door can be pushed open."

Some prize winning suggestions were of a highly technical nature. Anyway, winners in the \$25 category were, in addition to Mrs. Brinton: John Adamson, Jr., Beatrice C. Madden, Rosemarie Milazzo, Merrill Blevins, J. Arnold Rosensteel, John J. Lee, and John S. Pruden. Fifty dollar prizes were carried off by Douglas K. Davidson and Robert T. Greenfield.

The biggest coup of all, however, \$2,500, and a presidential citation, was pulled off by Robert E. Peck, deputy director of the State Department's office of operations. Mr. Peck's suggestion had to do with payrolls: "all rates should be computed in full cents

with fractions of cents rounded to the nearest full cent." This handy notion is expected to save the taxpayers \$10 million a year.

In addition to the cash awards there were three other Presidential citations: to the office of the Inspector General of Foreign Assistance, to the Office of Operations which comes under the Bureau of Administration and to Henry H. McKee of the American Embassy, London.

The "Double E Drive" is a direct result of the President's mandate on cost reduction. The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, William J. Crockett, has been pushing a vigorous campaign to get all State Department employees to present suggestion that will bring about increased Economy and Efficiency. The campaign got under way November 5 and the first awards were announced on November 18. A second batch will be announced on December 2 and a third on December 18.

The "Double E Drive" has been a thwacking success. In its first week 1000 suggestions were received. This compares with 131 in the 1964 fiscal year, 196 the year before and the record of 374 during the last 12 years which was set in 1959.

New Honor for Yost

Charles Yost, the newest career ambassador, has won another honor: a 1964 Rockefeller Public Service award in the field of Foreign Affairs. The award this year carries a cash grant of \$10,000. Ambassador Yost has been in the Foreign Service for thirty-two years. He is Deputy Permanent US Representative to the United Nations. ■

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by S. I. NADLER



"All the problems of our developing, emerging, freedom-threatened little country are solved! The U. S. AID Mission Chief has arrived!"

THE DECADE OF DEVELOPMENT Part II

by RICHARD N. GARDNER

JUST WHAT is the United Nations Development Decade? Is it merely a vague exhortation to the nations of the world to increase bilateral and multilateral cooperation for economic and social development—or is it a program for specific action based on a systematic examination of priority needs and available resources?

A brief review of past accomplishments and present plans may help provide an answer to this question.

The initiative for the U.N. Development Decade came from President Kennedy's address to the General Assembly on September 25, 1961:

Political sovereignty is but a mockery without the means of meeting poverty and illiteracy and disease. Self-determination is but a slogan if the future holds no hope.

That is why my nation—which has freely shared its capital and its technology to help others help themselves—now proposes officially designating this decade of the 1960s as the United Nations Decade of Development. Under the framework of that resolution the United Nations' existing efforts in promoting economic growth can be expanded and coordinated. Regional surveys and training institutes can now pool the talents of many. New research, technical assistance, and pilot projects can unlock the wealth of less developed lands and untapped waters. And development can become a cooperative and not a competitive enterprise—to enable all nations, however diverse in their systems and beliefs, to become in fact as well as in law both free and equal nations.

The sixteenth General Assembly responded swiftly to this appeal by designating the current decade as the United Nations Development Decade—a decade in which “Member States and their peoples will intensify their efforts to mobilize and sustain support for the measures required on the part of both developed and developing countries to accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth.” It further adopted as an official target for the end of the decade a minimum annual growth rate of 5 per cent in the national incomes of the less developed countries.

The launching of the UN Development Decade provides a symbolic framework to accelerate the economic and social progress of the less developed countries. The Development Decade is not intended to be a substitute for existing efforts in economic development—national and international, private and public. On the contrary, it is intended to provide new impetus to those efforts and to help fit them together more effectively in comprehensive programs in the less developed countries. One of the cen-

tral tasks of the United Nations in International Cooperation Year, the mid-point of the Development Decade, will be to take stock of the progress that has been made so far in this historic effort.

The work of the United Nations system in the Development Decade is so varied and complex, it has been the subject of so vast a torrent of documents and resolutions, that even the experts have difficulty in grasping the main threads. Indeed, there is some danger that the Development Decade may become all things to all men. To help prevent this, the United States has sought to emphasize a number of priority tasks. Here are some of them:

1. *Preinvestment*

One major theme of the Development Decade is the expansion of the preinvestment programs of the United Nations. Recent experience has confirmed what should have been obvious all along—that capital investment does not yield instant development; it has to build upon an adequate foundation. The preinvestment work of the UN system is designed to help provide that foundation by the gathering of basic information about national resources, the drawing up of national development plans, the carrying out of research in products and techniques to reveal a nation's special potentialities, and, most important of all, the development of an adequate supply of trained manpower.

The principal bottleneck in the development process is people. Most of the resources of the UN preinvestment programs are used to supply the less developed countries with foreign experts and operational personnel and to train the nationals of those countries themselves. Adequate numbers of trained people—precisely what most less developed countries lack—are an obvious prerequisite to self-sustaining growth. Training is therefore a top priority task of the Development Decade. In the words of B. R. Sen, Director-General of FAO: “If you give a man a fish, you feed him for the day; if you teach him how to fish, you provide him with a livelihood.”

The United Nations system now carries on its preinvestment work in four main ways:

1. The United Nations itself carries on a technical assistance program funded from its regular budget. This comparatively modest program, which runs to approximately \$6 million a year, is used mainly for assistance in formulating and carrying out development plans, for training in public administration, and for supplying operation-

al and executive personnel (OPEX) from developed countries for senior positions in the national services of less developed countries.

2. The technical assistance programs funded from the budgets of the Specialized Agencies help to train the nationals of less developed countries in the variety of specialized subjects with which these agencies are concerned: agriculture, health, education, labor, telecommunications, meteorology, civil aviation, and so forth. The International Bank finances a small technical assistance program from its earnings on loans, and runs an Economic Development Institute in which leaders from less developed countries study practical problems of economic development. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade also conducts a small training program for officials of less developed countries concerned with the administration of customs laws and the development of trade policy.

3. The Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA), launched at the initiative of the United States as the international counterpart to the Point Four program, is financed from a central fund of voluntary contributions that pays for projects executed by various participating Specialized Agencies. It now pays for nearly 2,000 experts in 100 countries and territories throughout the world and for approximately 3,500 fellowships for nationals of these countries to study in educational and technical institutions.

4. The United Nations Special Fund, established in 1958, concentrates on applied research, surveys, and feasibility studies, and the creation of institutions for manpower training. As of this writing, it has authorized a total of 423 projects costing \$890 million. Of this amount, \$515 million, nearly 60 per cent, is being supplied by the recipient countries.

How this far-flung preinvestment program can lay the basis for the productive application of investment capital is illustrated by some projects of the Special Fund:

—In Argentina, a \$300,000 electric power survey financed by the Fund has already brought forth \$300 million in investment from the International Bank, other international sources, and domestic investors.

—In Nigeria, a Fund survey for the multipurpose development of the Niger River has resulted in an International Bank loan of \$190 million.

—In Thailand, a Fund-financed survey of a tributary of the Mekong River has triggered construction of a \$17 million dam for hydroelectric power, irrigation, and flood control.

At US initiative, the General Assembly in 1961, as part of its program for the Development Decade, fixed \$150 million a year as a target for contributions to the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. This target will almost certainly be met in the course of International Cooperation Year.

2. Financial Aid

A second theme of the Development Decade is the increase in the flow of public investment. Since the end of World War II, the United States has supplied about \$40 billion in foreign aid to less developed countries. It is currently providing approximately \$3 billion dollars a year in financial assistance for this purpose, mostly in the form of long-term, low-interest loans for key countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia which have

demonstrated the capacity to help themselves.* It is supplying about \$1.5 billion a year in commodities through the Food for Peace program. This annual US bilateral effort of approximately \$4.5 billion is now supplemented by \$3 billion a year in bilateral assistance from other free world countries. Another \$1 billion a year is being made available by the two capital-supplying agencies of the UN system, the International Bank and the International Development Association. About \$.5 billion annually is flowing through regional development agencies in Latin America and Europe. A little under \$1 billion in economic assistance is being supplied annually by the Communist world. In short, there is now close to \$10 billion of public capital flowing each year to the less developed countries.

The steady progress that has been made in raising this figure is a major accomplishment of the Development Decade. A good part of the credit should be given to the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. DAC consists of twelve countries supplying almost 95 per cent of all free world bilateral assistance. Each year the DAC countries engage in an intensive confrontation on their past aid activities and on their intentions for the future. Through this process we are working to increase the flow of aid from free world countries other than the United States, to ease their terms of lending toward lower interest rates and longer periods of repayment, to establish centralized foreign aid administrations in other countries, to coordinate the bilateral aid programs of DAC members, and to broaden the geographic distribution of aid of European countries beyond their former overseas territories.

The capital-supplying agencies of the UN system have also come a long way. When the Board of Governors of these agencies met in Tokyo in September, 1964, it could look back over an impressive record: nearly \$8 billion in loans by the International Bank, more than \$600 million in loans by the International Development Association. These two institutions are now committing about \$1 billion a year. The decision to increase IDA resources from \$1 billion to \$1.75 billion, approved in 1964 by the US Congress, will assure that International Bank loans on conservative credit terms (5-6 per cent, 15-25 year maturities) can be supplemented by substantial IDA lending at three-quarters of 1 per cent with 50-year maturities. Since IDA does not depend like the Bank on the private capital market, it can help to support projects in so-called social infrastructure which do not yield sufficient revenue to meet the tests of conventional financing.

One of the most impressive manifestations of cooperation in the capital-lending field during the Development Decade has been the establishment of so-called aid consortia. These consortia bring together donor countries and international financial institutions to assess development plans and aid needs and work out measures of financing. The OECD has organized consortia for Greece and Turkey; the International Bank has done the same for India and Pakistan. In the three years 1961-63, these four consortia accounted for over \$5 billion of free world aid—more than one-fifth of the total free world aid flow.

*This figure includes economic aid under the Foreign Assistance Act and loans made by the Export-Import Bank to less developed countries for terms of more than five years.

3. Private Investment

A third element in the Development Decade is the promotion of private investment. In emphasizing the contribution of private capital to development, the United States does not seek to impose its economic system on other nations. But it does emphasize the fact that in the non-Communist world development has been fastest where the private sector has been encouraged. Moreover, in the United States and other industrial nations of the free world, the bulk of capital and skills are in private hands. The potentiality of private resources is far from being realized at the present time, when gross capital flow to the less developed countries averages no more than \$2-3 billion a year.

Much can be done to stimulate the flow of private capital to the less developed countries by the capital-exporting countries themselves. In recent years, the United States has greatly expanded its investment guarantee program; financed development banks to lend to private investors in less developed countries; made local currency loans to American firms abroad; supported investment surveys to determine the feasibility of overseas investments; financed pilot projects to stimulate the interest of American and foreign investors; and created an International Executive Service Corps to encourage service in developing countries by US business executives with managerial and technical know-how. In 1964, President Johnson also proposed far-reaching tax incentives for private investment in less developed countries.

Less developed countries have also taken steps to encourage private investment. They have passed special investment laws guaranteeing foreign investors against expropriation and assuring the remittance of investment earnings; established national development banks to encourage domestic investment by their own nationals; and adopted economic policies designed to produce an attractive climate for private investment.

It is frequently forgotten that the flow of foreign aid through multilateral and bilateral channels also encourages private investment by developing port facilities, roads, power, communication, and the other ingredients of a modern economy. Bilateral and multilateral preinvestment programs serve the same purpose by training people, encouraging research, and surveying resources. International organizations are also contributing to the flow of private investment in other ways:

—The International Bank and the International Finance Corporation are tapping increasing amounts of private capital for investment in less developed countries. Most of the money for Bank loans is raised by the issuance of bonds in the private capital market, not only in the United States, but increasingly in other free world industrial countries. The International Finance Corporation, with its \$100 million of government contributions, assists private enterprises in less developed countries by investing in shares or making loans without government guarantee of repayment.

—The United Nations carries out research on the role of private investment in economic development. Hopefully, this may promote a wider understanding of the contribution private capital can make to development. Many leaders of less developed countries tend to be suspicious of private enterprise; some see in particular an inevitable conflict between the profit-making interest of a foreign

corporation and the interest of the country in which it does business. The periodic reports of the UN Secretariat on the flow of private capital and the country surveys of the International Bank help to dispel these misconceptions by showing the specific ways in which foreign as well as domestic capital can contribute to economic development.

—Debates on private capital in United Nations forums can also make a contribution. For some years UN members were engaged in drafting a Declaration on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources. The United States and other industrial countries were understandably concerned that the elaboration of this theme, unexceptionable in itself, would be exploited by Communist countries and others to justify violations of private property rights. But when the Declaration was finally adopted by the General Assembly in December, 1962, it had become, on the whole, a responsible document. Extreme Communist amendments were defeated; the Declaration not only affirmed the sovereignty of nations over their natural wealth and resources, but also recognized the obligation to pay compensation where domestic and foreign property is taken, to observe agreements between less developed countries and foreign investors (including agreements to arbitrate), and to abide by other requirements of international law.

—The United Nations system also provides resources for the protection of the rights of foreign investors. The International Court of Justice is available to states that wish to bring claims on behalf of their nationals against other states for the seizure of property in violation of international law. Although few such cases have actually been brought, the potentiality of the Court for adjudication of this kind has encouraged the settlement of claims through quiet diplomacy. Moreover, the International Bank is now considering the creation of a new facility in the form of a center for the conciliation or arbitration of investment disputes. The draft convention on this subject that has been prepared under the Bank's auspices would provide facilities (conciliation commissions and arbitration tribunals) to which investors as well as governments could have access on a voluntary basis. Agreements between foreign investors and host governments could provide in advance for resort to such facilities in the event of disputes. The establishment of these new facilities would be a major step in the encouragement of private foreign investment.

—Perhaps most important of all, the United Nations system works generally to create an adequate "investment climate"—that constellation of government policies and conditions which determines the security of investment and profit opportunities. The work of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in removing trade barriers, the work of the International Monetary Fund in encouraging responsible fiscal policies and foreign exchange practices, the work of the International Bank and other agencies in drawing rational development plans—these and other efforts are all important in creating conditions necessary for private investment.

4. World Food Program

The fourth feature of the Development Decade is the effort to increase food supplies in less developed countries and to use the food abundance of the developed countries for the promotion of economic development. According

to the FAO, 300-450 million people actually go hungry each day; three times as many—one-third to one-half of the world's population—suffer from undernutrition or malnutrition. The FAO further estimates that world food supplies will have to be trebled by the turn of the century to provide an adequate level of nutrition for the world's growing population. Obviously a major effort is needed to stimulate agricultural productivity in the less developed countries. And while this effort is going on, food transfers will be needed in large quantities.

Food aid is not a substitute for financial aid, but it can stretch the limited amount of finance that is available. As economic development proceeds, the demand for food tends for a certain period to grow faster than the growth in agricultural production. The resulting food deficiency cannot always be filled through commercial imports, since most less developed countries are short of foreign exchange. Food aid, by filling this deficiency without draining scarce foreign exchange resources, can forestall an inflation in agricultural prices, avoid a diversion of resources from other uses, and sustain at a saving in human suffering a faster pace of development.

The United States is making major efforts in support of development through its Food for Peace program, which is now transferring about \$1.5 billion dollars worth of food each year to more than 90 million people. Surplus food that would otherwise lie in storage at a cost to American taxpayers is being used in the less developed countries as partial wage payment in programs of reforestation and school, hospital, and house construction. It is providing ingredients for a hot lunch for approximately one-third of the school children of Latin America—for most of them the only hot meal they have each day.

One of the first innovations of the Development Decade was the establishment of a multilateral food program as a counterpart to the US bilateral effort. Inaugurated in 1962, the World Food program is a three-year experimental program to determine how multilateral food transfers can contribute to economic and social development.

The World Food Program is modest in size—\$100 million in foodstuffs and cash. But it is founded on the recognition that advances in farm technology will put more and more countries in a position to distribute food on special terms as the Development Decade proceeds. While the US Food for Peace program can and must continue, a multilateral effort can serve to discourage a number of competitive food distribution programs working at cross-purposes. It can also encourage food surplus countries to make contributions to economic development and stimulate less developed countries to explore new ways of using food aid from abroad.

The World Food Program is concentrating its efforts on emergency food needs, preschool and school feeding, and pilot projects in the use of food for economic and social development—for example, direct wage payments to workers in labor-intensive projects. One of the major decisions facing the United Nations in International Cooperation Year is whether and in what form to continue the World Food Program.

5. Social Development

A fifth theme of the Development Decade is the achievement of balanced economic and social growth.

In UN usage, social development means progress in health, education, housing, and social welfare. The United States has sought to emphasize the central importance of these activities in the implementation of the Development Decade. If they are overlooked in the preoccupation with increases in gross national product, economic development will fail in its primary purpose—the achievement of minimum levels of human dignity.

Public opinion is now being alerted to the dangers of the "population explosion." But there is also what the World Health Organization has called the "population implosion"—the massive and unprecedented migration of people from the countryside to the cities. The manifestations of this world-wide phenomenon can be seen in New York, London and Tokyo, as well as in Istanbul, Calcutta, and Rio de Janeiro. But its consequences can be catastrophic in the less developed countries, which are much less able to cope with them. If present trends continue, for example, it is estimated that by the year 2000 the population in urban areas will greatly exceed the total population of the world at the present time. In the next 40 years, more houses will have to be built than heretofore in the entire history of man.

If violent upheavals are to be avoided, we must have a strategy of social development to deal with these massive population transfers. Such a strategy must be two-sided. It must deal with the problems of housing, health, education, and social welfare arising in the swelling metropolitan areas. It must also devise ways of improving conditions of rural life that will reduce to tolerable levels the move to the cities.

The United Nations system is helping in many ways to alert its members to these social problems and to give them some means of coping with them:

—Several Specialized Agencies—the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and UNESCO—are engaged in research and technical assistance directly related to social development.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is devoting increasing resources to special programs in the health, education, welfare, and feeding of children, including those who suffer most from the disruptions and deprivations of the drift to the cities.

The United Nations Secretariat, under the guidance of the Social Commission, is strengthening the research and advisory social welfare services that have been offered to members through its Bureau of Social Affairs.

A Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning is considering ways in which the United Nations system can help to solve the housing crisis in less developed countries, stimulated by the UN estimates that over 1 billion people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—one-half of the total population of these continents—are "homeless or living in housing which is a health hazard and an affront to human dignity."

6. Science and Technology

The United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas (UNCSAT), held in Geneva in February, 1963, was another major event in the Development Decade. The 1,665 scientists and administrators who attended this conference did not come to deal with theoretical questions. They came to tackle practical problems of applying the

world's fund of scientific knowledge and of bringing it to bear on the special problems of less developed countries.

As a result of the UNCSAT, a major review is now underway of the ways and means of improving the scientific and technological work of the United Nations system. The eighteen-nation Advisory Committee appointed to deal with science and technology is particularly concerned with the urgent need of the less developed countries to establish planning machinery, to develop adequate institutions in science and technology, and to increase investment in these areas.

The Advisory Committee is also drawing up a list of problems in science and technology that should receive priority attention—problems whose solution would bring unusually great benefits to the developing countries and where a breakthrough appears possible if a massive worldwide effort is made. The following are among the subjects being considered for the list:

1. An economic desalinization plant for areas short of fresh water.
2. A small energy unit for village use.
3. New telecommunications procedures for education and training.
4. Improved farm implements suited to local conditions.
5. New forms of acceptable protein food that could be made available on a massive scale to combat malnutrition.

7. Coordination of Effort

The Development Decade should not simply be an instrument for expanding the size of United Nations operations, nor should it be the occasion for galloping off in all directions at once. If everything is given priority, nothing has priority. The greatest challenge to the United Nations system in implementing the Development Decade is to achieve organizational reforms that will help it to focus on priority problems.

We have probably reached the outer limits in the proliferation of specialized functions in the UN system of agencies. Specialists play an indispensable role in turning the wheels of our highly complex international society, but they have this great defect: each of them believes that his particular specialty is the key to everything else. Such a case can and has been made for population control, education, agriculture, industry, health, housing, science, transport, communications, and labor. There may even be a meteorologist somewhere who believes that weather control will eventually provide the ultimate answer! Given an independent base of operations and an independent budget, the specialists in any of these fields, unless their enthusiasm is appropriately restrained through coordination with other specialists, will tend to spend limited resources in ways that cannot be justified on the basis of over-all priorities.

To put it bluntly, there is a real danger of the economic and social work of the UN coming apart at the seams. The urgent need is not to fragment it further but to bind it together more effectively.

The case for an integrated effort is as obvious in economic development as in any other area of human activity. When a man builds a house, he does not commission plumbers, electricians, carpenters, and so on, to go forward independently to produce what they think he should have in their respective lines. He asks that a blueprint be produced of the total structure, a blueprint

drawn up in the light of his total needs and the total funds he has available to meet those needs. The various specialists then proceed to perform their work within the guidelines of the basic blueprint with full authority to perform their specialized tasks so long as the results fit together as integral parts of the total structure.

One of the central tasks of the less developed countries during the Development Decade is to formulate and carry out comprehensive and realistic development plans that establish clear priorities permitting the most effective use of available resources, including assistance from abroad. Precisely because they are underdeveloped, many of these countries have encountered serious difficulties in coordinating their own activities and in implementing such plans. Their problems must not be compounded by the presence of a score of United Nations agencies—not to mention foreign official and private representatives—each offering contradictory advice and pushing projects in different fields.

In the past two decades, the work of the UN system in the economic and social field has been radically transformed. The Specialized Agencies, once devoted almost entirely to research and standard-setting, are now mainly engaged in the transfer of skills and resources to less developed countries. Organizational arrangements adequate to the former era of UN activity are no longer adequate today. The activities of the Specialized Agencies, the regional economic commissions, and the special programs must be related together more successfully.

The United States has pressed for two basic reforms in United Nations machinery to achieve the integrated effort essential to the success of the Development Decade:

—The first measure is the merger and strengthening of the two large preinvestment programs at UN Headquarters, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the UN Special Fund. In August, 1964, the Economic and Social Council finally recommended a merger of the two programs into a United Nations Development Program (UNDP), with a single governing body of government representatives, a single interagency advisory committee, and a single administration. This merger will make for greater administrative efficiency and a reduction in meetings. It will reduce the tendency to allocate funds among the Specialized Agencies according to historic shares. It will also mean a better focusing of those funds on the priority needs of the developing countries.

—The second measure is the strengthening of the role of the United Nations Resident Representatives in the less developed countries. Thanks in part to the urging of the United States and other UN members, these officials now serve simultaneously as representatives for the Special Fund, EPTA, and the World Food Program. As the quality of these representatives improves, and as they are assured of adequate staff resources and administrative support, they will be increasingly valuable to host governments in the preparation of development plans, the establishment of priorities, and the formulation of requests for assistance to the major U.N. programs. They will also play an important coordinating role with respect to the activities of the various Specialized Agencies financed from their regular budgets.

International Cooperation Year will be the occasion for a serious assessment of the progress made so far in realizing the aims of the Development Decade. If this

(Continued on page 50)

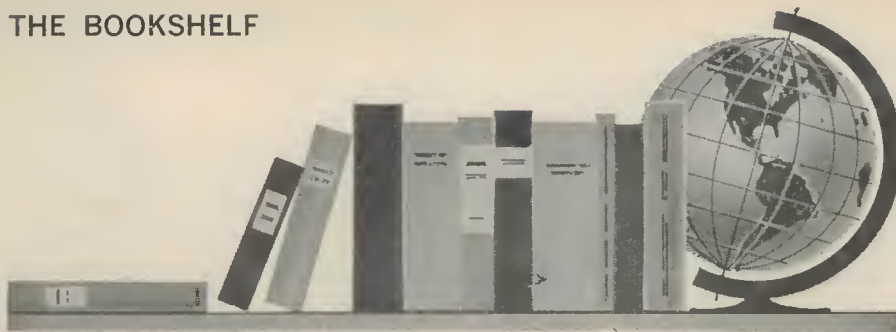


Behind the Shutter

Part VII / by Paul Child

DON'T FORGET TO LOOK AT THE BACKGROUND. Things *behind* what you are photographing can aid or spoil the picture. Either arrange plain, contrasting surfaces, or else have only such shapes and lines as will create the atmosphere you want.





Life of a Mexican Peasant

PEDRO MARTINEZ: *A Mexican Peasant and His Family* is Oscar Lewis' fourth book about the economically underprivileged in Mexico. All have received critical acclaim both in America and abroad. "The Children of Sanchez," an account of a slum family in Mexico City, was recently "crowned" as the best foreign work published in France during 1963.

"Pedro Martinez" rounds out these chronicles of the poor with a record of the life of a peasant of "Azteca," a village some 60 miles south of Mexico City. It is perhaps a more impressive achievement than the earlier books, since the peasant milieu is normally more closed to the sociologist than that of an urban proletariat.



Calash—Guadalajara

Many myths still cling tenaciously about peasants (a group which constitutes about half of the Mexican population). It has been generally believed that they are essentially "a stabilizing, conservative force." However, Lewis points out that peasants have had an "important, if not a crucial role" in at least four major revolutions—the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Chinese Communist Revolution, and the Cuban Revolution. Pedro Martinez is more politically conscious than the urban Sanchez family. He fought in the Army of Zapata in 1914; he was *mayordomo* of his barrio in 1920; a councilman of the village in 1925; a judge in 1940. The events

of his personal life, in fact, "connect" with national events of his time. But as he grows older, his thinking reflects that disillusion with the Revolution that is so widespread in Mexico today. In the epilogue, he says: "At one time, I believed in a lot of things . . . now I believe in nothing . . . I don't even believe in the Revolution anymore. So far as I am concerned, the Revolution was a failure, because the more peace there is, the more hunger there is . . ." Certainly as soon as we leave Mexico City and the "golden beach" of the Reforma, the continuing poverty of rural Mexico cries out to the most callous. "The government should attack the high prices and give the peasants some benefits from the fruits of the land," Pedro Martinez claims that "we are going from bad to worse" and that "suddenly we'll see the revolution of the poor against the rich in Mexico." He believes the peasants are worse off than in the bad old times of Diaz. "In Don Porfirio's time you could fill your basket with six centavos. Now you can't even with 50 pesos."

I have neglected important literary and sociological aspects of this remarkable book—for example, the fidelity and the compassion with which Lewis presents Pedro Martinez, his wife Esperanza, his elder son Felipe, not as "case studies," but as human beings; his literary skill in the use of tape-recorded material, so his work



Colossus of Tula



Pyramid of Tenayuca

acquires something of the richness and the human density of great 19th century novels; his ability to relate the life of Pedro Martinez to recent Mexican history—in order to point up the political implications of peasant suffering and unrest and their disillusionment with "the Establishment" in which they have so modest a place.

—JOHN L. BROWN

PEDRO MARTINEZ: *A Mexican Peasant and His Family*, by Oscar Lewis. Random House, \$8.75.

New Realities

IN this small but highly useful volume the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee elucidates some of his favorite themes. The JOURNAL has already editorialized on the need for thinking unthinkable thoughts (June, 1964, p. 27) which is the substance of the first essay on "Old Myths and New Realities."

"The Foundations of National Security" sets forth lucidly the need for alliances and skillful diplomacy in addition to a defense posture and capability which lets the world know of our power, but also of our sense of responsibility and restraint in using it. Senator Fulbright points out that both extreme nationalism and dogmatic ideology are luxuries the world can no longer afford and that we must "seek ways of making the world reasonably safe for the continuing contest between those who favor democracy and those who oppose it."

"Atlantic Partnership and the DeGaulle Challenge" attempts to present objectively and sympathetically the policies which General DeGaulle is pursuing, but Senator Fulbright tries to look beyond this retrogressive attitude toward the kind of Atlantic partnership which the United States could enjoy with a co-equal united and strong Europe.

"Cold War in American Life" illuminates some of the causes of frustration which have led to extre-

mism and escapism when we can no longer apply our resources to the constructive building of our society, but must concern ourselves with the preservation of freedom in the world, so that our society can continue to exist.

In his "Conclusion" Senator Fulbright points out that science has radically changed the conditions of human life on earth and has made it necessary to use knowledge and power with wisdom. He recognizes the need for change, even in the hearts of men, but also how gradual and difficult this process of change will be.

—EMJK

OLD MYTHS AND NEW REALITIES, by Senator J. William Fulbright, Random House, \$3.95.

Triple Threat

ELIAS BRIGGS has said goodbye to his Foreign Service career as an incomparable raconteur of diplomatic stories, as a caustic critic of the way the United States administers its foreign policy, and as a wise counselor to those who will have to continue to struggle with the kind of problems which he encountered in his thirty-seven years of foreign service.

Those of us who have known his sparkling wit and his ability to turn a happy phrase will thoroughly enjoy his accounts of diplomatic high jinks in "Never Give a Comrade a Break," "Nocturne in Buenos Aires," "How to Tell a Bureaucrat From the Bouillabaisse," "A Magnolia Tree for Brasilia," "No Charge for Extra Buttons," and "A Birthday Cake for the King." Some of these delightful tales have appeared in print elsewhere, including the columns of this journal, but they still provide delectable fare on rereading.

Less palatable are his diatribes against the "entrenched bureaucracy" and what he considers to be the sad mismanagement of our postwar diplomatic establishment. His views on these matters are widely known and there is much of his criticism which many people find justified, but there is also much which people find petulant and overstated. I find myself in agreement with the comment made by former Secretary of State C. A. Herter in his foreword: "At times I feel that his prejudices have arisen from disagreement with bureaucrats in Washington and have warped his better judgment."

But few could disagree with his sage advice on the "Care and Feeding of Dictators" based on his experiences with King Carol of Romania,

Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, the rulers of Communist Czechoslovakia and Syngman Rhee of Korea, to mention only those with whom he came in more intimate contact. Nor would anyone criticize his patient and objective reconstruction of the events in Korea which led to the lamentable stalemate growing out of the war no one wanted, which wasn't fought for victory, and which spawned events both in Korea and the world which continue to haunt us today.

All three of the facets of this man's interests are illuminated in highly readable prose in this valedictory and one can shift from sheer delight to extreme irritation to wise tutelage. One lays the book down with a feeling that this man loved his country, served it with unflinching and self-sacrificing devotion and was attached to the Foreign Service with a passion which flared in hot and biting anger at times because of his excessive zeal. One also has the feeling that part of his frustration and irritation stems from a failure to comprehend the responsibilities of diplomacy in a world totally different from the one which existed when he entered the Service in 1925.

—EMJK

FAREWELL TO FOGGY BOTTOM, by Ellis Briggs, McKay, \$4.95.

Target—The Hill

IF the rumor is true that the State Department is a favorite whipping boy of Congress, then the new books by Senator Joe Clark and journalist Robert Bendiner will be read with interest in Foggy Bottom. For Congress is their target and they work it over hard. Their acid criticisms and thoughtful proposals for reform are not likely to endear them to some members of the Congressional "Establishment," as both describe the institution. Yet they have, in different ways, provided useful documentation of some of Congress' most glaring shortcomings, and some not so obvious. And although their annoyance is deep-rooted it is expressed good-naturedly. Both books are highly readable; the preaching is easy to take.

Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) gave up a distinguished law career to become an effective reform mayor of Philadelphia and was elected to the Senate in 1956. For many years he has been crusading to modernize Senate operations, but with so little success he has now taken to writing books about the problem as he sees it. This is his second. His irreverent characterization of the world's greatest delib-

erative body is that the Senate "crouches sullenly in a corner, refusing to look over the walls of its Alamo."

Clark wants to see structural changes in both houses to improve party discipline and cooperation between the House and Senate, raise ethical standards for members and eliminate obstacles that make it hard to stop talking and start voting. He's against filibusters, indiscriminate application of the seniority system, the House Rules Committee and lack of germaneness in debate. He proposes four-year terms in both houses running concurrently with the President's, broadening the base of campaign contributions, installing voting machines and lightening the committee assignment load on Senators, among other reforms.

Features of Clark's book, and Bendiner's, too, are the vignettes of Congressional life they use to season blasts at the system. Once, for example, Clark was summoned urgently from a dinner party at midnight to "preside" over a Senate which consisted of Strom Thurmond conducting a filibuster. Arriving on the floor in his dinner jacket, he sat down in the Vice President's chair, spread a newspaper over his face and slept until another junior Senator spelled him at 7:00 a.m. There are also anecdotes describing the parochial nature of much congressional activity and the time-consuming errand boy duties every member feels obliged to perform.

While Clark takes broad swipes at many aspects of Senate and House operations, Bendiner attacks the "Establishment" through the device of a case study of federal aid to education legislation. A veteran observer of Congress and magazine writer, he has an easy, self-assured style and a lot of bones to pick. He traces the roles of many actors and factors in the slow-moving drama of school aid legislation since it was first proposed by Henry Clay in 1836. It is a fascinating story of political courage and timidity, of intrigue and innocence.

The book seeks to prove his point that a Congressman has two legislative jobs—to make laws and to keep them from being made. The latter is usually easy, with the often unwieldy congressional machinery an invaluable ally; the former is tough, as school aid proponents well know.

—ROBERT E. LEE

CONGRESS: THE SAPLESS BRANCH, by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Harper and Row, \$4.95.

OBSTACLE COURSE ON CAPITOL HILL, by Robert Bendiner, McGraw-Hill, \$4.95.

Latin America: Change, Development and Inter-American Relations

IT is the fortunate reviewer who is led by the happy coincidence of a vacation and personal interest to three outstanding books in a field close to his heart. In order of their capacity to stimulate thought, give the other fellow's viewpoint and inform factually on a wide range of historical and political development, these recent offerings are: "Politics of Change in Latin America," a collection of essays edited by Joseph Maier and Richard Weatherhead; "The Challenge of Development in Latin America" by the Mexican economist Victor Urquidí, and "The United States and Inter-American Relations," by former Foreign Service officer George Wythe. This order reflects the importance which must be accorded to the views of Latin American leaders in political, economic and cultural thought and to the need to stimulate North Americans to reconsider some of their own fixed views on Latin America and on what they think Latin Americans think. It is not that Wythe's effort is less impressive or the information he brings us less important but that he is following a road others have trod while the presentation of a Latin American view in strong and understandable terms is still a *rara avis* to most general readers.

Nevertheless the three books make fascinating reading in conjunction with each other. For the practicing diplomat, AID official or would-be Foreign Service officer, these books cover in a comprehensive and comprehensible style such vital topics as the generality and the particularity of Latin America; nationalism; foreign investment; Latin American regional integration; planning vs. traditional economic liberalism; political stability vs. revolution; dogmatism vs. pragmatism and a quick history view of United States attempts at the hard and the soft sell to Latin America. In particular, the Maier-Weatherhead essays present five leading Latin American scholars, one of whom, Urquidí, is presented alone in the second of the three books. Here indeed we may "see ourselves as others see us" and a chastening experience it is.

Equally interesting are the two sides of several coins shown by the several authors. For example, with regard to that vital changeling, the Alliance for Progress, Weatherhead, the American, while admitting that "Theoretically the Alliance has much to recommend it," reveals his basic

outlook by "It is difficult to judge the Alliance on the basis of its first year's performance, but one thing is clear: it did not set the woods on fire." On the other hand, the Mexican Urquidí closes his book with, "The Alliance for Progress . . . is the only road open to Latin America that guarantees us democracy, liberty and personal dignity." In the same tone, the Colombian Arciniegas (in the Maier-Weatherhead collection) first points out the threat the Alliance poses for the Soviets since if it succeeds, "all America will thereby become invulnerable to Communism: not because it is anti-Communist but rather because it is affirmatively democratic" and then goes on to describe the Alliance as "a turning point in hemispheric relations and world history," a concept which, if strengthened, will permit us "to present, especially to Europe, an imposing defense of the free world." Comparable opposing points of view are presented with regard to social development, planning, liberal economic theory, the need for qualitative as against quantitative analysis of Latin American development and the existence of a Continental mystique.

Briefly, the Wythe thesis puts social development in the background, takes a traditional *laissez-faire* view of development planning and programming and of foreign investment, hits hard on quantitative results but rather dismisses matters of the spirit and urges a particularist approach to the individual countries of Latin America. This is not to say his approach is that of the fuddy-duddy but it is all rather of a piece, even his discussion of the genesis and form of aid and AID.

On the other hand Urquidí and the Venezuelan Uslar-Pietri (Maier-Weatherhead essays) point up the necessity of social development as a concomitant of economic development, particularly for the target of the development as distinct from the US investor. Uslar-Pietri especially points out the need to balance economic efficiency with social justice "because, unfortunately, the Communists have a plausible solution to this problem." Urquidí's concern is realistic, however, and he warns the social development specialist that he must, in his turn, familiarize himself with economic development "because social measures may solve or alleviate social problems only to the extent that they contribute to economic development." Through the writings of the Latins runs the theme of the need for Government intervention, all supported by a convincing chronology of political and economic his-

tory. Urquidí argues that "although economic liberalism has many devoted adherents, the free play of economic and social forces, which in any case has never existed in pure form" would only retard Latin America. "If the invisible hand of Adam Smith ever was valid, it is completely inapplicable to present conditions in Latin America and other underdeveloped regions which need a government's firm guidance."

The Latins make a strong case that we are dealing with a situation, a people, an emotional and cultural outlook different from that of the United States and that stereotyped approaches will not be effective. While they concede the individual countries must be appreciated for their several qualities, they all hold to the need for a regional consciousness.

These books are refreshing and informative and while fascinating when read together, each may be read with profit separately. We are fortunate to have them available.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

POLITICS OF CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA, edited by Maier & Weatherhead, Praeger, \$6.00.

THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, by Victor L. Urquidí, Praeger, \$6.00.

THE UNITED STATES AND INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, a Contemporary Appraisal, by George Wythe, University of Florida Press, \$5.50.

History of the West

THIS revised edition of the authors' "History of Europe" follows the unfolding of western civilization from its Mediterranean and Graeco-Roman beginnings to the present day. There are inevitable limitations in such an effort, but within the scope they have set, the three authors, all noted historians, provide a remarkably clear and compendious account of Europe's major historical events as well as religious, intellectual, and artistic movements. The volume is well organized into twelve sections, each with summary and bibliography, increased space being given to the twentieth century, where coverage is extended to the United States. The illustrations and the many maps are unusually good.

This is not a book either for children or for those unfamiliar with European history, but it is admirable as a refresher and as a means of viewing, in succinct form, the broad patterns, trends and recurrent themes of our Western heritage.

—HENRY LEE

HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION, by Carleton J. H. Hayes, Marshall W. Baldwin and Charles W. Cole, Macmillan, \$9.75.

"Our Loss of China"

KARL RANKIN was the reviewer's first Consul General. On first seeing him, this junior officer thought: "There is Santa Claus without the beard." The parallel is more than visual. Ambassador Rankin is a kindly man, and he respects others' feelings. The characteristic comes out clearly in this book of memoirs of his China experience. There is a good word for all, even for those with whom Ambassador Rankin strongly disagreed.

These memoirs cover the period from 1949, when Mr. Rankin arrived briefly in Shanghai, until he left Taipei for Belgrade in 1958. It was a contentious area and period, and—kindly or not—Ambassador Rankin did not avoid the fray. Almost from the beginning, he made clear that he sided with those who advocated an active American role in opposing the Communists, and active American support for the Government of the Republic of China in pursuit of that effort. The retired diplomat perhaps is entitled to be slightly indiscreet, and Ambassador Rankin uses the privilege by prefacing his book with the remark that "some of these excerpts may sound unwarrantedly alarming, or seem to support unduly the side of Nationalist China. This was done deliberately, for my pervading purpose was to assist those in Washington who shared my own sense of urgency about China and the Far East. . . . The shortcomings of the Government of the Republic of China, now established on Taiwan, are an open book. They have been elaborated, admitted, exaggerated, or belabored by a host of Americans, Chinese, and others. I felt no compulsion to add to these indictments. . . ." The practice is hardly unique to Ambassador Rankin, but he has been disarmingly frank in pointing it out.

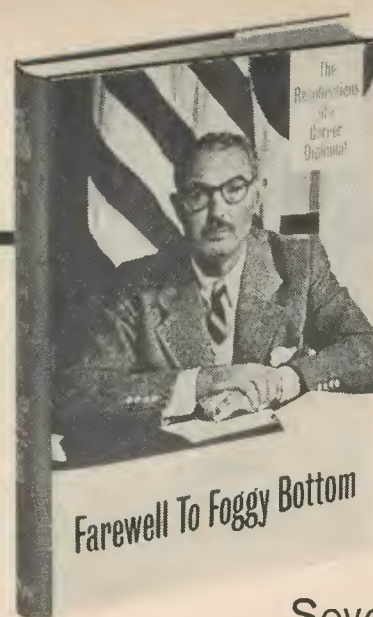
This is not just a book of personal reminiscence. Ambassador Rankin has quoted extensively from his correspondence of the period, and we have here, very persuasively set forth, the rationale for the decisions which led us to our alliance with the Government of the Republic of China.

Ambassador Rankin came to China from Greece, where he had participated in the successful efforts to turn back a Communist insurrection. The Greek experience offered him some real advantages, and perhaps imposed some disadvantages. The pattern of Communist encroachment was very clear to him, at a time when it may not have been so clear to those in the Far East. However, Greece is infinitely smaller than China; the role of outside assistance can be proportionately larger, and the social and historical problems upon which Communism fed were perhaps more manageable in Greece. One looks in vain for a recognition of indigenous social and governmental problems as sources of the spread of Communist power in China in the 1940s. Instead, one encounters the phrase "our loss of China," which opens again an old argument, and perhaps presupposes an American role which may have been possible in a land of seven million people, but not in a subcontinent of 600 million.

This is an engagingly written book, and free of pretension. One feels that, when Ambassador Rankin mentions a name, he does so to recall a pleasant memory rather than to demonstrate his own importance, and his humbler associates are here remembered along with the great. The book provides a useful remembrance of the antecedents of some important issues which remain with us.

—LINDSEY GRANT

CHINA ASSIGNMENT, by Karl Lott Rankin. University of Washington Press. \$6.95.



Seven times an Ambassador with thirty-seven years in the Foreign Service **ELLIS BRIGGS** bids **Farewell to Foggy Bottom**

No armchair critic, Ellis Briggs, who has served in some of the hottest posts abroad, has watched with apprehension the vast proliferation of our diplomatic apparatus. He categorically states that our embassies abroad would work far better with half the present personnel, and has some pointed arguments against those who think that the only answer to saving the free world is a steady outflow of dollars. Readers will find his new book just what its title, *FAREWELL TO FOGGY BOTTOM*, implies—a fond, somewhat rueful, sharp-eyed and witty hail-and-farewell to the misty area in Washington identified with the State Department.

"A disillusioned but cheerful book of criticism. Its targets are, first, the State Department, and, second, certain external misconceptions, both political and emotional, which cause it to malfunction. . . . Although Mr. Briggs's tone is jocular, there is a deal of hard thinking in his book, and he illustrates it with a swatch of curious and diverting tales drawn from his own experience in many parts of the world." —GILBERT HIGHET,

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE THAT COULD BE

Speech by William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, before the Foreign Service Association Luncheon October 29, 1964.

I HAVE given much time and thought to the Foreign Service—what it is, how it got that way, and what it must become. I would like to share with you today some personal reflections and convictions about this truly great institution of ours—THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

Ours is an old Service steeped in all of the significant events that have been a part of the history of our country.

Ours is a proud Service not only because of our historic past, but because of the vital part we shall play in our country's future.

I sincerely believe ours is the best Foreign Service—quite capable of meeting the challenges that face our country.

One reason the Service is what it is, today, is our heritage of greatness.

From the past come our traditions of loyalty and heroism; traditions of excellence and professionalism; traditions of devotion and public service.

These great traditions not only serve as benchmarks—but they are a part of the historic lore that is so essential to the ongoing esprit of our corps.

A senior Senator recently paid us a great tribute when he likened the Foreign Service to the Supreme Court as an institution of public service.

For all of this, and more, we are forever indebted to our retired officers.

They built the Service. We need their continued interest and hope for their constant support.

I hope that July 1 of each year will become our "Anniversary Homecoming Day" for the Service—for those who have retired as well as for those who are on active duty. We are working now on such a program for next July.

We have a ceremony on the 8th floor each Thursday for officers who are retiring from the Service. I invite all of you retired officers to join us in saying goodbye and Godspeed to our retiring colleagues.

It has been a part of our historic past that each senior officer has felt and assumed a responsibility for the future of the Service. There are many things that the State Department as an Institution can do and has done for the good of the Service—training, housing, allowances, schools, medical facilities, rest and recuperation—and sometimes it even has provided home leave funds.

However, our profession, like judgment, can't be learned in school for it can't be taught in school. It, like the crafts of old, must be imparted, *from master craftsman to apprentice*, in the heat of a real situation.



William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State, greets Miss Frances Willis, retiring Ambassador to Ceylon, and W. T. M. Beale, Chairman of the Board of Directors, AFSA.

Each senior officer not only has a substantive job to do, but he also must be a teacher and counselor of young officers.

Only you can demonstrate to younger colleagues the importance of intuition and instinct, as well as the insight and understanding that are a part of your judgments and professionalism. Only you can demonstrate and impart the qualities of leadership that will make today's youth tomorrow's leaders!

Just the other day an Ambassador recounted with pride the success of many officers who had served apprenticeships under him. This is our tradition.

Our present and our future will be secure so long as each of us takes the time and makes the effort to teach people as well as to work and judge them!

A THIRD heritage which I hope we won't lose sight of is the individual officer's conviction that his excellence and his success are primarily his responsibility!

Again the Institution—the State Department—should give career guidance, and educational opportunity and scientifically tailored assignments and all the other paraphernalia of modern management techniques in support of our common struggle for excellence. But, today as it was yesterday, the basic responsibility for growth rests with the individual.

Young officers in particular should keep in mind that every job in the Foreign Service offers opportunity and challenge. They have only to seek them. The shortcomings of our institutional programs, direction and organization, cannot excuse an officer's lack of personal initiative for making the most of every opportunity!

Each officer is responsible for his own professional improvement, and for his personal conduct. Each must decide what he wants and what he is willing to give of himself in order to achieve our objectives in the Service.

BUT it is of the future that I wish to speak today—The Foreign Service That Could Be!

The framers of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 had a vision of greatness for the Foreign Service. They, like the framers of our Constitution, enunciated fundamental principles for achieving greatness.

Like the Constitution, the Act does not establish a rigid procedure for reaching those high objectives. And wisely so, because the methods for attaining the goals will change, while the goals will remain unchanged.

We must accept the idea of change if the Service is to be as great as the expectations of those who created it.

What should the Service be in order to meet the future? Specifically I don't know. I don't know whether it should be hell-shaped, or an inverted pyramid; I don't know whether it should be composed of generalists or specialists. But this

much I do know. It must be large enough, and diverse enough and good enough to fulfill the Nation's needs.

And I also know that in order to do this we must keep pace with change—with the new frontiers of knowledge—science, space technology, development economics, and others, for all these things will play a part in our problems of the future! We must, as Loy Henderson once said, be dynamic in a dynamic era.

Our challenge then is to recognize the changes we must face and then find the means and adopt the methods to become the Service that could be.

THE Foreign Service could be more fully understood by the American public.

We have begun to tell America about this great Service of ours—to build the public support we all would like. Under our Community Services Program, Foreign Service officers and their wives visit their hometowns and make themselves known in their own communities. They use their home leave to speak before service and church groups, social organizations, and on television and radio. This has produced hundreds of hours of free TV and radio time and much of favorable newspaper treatment of our Service. Our officers and their families have enjoyed their participation in this program and have opened the eyes of many Americans who have learned about us for the first time!

President Johnson once said "The failure to communicate to our own people the success of American efforts abroad is, in no small part, responsible for many of the difficulties in maintaining support for our international policies and programs."

If the people of America can be made to understand that the Foreign Service is made up of people like themselves, like their own friends and neighbors, they will have a greater confidence in the Service and in the State Department.

These are forward steps but there are also backward steps. We build and we tear down!

I am distressed and disturbed by what I read and hear about us.

By the very nature of our responsibilities, we can't avoid being the center of public debate and controversy. The kitchen is hot and we like it that way.

But must we, as a Service, add fuel to the fire?

Can we gain the respect of the nation if we don't respect ourselves? Can we gain public understanding and support if we cast doubt upon each other?

We bewail and deplore our poor congressional image, our lack of constituency and our bad press. But why should this surprise us when much of what is said and what is written about us comes from what we say and what we write about ourselves? Are we really the overstuffed—overstaffed—overstymied State Department and the highest paid third rate Service in the world?

Does this actually represent your evaluation of the Service? *It doesn't represent mine!* I believe that we are the best Foreign Service in the world and we are getting better all the time! Our standards of conduct are high. Our security standards are high. Our professional standards are high. Our esprit is high. Let's talk and write this way!

THE framers of the 1946 Act emphasized that ours should be an American Foreign Service.

Through our recruitment process and our college relations program, we interest the finest and best young men and women of America in the Foreign Service. They come from every section of our country and from every ethnic background. They come from more than 400 universities and colleges located in every state of the Union.

But starting with "typical Americans" to represent us abroad is only part of the story. Our people must remain American!

PEACE ON EARTH GOOD WILL TO MEN



"... the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger." St. Luke 2: 15-16

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The framers of the Act of 1946 stated that "Foreign Service officers should be brought back home throughout their careers as often as possible to renew their knowledge of developments in the United States and their feeling for the American way of life."

The first responsibility of every person going abroad, President Kennedy once stated, is to represent America to a foreign land, not that foreign land to America.

The Wriston program has accomplished much for the Service—it has enriched and enlarged it. But if I were asked to cite the major benefit from it, I would say that it provided the opportunity for all officers to serve regular tours of duty in Washington. Not only has this enabled us to participate deeply in foreign policy formulation and execution, but it has enabled us as Foreign Service officers to gain renewed appreciation and understanding of our own country. A Washington tour of duty has become a regular and important part of the Service.

The job of a fully and fully representing America abroad is an awesome responsibility. And an occasional Washington assignment does not guarantee preparation for the task. Far from it. But it can be a truly enriching experience.

All of us must take full advantage of our time here to deepen our understanding; add to our knowledge and to renew our feeling of the American way of life so that we can interpret it faithfully!

A high government official after an extensive tour of hardship posts in 1961 said: "Permit me to throw another spadeful of earth on the dead image of our Foreign Service people as striped-pants, high style bureaucrats ping-ponging from one cocktail party to another. These are not ugly Americans. These are wash-and-wear people, working with their sleeves rolled up and working hard to faithfully represent America."

We do not need or want apologists for America in the Foreign Service! We need advocates!

ANOTHER tenet of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 holds that we are to be a Foreign Service of the United States. We are not just a small diplomatic elite—this idea was laid to rest over 40 years ago with the passage of the Rogers Act. We are not just the Foreign Service of the State Department! We are the Foreign Service of the United States!

The Commercial Service and the Agricultural Attache Service were included in the Act of 1946, and the framers stated: "This professional instrument must be flexible and responsive to the constantly changing needs of Government."

The integration of USIA officers into the Service is faithful to this principle. This step will enable our Foreign Service to assume the relatively new, but the well-defined discipline of public affairs that has become so vital in the conduct of our foreign policy. Bringing these officers into the Service will endanger no one who is willing to work and is able to compete.

It is in the best tradition of the Act of 1946. But this first step of USIA integration should not be our last!

The Foreign Service can be broad enough to encompass personnel needs of other US agencies with overseas responsibilities. The Foreign Service of the United States is the Service that we can be!

ANOTHER concept in the Act is that we become a highly professional service:

"The concept of a professional service should remain paramount," the framers said. But they didn't stop there. They also said, "The promotion system must ensure the rapid advancement of men of ability to positions of responsibility and the elimination of men who have reached their ceilings of performance."

We should bear in mind that no one came into the Service with a promise of personal security. The most he was ever

promised was a fair and objective judgment of his own excellence in comparison with the officers of his own class. He came in with the full knowledge that the competition would be tough and that selection out would face him if he was unable to keep pace. No man needs to be bad to be selected out. But a man must be good to remain!

Competition is the core of excellence!

This tough standard of competitive excellence must prevail above all other considerations at all levels of the Service if the professional standards of the Service are to continually move upward. There should be no shelves, no pastures, no rest homes in the Foreign Service!

But there is also another indispensable ingredient in the formula for excellence—conduct.

Excellence embraces both professionalism and conduct.

Therefore, we can tolerate nothing but the highest standards of personal conduct. As Secretary Rusk has said, "There is no profession outside the ministry itself which places a higher demand upon its people than the Foreign Service. But high as these standards are, and as unrelated as they may be to the normal requirements about us, they are not too high for the tremendous responsibilities our officers carry in the national interest. As we push our standards of professionalism and personal conduct ever higher the esprit de corps will also go higher. For all good men like to be judged by high standards."

And so I ask your continued understanding and support of our efforts to apply these high standards to the Service. It is not an easy task—this burden of the conscience, but it becomes easier for us all to understand and to accept when we apply but one criterion to all cases alike—the criterion of "Excellence."

THE framers of the Act wisely foresaw that the Foreign Service would require many specialists of many disciplines. Therefore, they provided for a Foreign Service Reserve and a Foreign Service Staff Corps as integral parts of the Foreign Service.

We expect people serving in these parts of the Service to have full and satisfying careers in these parts of the Service with opportunities for getting ahead in their own specialties. And although their precepts for tenure and service will be somewhat different, they too are a part of our great expectations for the Service that can be!

NO career service can remain vital and alive without some intake of talent from the outside. No career service can provide all of the new disciplines it will need to keep up with the changing world. Nor can we always match the varied experiences that men outside the service acquire. This should not be discouraging to us—it should be our challenge.

This was recognized in 1946 when the framers said that: "outstanding men should be able to join the permanent service at ranks commensurate with their age and qualifications." When we find exceptionally able men and women outside the Service with the talents and disciplines we need, we should not wait until they apply for entry; we should aggressively bring them into the Service.

It matters little once these new people are in the Service, how they came in—whether by competitive selection at FSO-8 or by lateral entry. The important point is that once they are in, the Service will have improved itself! In the past four years, our integration program has brought 42 officers into the Service—not enough to endanger the career principle—or enough to enrich it!

Our lateral entry program is but another means of achieving an ever higher professional excellence for the Service—the Service we can become!

I AM convinced that we have nothing to fear from anything or from anyone if we support our own principles of professionalism and excellence.

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WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

"Christmas Safari" is TED OLSON's tenth JOURNAL contribution, not counting book reviews and Washington Letters. He confesses that in his imprudent youth he published two collections of verse, fortunately unnoticed, and has appeared in a number of magazines and anthologies.

"A Decade of Development, Part II" is adapted from a chapter in Richard N. Gardner's book, "In Pursuit of World Order—US Foreign Policy and International Organizations," which was published in November by Praeger.

FRANK A. KNAPP, JR. is a Latin American historian formerly with the Department of State. He writes that he hopes his article will lead to "a more balanced interpretation of a highly controversial issue in foreign affairs."

JOHN M. CATES, JR., Latin American Adviser to the US Mission to the UN since July, 1963, served as Deputy Director of Regional Political Affairs (ARA) and as Alternate US Representative on the OAS Council in 1961-62. Previously he served in Washington in UN Affairs and in embassies in Bonn, Mexico City and Venezuela with one year at the National War College.

WILLIAM E. KNIGHT has had 18 years of experience in the Foreign Service, including assignments in Italy, Iceland, Australia and the Department. He is at present Assistant Chief of the Aviation Negotiations Division.

JOSEPHINE RIPLEY is staff correspondent in the Washington Bureau of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, in addition to being a hit-and-run foreign correspondent. She has made six trips to Europe, flying into Berlin on the airlift in 1949, standing vigil on the Hungarian border during the revolution, and reporting on refugee and migration movements in many countries.

(Continued from page 29)

years too late," said one.

Another reported his amazement to be asked by someone in his audience, "Who exactly is an ambassador? What does he do? How many embassies do we have in each country?"

The Foreign Service officer making this report said that "judging from the ignorance which exists regarding our Department of State and Foreign Service, this program of the Community Advisory Services is extremely useful."

On the other hand, there are those who have met up with audiences more informed about world affairs than they anticipated.

One who spoke to a high school class concluded that unless present Foreign Service officers keep on their toes, "we will find ourselves ground into the turf by the stampeding genius of the Foreign Service officers of tomorrow!"

Another commented on the benefit he received from the exchange of views and information with the people at home.

He told of a group of high school pupils which continued to quiz him after the school period ended. "I found the exercise fully enjoyable," he said, "and through the types of questions asked, I feel I learned at least as much as did my audience."

Of course, there are critics, too. One woman scolded the State Department "for spending all this money sending speakers around."

She was informed, of course, that the Foreign Service officer foots his own travel bill, since he is there on home leave anyway, and that he accepts no honorarium for speeches.

Only when he is asked to go out of his way to respond to a request is he permitted to accept extra travel expense involved in the trip.

Wives of Foreign Service officers often participate in the program. Some as speakers before women's groups. Others give interviews to newspaper reporters telling about their lives in foreign countries.

One woman who had been living in South Viet-Nam told of her children going to school "in an armed hus." But she said, "We loved it there. The Vietnamese people are wonderful. They are clever and intelligent. I should like to go back."

Movies or slides of foreign countries and the life there are particularly popular with audiences. Many Foreign Service officers use these instead of speeches, then simply answer questions.

William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, feels the State Department itself has been to blame for the information gap on foreign policy.

So, when Mrs. Louchheim, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, suggested more than a year ago that something be done to fill that gap, the word, in effect, was, "well, what are we waiting for?"

Deputy Director Givon Parsons explains that "Our aim is to reach that staggering majority of people of the United States who, while reading headlines about foreign affairs every day have only the stereotyped, striped pants idea of who conducts our everyday foreign relations."

The image is changing rapidly as audiences across the country are meeting and talking to Foreign Service personnel and finding, perhaps, a home town boy, a graduate from any one of the thousands of colleges across the country.

The experience of this first year indicates that the new program is off to a good start. With about 1,086 or more Foreign Service officers returning on home leave each year, out of a total of 3,406 serving abroad there should emerge as time goes on, a clearer, more accurate image of the Foreign Service.

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(Continued from page 38)

mid-way assessment is to be useful, it must concentrate less on self-congratulation and more on what still needs to be done.

Despite the extraordinary variety of United Nations activities already underway, the institutions for economic and social cooperation have not yet pulled abreast of the requirements of interdependence. This is true in development of the less developed countries; it is true in other tasks as well. A little-noted paragraph in President Kennedy's speech to the General Assembly in September, 1963, hinted at a vast challenge still unmet. In this paragraph President Kennedy called upon the members of the United Nations to recognize their common interest in husbanding the resources of their common planet: to unite in an effort to "protect the forest and wild game preserves now in danger of extinction—to improve the marine harvests of food from our oceans—and prevent the contamination of air and water by industrial as well as nuclear pollution."

President Johnson developed this theme on June 10, 1964, when he proposed to dedicate International Cooperation Year to a new struggle "not of man against man, but of man against nature." He promised "to call upon all the resources of this great nation—both public and private—to work with other nations to find new methods of improving the life of man."

Urgent problems in the management of natural resources now demand immediate attention. The contamination of streams with industrial wastes; the pollution of air above major cities; the destruction of wildlife and natural areas; the need to increase the marine harvest to feed growing populations; the dangers to human and animal life from drugs and pesticides; the dramatic possibilities of desalting water through nuclear power—these are challenges that call for international as well as national action.

Some effective measures to husband resources can be taken by individual nations alone. But there are resources that belong to no nation—the air, the sea, migratory animals, international rivers—whose effective management requires international cooperation. And even the management of resources within the confines of a single nation may benefit from the sharing of national experience.

The uncontrolled exploitation of science and technology could spell disaster for mankind, not only in the service of military ambitions, but in the service of economic ends. To maintain the balance of nature—to exploit nature's abundance without destroying it—and to preserve and extend the dignity of life—requires cooperative action by men and nations. The words of Dr. Luther Terry, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, could well serve as a call to arms for International Cooperation Year:

All are inspired by the longing of the human spirit to free and ennoble itself so that man may live in harmony with the very forces of Creation with which he is seemingly at war. We are in danger, on the one hand, of creating an incredible disharmony in nature which will ultimately degrade and enslave us. Or we can create an environment which can enrich our lives, our society, and our individual well-being. It is for our generation to decide. We must make that critical decision now!*

*"Environmental Health: The Time Is Now," Address delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the Kettering Laboratory, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 1, 1964.

GRAVES PROJECT INITIATED by DACOR

DACOR, the retired officers' association, has taken steps to establish a special section in the Rock Creek Cemetery for the graves of those of its members who have not made other arrangements and who may wish to be buried there. The section will be appropriately marked and will be called the "Foreign Service Memorial Area" or some other suitable name.

The initial response of DACOR members has been larger than expected. A number of officers have welcomed the proposal as the answer to a problem which had been of concern to them, and most of those who had already made other arrangements thought the project a good one.

Forty-three members (including fourteen present or former chiefs of mission) have indicated an interest in acquiring a total of ninety-two gravesites. This response is already considered adequate to proceed with the project.

Rock Creek Cemetery, founded in 1719 by St. Paul's Episcopal Church, is the oldest in the District of Columbia. There are no restrictions as to race or religion.

Foreign Service personalities already buried at the Rock Creek Cemetery include Sumner Welles, Harry McBride, Nelson Trusler Johnson, and Mahlon F. Perkins. The tomb of Henry Adams, with a bronze statue by Augustus St. Gaudens, is a point of interest. The cemetery is on New Hampshire Avenue, near the Soldier's Home.

The following continuing Graves Commission, from persons who have indicated an interest in obtaining sites, has been nominated: Ambassador Loy W. Henderson, Chairman; Wilson C. Flake, Secretary; George V. Allen, Charles R. Burrows, Andrew V. Corry, Olcott H. Deming, Edmund J. Dorsz, Gerald A. Drew, Eleanor L. Dulles, Norris S. Haselton, James H. Keeley, Randolph A. Kidder, Edwin A. Plitt, Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Ray L. Thurston, and Stanley Woodward.

Gravesites, 10' x 3'4", cost \$200 each. Family plots of any size may be purchased. Normally, plots are laid out for two graves, but this can be varied to suit individual needs. The price includes perpetual care and there are no taxes. The area selected is available for 400 graves. If sufficient interest is shown, it is possible that a suitable adjoining area of equal or larger size may be added.

There is no columbarium on the site at present, but considerable interest has been expressed, and it is possible that one may be constructed if enough desire is shown. At present, ashes of cremated persons are buried in regular graves. The ashes of two persons may be interred on one gravesite if desired.

Purchase of gravesites is open to any member of the Foreign Service. Those interested should write to The Dacor Graves Commission, 1718 H Street, N. W., Washington, D.C., for further information. ■

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AFSA

News and Minutes

New AFSA "Award for Student Excellence." Beginning with the academic year 1965-66, Foreign Service children will be able to apply for a special, non-monetary "Award for Student Excellence" as well as for scholarship aid. Competition for the new Award, recommended by the Committee on Education and approved by the Board of Directors, October 30, 1964, will be open to the children of all Association members and those of deceased former members without regard to financial need. For those who choose to apply, the new Award will provide the Association, colleges and other interested parties with a tangible means of recognizing all-around excellence and achievement by Foreign Service children. Many of our F.S. children may want to participate, especially those currently completing the final year of secondary school.

The Awards for Student Excellence will be made to applicants who are considered by the Committee on Education to be outstanding as regards scholastic record, leadership qualities, character, motivation, and potential. They will take the form of a certificate of commendation, signed by the President of the Association and the Chairman of the Committee on Education. The new Award will be substituted for the six \$100 awards which were made for the academic year 1964-65.

Under the broadened program, applicants will have the option of applying for a Special Award, a Scholarship Grant, or both. For those interested in the Special Award only parents will not be required to support the application with the confidential Parents Financial Statement.

The combined application form for the new Award and/or the Scholarship Grant can be obtained from the Executive Secretary, American Foreign Service Association, 815 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, D. C. 20006, and must be returned to the Committee on Education at the same address by April 1, 1965.

October 8: The Association luncheons henceforth will take place in a more convenient location—in the Benjamin Franklin room on the eighth floor of the Department of State. These luncheons customarily are held on the last Thursday of each month from September through June each year.

The activities of the Committees on the Symposium, Career Service Principles, Corresponding Members and Foreign Service Club Building were discussed and a meeting of the special Committee on the Symposium was held under the Chairmanship of the Honorable George V. Allen.



"The new interior decorator felt the General's phone should match the curtains, so he painted them all red."

AAFSW REPORT

THE Book Fair, the Association of American Women's Association's major effort in support of the Foreign Service Scholarship Fund, has continued in its annual pattern of more books and more money. Although the figures are not complete, Mrs. Frederick Merrill, chairman, has announced that the 1964 Fair, held in the Exhibit Hall of the Department of State in the last week of October, will net about \$6,000—an increase of \$1,500 over the 1963 event.

A new feature—the Stamp Collectors' Corner—did a land-office business and its stock fell far short of the demand. JOURNAL readers stationed abroad can make a substantial contribution to next year's Fair by mailing foreign stamps to AAFSW, Foreign Service Lounge, Room 1252, Dept. of State. Books and magazines may be delivered to the AAFSW desk in the Lounge. For pick-up of large collections, call DU3-6657.

AAFSW's 1965 Month-at-a-Glance calendars whose sales also help to swell the Scholarship Fund are now available at the Foreign Service Lounge, DACOR House, and the American Foreign Service Association's offices—cost, \$1 plus sales tax. Calendars will be sold in the State Department cafeterias on December 4, 7, 18, and 21. Last year's sales supported three scholarships.

THE Christmas luncheon will be held on Tuesday, December 8, at the Shoreham Hotel at 12:30 p.m. Guest speaker will be a UNICEF representative from United Nations headquarters in New York. Members are asked to be prompt in sending in reservations for themselves and any guests whom they might wish to invite.

DECEMBER activities for AAFSW are always highlighted by the dance for Foreign Service Teen-Agers. This year's affair will be held on Monday, December 28, at the Chevy Chase Women's Club, 7931 Connecticut Avenue. All Foreign Service children (State, USIA, AID) from grade 9 through teen-agers in college, are invited to send in registration slips. Mrs. James Byrne, chairman (tel: 657-4598) is most anxious to have the names of students whose parents are overseas and who expect to be in the Washington area for the holidays. She also urges that parents or children send in their registrations NOW so that guest lists for the buffet suppers which traditionally precede the dance can be most effectively arranged as to age groups.

Mrs. Sterling Cottrell (tel: 652-8311) is still looking for hosts and hostesses for the suppers. Please call her if you are interested in entertaining some of the Foreign Service youngsters in your home. All those attending the dance will be included in one of the pre-dance invitations.

AAFSW has just sponsored another of its now-established "Workshops for New Foreign Service Wives." The evening session held at the Foreign Service Institute includes a panel discussion of the various aspects of life overseas and, most important, a presentation from the Administrative Bureau of the Department of State pointing up the logistic support which that Bureau offers to all Foreign Service personnel. Individual interviews with wives recently returned from various geographic areas have been a popular feature of this project.

The Spring Workshop will probably be held during the month of March. Those interested in participating should call Mrs. Paul Wheeler: 656-3512. ■

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

Cut the Foostering!

MUCH time and effort has been spent on how to improve the coordination of State Department messages. Admittedly proper coordination is a complex matter in every large government. Nevertheless, I believe there is already general agreement in the Department on the following simple rules for clearing officers:

(a) Stick to the points which are of substantive interest to the office you represent.

(b) Do not fiddle around with the wording proposed by the drafting officer as long as the language is understandable.

(c) Always provide specific alternate language when you think a change is essential; do not just say "this is too strong, too weak, needs elaboration," etc.

(d) Be considerate of the action officer by coordinating promptly. It only takes a few minutes if you and he stick to essentials.

The great majority of drafting and supervisory officers probably agree that the foregoing rules are good working habits because their observance makes our work more effective and our bureaucratic lives easier. Yet they are frequently disregarded. All of us know the officer who quite sincerely thinks he is not earning his pay unless he makes at least a few changes in every draft paper and takes a couple of days to do so. Too often also drafting officers receive long memos from coordinators suggesting in general language some changes when all the memo writer had to do was to provide one or two specific sentences to be put in the message. Instead he will probably proceed to amend a couple of times the language the poor drafting officer has worked out in response to the memo. And we all know the man who when asked to verify some detail starts delving into the policy or tactics spelled out in the paper for which he has no responsibility whatever.

If the Department is looking for ideas how to improve and speed up the coordination process then it should introduce a new line item in the annual efficiency report, i.e. effi-

ciency in coordinating outgoing messages. If a few low ratings were given on that score to offenders, the coordination process might improve miraculously. Even better, there might be no offenders at all if officers know that their effectiveness and promptness in coordinating messages will be specifically judged in their next efficiency report.

CHARLES H. BREECHER
Special Assistant for NATO Economic Affairs

Paris

The Fashion of Foreigners

THE attached quotation is scarcely suitable for "25 Years Ago," but your readers might like it in some other cadre.

The quotation is from a letter of Dr. Richard Spruce to his friend and neighbor, Mr. John Teasdale in Yorkshire, England. The letter is marked Ambato, near Quito, March 13, 1858, and appears in Volume II, pp. 186-200 of a work ponderously titled "Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon & Andes" heing the records of travel on the Amazon and its tributaries, the Trombetas, Rio Negro, Uaupes, Casiquiare, Pacimoni, Huallaga, and Pastaza; as also to the cataracts of the Orinoco, along the eastern side of the Andes of Peru and Ecuador, and the shores of the Pacific, during the years 1849-1864" by Richard Spruce, Ph.D. Edited and condensed by Alfred Russell Wallace, O.M., F.R.S. 2 volumes, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1908.

Dr. Spruce spent 15 years in continuous botanical explorations in the enumerated areas during which he suffered almost unbelievable hardships and many periods of agonizing illnesses, often near death and saved only by administration of treatments and remedies brewed by Indian women of several tribes. Dr. Spruce made enormous contributions to our knowledge of the botany of the region and once was commissioned to locate the true cinchona tree of Peru, collect a large quantity of seed, and ship it to India. These seeds became the basis of the quinine industry in India—subsequently abandoned for lack of suitable climate and uneconomic production.

KLARE S. MARKLEY

Rio de Janeiro

Ambato, near Quito,
March 13, 1858.

"... I met with agreeable society in Ambato which I had not reckoned on. The Hon. Philo White, American Minister to Ecuador, resides here, with his

wife, nine months in the year. They find the climate suits them better than that of Quito, where they are obliged to be during the three months the Congress is sitting. Mr. White is a man of middle age. In his younger days he has been United States Consul at Hamburg and other ports in the north of Europe, and he has travelled also in England and France. Afterwards he was for some years Navy Agent on the coast of Peru and Chile; so that he is a man with more cosmopolitan sympathies and fewer local prejudices than many of his countrymen. Like many diplomatic gentlemen, he is apt to run into long-winded dissertations, not remarkable for either depth or brilliancy; and, at the same time, he is a very amiable, sound-hearted man. Mrs. White is a very friendly, chatty lady, who gets all her dresses out from New York, in the latest style of fashion, to the admiration and envy of the belles of Ambato. I often step into Mr. White's of an evening, just as I used to do into yours, when in England. We have, however, no chess-playing, and, instead, we rail against the people of the country—after the fashion of foreigners in all countries—and I listen patiently to Mr. White's lectures on political aspects and complications."

From "Notes of a Botanist," Vol. II, pp. 199-200, Macmillan, 1908

Let Us Spare Him Further Disappointment

As a young Foreign Service officer who made, through the Foreign Service Association, a contribution to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, I am astonished and disappointed to find that members have not yet made up the \$10,000 asked for by the JOURNAL. This is a worthy enterprise that will enrich Washington's cultural life during our lifetime. If someone of us one day wanders through the auditorium and sees the names of other persons and organizations engraved on plaques, won't we feel a little ashamed of our heedlessness?

DION M. MOSELEY

Washington

To Rebaptize the State Department?

MOST Foreign Service JOURNAL readers have probably seen a lengthy article in the September 14 issue of the State Department BULLETIN on "How the Department of State Got its Name," written by members of the Historical Division in connection with the 175th anniversary involved. The authors concluded that

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"although the name is now less accurately descriptive than it was a hundred years ago, it has become almost uniquely [sic] associated with the United States of America, and it is familiar throughout the world."

This reader wonders if the points quoted can pass as excuses, not to say reasons, for the perpetuation of what is a misnomer in more ways than one. The logic offered could well have been used in rebuttal when New York was proposed as a new name for New Amsterdam.

The key phrase in the name, the authors conceded, was borrowed from British usage: "Foreign Affairs" is historically more American, harking back to the "Committee for Foreign Affairs" under the Continental Congress, and to the "Department for Foreign Affairs" and a "Secretary for Foreign Affairs"; provided for by the Congress in 1781.

The present name remains the only one of its malapropish kind on the list of names of Departments. The others are fitting and specific, from Treasury to Interior, from Justice to Defense (the last mentioned only fifteen years old). Perhaps the 200th anniversary will be celebrated by a return to that which the Honorable Sedgwick of Massachusetts more inaptly than wisely dislodged with his motion of July 23, 1789.

ANDOR KLAY

Frankfurt am Main

And at the Bridge Table?

THE "Washington Letter" of some time ago quotes a British Foreign Officer as stating that the boss should never be snooted at the dinner table. Nor should he be snooted on the tennis court.

Now in ye olden days, Bill Dawson, retired career ambassador, always took along his racket on inspection trips, and the story is told on Bill that he never lost a set!

J. B. S.

Editor's Note: Or as Francois de Callières wrote, in 1716, in "On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes:"

One of the most illustrious and sagacious ambassadors of our time . . . used to say that there was no surer road to the good-will of a sovereign than to allow him to win at the card-table, and that many a great enterprise had been conducted to success by the little pile of gold coins which passed from him to his royal opponent at the gaming-table. My friend used to say in jest that he had played the fool at foreign card-tables in order to prove that he was a wise man at home!

Bringing Locals to U. S.

HAVING recently retired from the F. S. after 32 years of service I feel qualified to say something too on the need to provide for trips to the US of qualified and deserving locals. The lack of action on this problem—for such it is—is the gravest injustice I know in the Foreign Service today. I thoroughly disagree with proposals to require such trips to be financed by the Association, or out of "slush funds" at the post, or contributions, voluntary or otherwise, by the American F.S. staff. The US Government would be the principal beneficiary, from the view of US interests, of such visits, therefore the money should come from official funds. The fact that so many F.S. officers are willing to make donations to this cause underlines the conviction of many of us that this is a grave injustice.

Here are three principles which I believe must be incorporated in any plan to provide for such visits:

1. The grantees should get the trips early enough in their careers to apply their "Stateside" experience to their work at the F.S. post to which they return, for a considerable number of years.
- *2. Careful standards of selection must be established so as to achieve the highest possible degree of uniformity.
3. A competent overseas-experienced staff must be provided in Washington to assist the visitors and, most important of all, make

them feel at home in the US and reinforce their feelings of loyalty to their adoptive second homeland.

FREDERICK L. ROYT

Bethesda

*Trips arranged by principal officers to reward locals for *personal* loyalty to them (i.e. the principal officers) must be especially guarded against.

Let's Dance, Teens!

SINCE the last AAFSW announcement concerning its annual semi-formal Christmas Dance for Teen-Agers was sent out, arrangements have been concluded for Beach Johnson and his orchestra to provide the music.

Recalling the last minute rushes and disappointments of past years, we should like to remind parents of all eligible teen-agers (sons and daughters of Foreign Service—including USIA and AID—officers) that the deadline for registering them to attend is *December 10*. It is not possible to accept registrations after that date because of the time required by those AAFSW members volunteering the hospitality of their homes to make arrangements for the traditional get-acquainted buffet dinners which precede the dance.

Dance Chairman is Mrs. James M. Byrne, 5904 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Maryland (telephone: 657-4598). Checks (\$2.50 per teen-ager) should be made out to the Association of American Foreign Service Wives (AAFSW).

RUTHANNE NADLER

Washington



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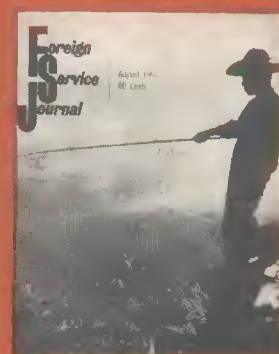
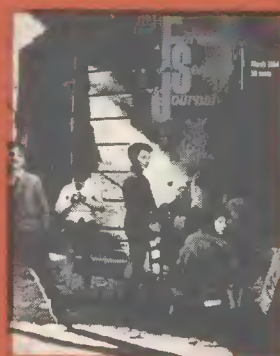
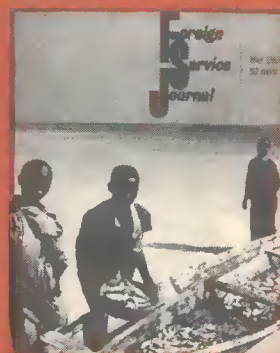
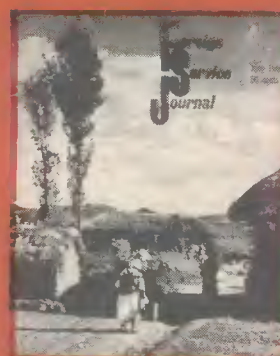
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