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Harbinger of Happiness—Year of the Serpent—4663
by Ruthanne Nadler

Since the Year of the Serpent could be one of chaotic influences, Chung K'uei, chaser of demons, is wearing a tame serpent to insure a year of peace and progress. The peony, lotus, chrysanthemum and wild plum signify good wishes for the entire year. The seven-story pagoda indicates a service that shall grow through the ages; the coins, prosperity; the wheel of law, protection from chance; the banner, official rank (with cicada emblem denoting restraint of vice and greed); the lozenge, victory. Pearls are added to avert disaster, along with three characters; Shou for longevity, Hsi for happiness, Fu for joy and honor.

Photographs and Illustrations for February

Ruthanne Nadler, wife of S. I. Nadler, USIA, cover.
Paul Child, FSO-retired, photograph, page 18 and "Behind the Shutter," page 46.
Robert W. Rinden, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 33, "The New York Hat," Mary Pickford and Lionel Barrymore.
Library of Congress, photograph, page 34.
City News Bureau, photographs, pages 36 and 37.
Lynn Millar, wife of FSO John Y. Millar, photograph, page 43.
USIS, photograph, page 50.
Howard R. Simpson, cartoon, page 56.

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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Ambassadorial Appointments

MORRIS M. BERNBAUM, *to Venezuela*
WYMBERLEY DeR. COERR, *to Ecuador*

Marriages

BOURGERIE-MEO. Nancy Suzanne Bourgerie, daughter of Elmer H. Bourgerie, FSO-retired, and Mrs. Bourgerie, and Paul Michael Meo were married on December 30, at Foundry Methodist Church, Washington. Mr. Meo is an FSO-7 and is currently assigned to the American Consulate General, Guadalajara.

KJAERHUS-WOLF. Inge Gerda Kjaerhus and Victor Wolf, Jr., FSO, were married on November 30, at the Community Church, Tehcran. Miss Kjaerhus is the daughter of Mrs. Peter Kachne of Aalborg, Denmark.

ROPE-PLAVSIC. Sandra Rope, daughter of Consul Frederick T. Rope, and Boris Plavsic, Signal Corps, US Army, were married on November 12, in Seoul, Korea.

Births

MATTHEWS. A son, William, born to Mr. and Mrs. Glenwood B. Matthews, on November 12, in New Delhi.

RUBENSTEIN. A daughter, Lisa, born to Mr. and Mrs. A. Irwin Rubenstein, on June 7, in Lima.

TEARE. A daughter, Elizabeth Baker, born to Mr. and Mrs. Richard W. Teare, on September 11, in Manila.

WACH. A daughter, Kathleen Therese, born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Wach, on December 4, in Copenhagen.

WEINER. A daughter, Andrea, born to Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Weiner, on October 15, in Washington.

Deaths

CANNON. William P. Cannon, FSS, died on December 17, in Washington. Mr. Cannon entered the Foreign Service on October 26, 1964 and was assigned to the Office of Communications in the Department.

CARWELL. Joseph Carwell, FSO, died on December 31, in Bethesda, Md. Mr. Carwell entered the Department of State in 1948 and the Foreign Service in 1956. His posts were Reykjavik, San Salvador and Caracas where he was assigned as Counselor for Economic Affairs at the time of his death.

CASSODAY. Eldon J. Cassoday, FSO, died on December 23, in Berlin, en route to his new post at Copenhagen. Mr. Cassoday entered the Foreign Service in 1949. He served at Frankfort, Pusan, Addis Ababa, Mexico City and Caracas.

COLTHURST. Herbert N. Colthurst, FSR, died on December 21, in Washington. He was appointed to the Foreign Service Reserve in 1957 and served at Bonn and Frankfurt, prior to being assigned to the Audit Staff of the Office of Budget & Finance.

COULTER. Eliot B. Coulter, a former FSO, died on December 31, in Arlington, Va. Mr. Coulter entered the Foreign Service in 1917 and served at St. Nazaire, Helsingfors and London prior to his resignation in 1925. Mr. Coulter was in private business for one year. He rejoined the Department in 1926 and retired in 1957 after serving many years as Assistant Chief of the Visa Division.

ORLOV. Mrs. Irini Orlov, mother of Mrs. J. C. Satterthwaite, died on December 17, in Istanbul. Mr. Satterthwaite is Ambassador to South Africa and former President of AFSA.

PHILLIPS. Mrs. Caroline Astor Drayton Phillips, wife of former Ambassador William Phillips, died in Boston, Mass., on January 7, 1965.

TAPPIN. John L. Tappin, former Ambassador, died in Aspen, Colo., on December 24. Mr. Tappin held several Government positions from 1947 until 1953 at which time he joined the Department of State as Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Administration. He was ap-

(*Continued on page* 51)

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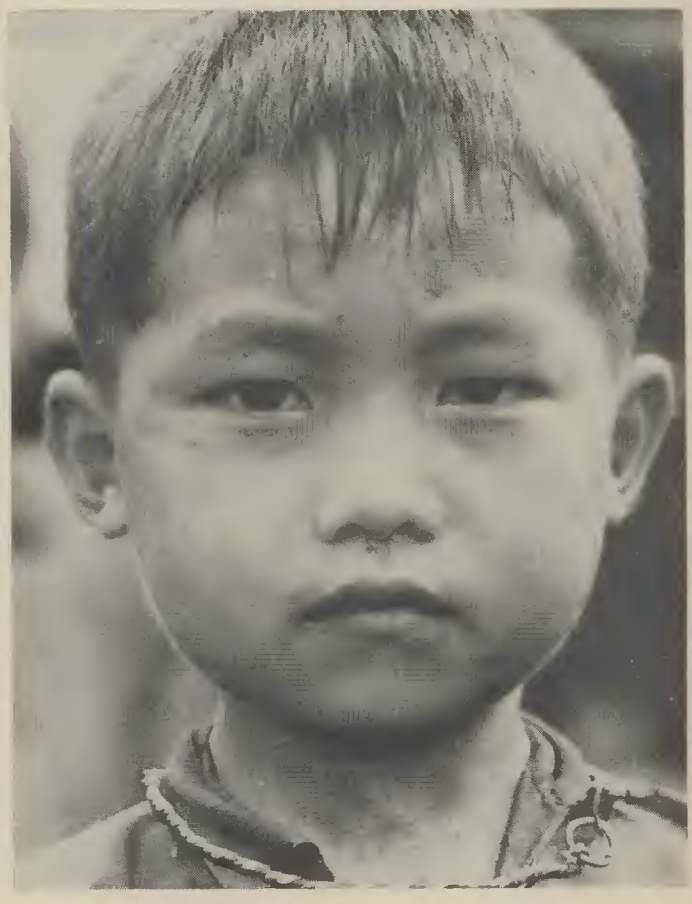
THE JOURNAL ANNOUNCES . . .

The results of the photographic contest announced in the May, 1964 Foreign Service Journal. First prize winner is Richard F. Wolford, AID, Lagos, with a photograph entitled "Balinese Fishermen." This photograph will appear on the cover of an early issue.

Second and third prize winners appear below and several of those earning honorable mention on succeeding pages. Others meriting honorable mention in the contest will appear in the March issue.

SECOND PRIZE—Little Boy, John F. Connolly, Jr.



THIRD PRIZE—Iranian Women, Xenia Barnes

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HONORABLE MENTION—Postcard from St. Peter's, Roger Haley

HONORABLE MENTION—Balinese Priest, Richard F. Wolford

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HONORABLE MENTION—Naples, Ralph Hart Fisher

HONORABLE MENTION—Ziegelgasse, Heidelberg, Daniel Lee McCarthy

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Nowadays the reason the wine steward pours a little in the host's glass first—or, at home, the host pours it for himself—is just so he can see whether he likes it and whether it is good enough for his guests.

Actually, there are two steps before one gets around to either sniffing the bouquet or tasting the wine. First the waiter shows you the bottle before it is opened, and then he opens it and gives you the cork to examine.

These first two steps are important. Although not everyone has the palate of a wine expert, anyone can and should check the label and ask any questions that may occur to him as he reads it. And he ought to check the cork to see that it is firm, and sniff it to see whether it smells nice (this is not only prudent, but looks impressive, too).

Speaking of cork, that is another reason for pouring the host first. If there are any little bits of cork floating on the top he gets them.

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25 YEARS AGO

February, 1940

IN THE JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART

A LONG scholarly essay by Robert Mills McClintock appears in the February JOURNAL. It received honorable mention, 1939, in the Prize Essay Contest of the US Naval Institute. Here are two excerpts from Mr. McClintock's essay: "This review has been lengthy, but its purpose will be served in the conviction it brings, that with but two partial exceptions in the entire history of American foreign policy—the question of the Canadian boundary and the Mexican War—that policy has been linked with naval power. It has been a foreign policy in search of naval power, or in consolidation of naval power, or in use, active or passive, of naval power; and this is true no matter what traditional American foreign policy may be referred to, whether the Monroe Doctrine, or the principle of no entanglements in Europe, or the East Asian policy of the United States. . ."

In further reference to that Doctrine, the author writes: "The Monroe Doctrine has without doubt been our second great foreign policy, a corollary of the decision to avoid complications in Europe made by Washington, Jefferson, and the other Founding Fathers. That it relied upon naval power for its sanction was implicit in the Doctrine, for not otherwise could European encroachment in the Western Hemisphere be prevented. This was set forth by Jefferson in one of the most succinct statements of American foreign policy ever made, in his famous letter to Monroe written at Monticello on October 24, 1823: 'Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle in cis-Atlantic affairs. . . . While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. . .'"

Briefs: Leon L. Cowles, FSO's Training School, writes in the JOURNAL about a course of lectures by officers of the US Public Health Service. Mr. Cowles states that the following definition of health will long be remembered: "Health is that quality which makes an individual fit to live most and serve best."

► The late Lewis Heck has the leading article in the February JOURNAL titled "Sidelights on Past Relations Between the United States and Turkey." Mr. Heck was first a student interpreter, 1909, then Turkish Secretary and later American Commissioner to Turkey. Some other contributors were Warren Kelchner, Ralph Totten, William Belton, Reginald Mitchell, J. Rives Childs, and Frederick Larkin.

► Earl T. Crain reports from Madrid: The Foreign Service ladies have had the pleasure on several recent occasions of assisting Mrs. Weddell, wife of the Ambassador, in the distribution of medicines and other vital articles contributed by her for the needy children and wounded soldiers in Spain. Mrs. Weddell's gifts of artificial limbs and tobacco for the soldiers have been received with expressions of warmest gratitude by the military authorities. . .

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. . . Third Secretary Crain recently visited a number of prisons in Spain delivering Christmas packages of blankets, clothing, food, toilet articles and cigarettes from Mrs. Weddell for the American prisoners of war remaining in Spain. . .

Johansen-Norton. Miss Lucy Norton of Eugene, Oregon, and Mr. Beppo Rolff Johansen, were married on October 28 at Harbin where Mr. Johansen is Vice Consul.

Comment, 1965: Beppo died in Tokyo on July 22, 1941, and his widow, Lucy, known to Service people as Penny, joined the Service in September to be able to support her two children, Rolff and Karin. Rolff graduated from Harvard in 1963 and is now a Second Lieutenant in the Army. Karin is a junior at Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. These Foreign Service children are glad their mother stayed in the Service. She is an 0-6 and on post at Turin. Rolff hopes to follow in his parents' footsteps.

► "Laying the Ghost" is the title of an article by Erle R. Dickover, Consul General, Batavia. It contains many a chuckle and it's a pity that the entire article cannot be given here. Herewith is an excerpt: "The master was not feeling well, and the No. 1 houseboy, seconded by the majority of the forty-odd residents of the Amerika Kampong (the servants' quarters of the Consulate General), averred that the place was haunted by evil spirits, whose malign influence was affecting master's body. The chauffeur backed up the houseboy—in fact, he asserted that while he had not lately seen a ghost on the premises, his eldest wife had often heard them jibbering around the garden and making love in the trees. The wife of one of the messengers had actually seen the spirits, especially one, a female, with long, black flowing hair, who sobbed at night and who had caused the illness of a Consul General some years ago. And, to prove his tale, the chauffeur asserted that the ghosts were so real and visible that another Consul General, when he was in Batavia in the twenties, sometimes went out into the garden and took a pot-shot at them. So the kampong decided that we should have a 'slametan' in order to drive away the evil spirits and to propitiate the good ones.

"The first essential of a slametan is that the master consent to finance it. The second is to obtain a white goat for a sacrifice. The sex of the goat apparently is of no importance; in our case it was a billy-goat. The third essential of a successful slametan is that the goat shall live happily, and even luxuriously, before he dies, in order that he may pass on to the goats' paradise with his head full of pleasant thoughts about his recent owners. . ."

Assignments

The following Vice-Consuls have been assigned to the School: Messrs. Niles Bond, William Boswell, Donald Brown, Charles Burrows, Lansing Collins, Arthur Emmons, Nicholas Feld, William Fraleigh, Fulton Freeman, John Fuess, Ogden Hammond, Jr., Boies Hart, Jr., Robert Strong, Richard Hawkins, Martin Hillenbrand.

The following have been assigned Vice-Consuls to their respective posts: Wymberley Coerr, Montreal; Adrian Colquitt, Panama; Thomas J. Cory, Vancouver; Frederick Mann, Toronto; Julian Nugent, Jr., Mexico City; Richard Post, Windsor; Charles Whittaker, Habana; and Joseph Palmer, Mexico City.

A daughter, Ada McCrea, was born on December 1, 1939, to Mr. and Mrs. Richard H. Hawkins, Jr., in Vancouver, where Mr. Hawkins is Vice Consul.

Comment, 1965: Ada, called "Gay," has a Connecticut College BA degree (1962) and was married in June, 1963, to Corwith Cramer, Jr., Yale '49, Pennsylvania '54. He is a

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schoolmaster at Lake Forest Academy, Illinois. The two other Hawkins children, Bill and Richard, were born in Sydney, Australia. Bill is a senior at Yale and Dick has had a year at Yale. The past two austral winters he was on the ski patrol at Portillo, Chile. Neither is married.

Book Review: Francis deWolf reviews the book "The Incredible Era—The Life and Times of Warren Gamaliel Harding," by Samuel Hopkins Adams. Mr. deWolf ends his review: "President Hoover had the courage to sum it all up at his dedication of the Harding Memorial: 'Here was a man whose soul was seared by a great disillusionment. We saw him gradually weaken, not only from physical exhaustion, but also from mental anxiety. Warren Harding had a dim realization that he had been betrayed by a few of the men whom he had believed were his devoted friends. That was the tragedy of the life of Warren Harding.' "

Recent Service Items

Vice Consul Charles Magee, Paris, declares that Harvard will always respond to a Princeton challenge: "Our Harvard Class of 1953 has fourteen members in the Foreign Service, and at least five others who formerly were in the Foreign Service. Our roster follows: Goodwin Cooke, James Curley, Robert Drexler, Hervey Fergusson, Charles Hartley, Herbert Howard, Robert Livingston, Joseph Lorenz, Charles Magee, Jay Moffat, Martin Prochnik, Peter Sutherland, Nicholas Volk, Jr., Courtenay Worthington, Jr. Formerly in the Foreign Service: Glen Camp, Jr., Henry McCusker, Jr., Kenneth Orski, Stephen Petschek, Daniel Young."

A Poet's Plea

Ogden Nash, whose car was robbed in Boston recently, appealed for assistance in recovering the stolen articles:

> "I'd expect to be robbed in Chicago,
> But not in the home of the cod.
> So I hope that the Cabots and Lowells
> Will mention the matter to God."

We print the ditty believing it to be the surest way of bringing the poet's plea to the attention of a Cabot—our Ambassador in Warsaw.

► Vern Baldwin's Service item from the Near East: "Have just met the Vice Consul in charge of Beatniks!"

February

O, be joyous!
O, be glad!
We have, almost.
Winter had.

—Alberita ■

Fable

"The Millennium is come," said a Lion to a Lamb inside the fold. "Come out and let us lie down together, as it has been foretold that we shall."

"Have you brought along the little child that is to lead us?" the Lamb asked.

"No; I thought that perhaps a child of the shepherd would serve."

"I distrust a Millennium that requires the shepherd to supply both the feast and the leader of the revel. My notion of that happy time is that it is to be a period in which mutton is unfit to eat and a lion the product of the sculptor's art."

Finding no profit in dissimulation, the Lion walked thoughtfully away and candidly dined on the village priest.—*from "The Collected Writings of Ambrose Bierce," Citadel, $4.00.*

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As one who had been pretty well convinced that President Kennedy's directive of January 25, 1963, to USIA on its mission had resolved the issue of "masses vs. classes," I was not a little surprised at the contretemps between Messrs. McKnight and Goodfriend in two recent issues of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. I conceived our primary function issuing from that directive to be the influencing of public attitudes and opinions in other countries in support of American foreign policy objectives, and the use of all media appropriate to the task of the moment. Obviously USIA could not play all the *vox populi* stops on its organ simultaneously or constantly. It is quite one thing to prepare the mission of a specialist in journalism who will propagate his arts in a country of Africa, and quite another to go on the Voice of America and the other mass media with the announcement of a shattering crisis in Cuba or Vietnam.

This rich variety in our armamentarium, our message, and our audience is indeed one of our sources of embarrassment as well as the essential enjoyment of working for USIA. In this day of exponential growth in everything—science, population, but particularly communicativeness—one could well perceive possibilities of saturating or overwhelming a person or persons in other societies without necessarily tickling their desire to be informed or their urge to change.

To paraphrase Harold Lasswell's famous rule: a communicator must ask with whom he is to communicate, through what instrumentality, to what purpose, and over what time span. The answers to these various questions compose a complex equation of many variables, any one of which depends upon the others. Purpose should always be our guiding beacon. For what reason is it, precisely, that we wish to reach someone in another culture?

And it must be added quickly, at what cost? The exercise in budgetary choices described by Mr. McKnight is certainly not unique to him. As a lesson in what the economist calls "opportunity costs," it merely illustrates that decisions

AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS AND TOMORROW'S WORLD

by THEODORE A. WERTIME

in this most broadly imprecise of all arenas of American operations abroad often are top-of-the-head indeed.

Have we in fact availed ourselves of the latest in theory about communications as carried on by USIA? I asked myself this in a paper written during a recent home leave after a tour in Iran. This enterprise brought forth a rather Olympian view of us, but one that may refine usefully our conceptions of USIA strategy and capabilities during the 1960's.

Whether we are a proselyting organization or one ultimately involved in the development of other societies is perhaps the paramount question of the moment.

If USIA is an instrument of development, as I believe it is, then we might give more careful attention both to the ideas that remain our stock-in-trade and to the respondents that we hope to move to action with them. But above all, we must keep in mind that we are not alone in the game, however unique our product.

How, then, can we interpret our functions in a world of change, keeping in mind that the elites of tomorrow's societies may be the prime movers of today?

←*The Silver Seine by Paul Child*

WHY AMERICA COMMUNICATES

Communications linking the world's cultures are one highly revealing symptom of the rate of change in the world today. Indeed they are its truest measure, in that change—variously identified today as modernization, westernization, or just "maturation"—can be transmitted from the seminal societies to the recipient ones no faster than the channels of stimulation can carry it, and the recipients can accept it. Literacy has been cited as the one mark of modernization. And it is. The least developed nations average a newspaper circulation of only 38 per thousand persons, the more developed 140 per thousand, the most developed more than 350 per thousand. The possession of radios or telephones, or the receipt of mail, are likewise in fairly direct correlation of the phase of growth. Knowing can be a major form of growing.

Parenthetically, let it be said that American civilization is brilliantly communicative, almost obsessively so. Our consistent urge as a nation has been to hear and be heard, to

reach outward to others. This urge ironically may be one heritage of the silent wilderness this country was two hundred years ago. Nothing is quite so much American as the idea of "news." It is our true vital fluid—the traditional "word" of the frontier reshaped by the media of rapid communication of the twentieth century into the currency of American life. The sea of American news laps the remotest hamlets of the globe, suffusing our doings, our ideas, our personalities, our traits, our quirks, to countless individuals in foreign lands. Anyone who doubts this fact or is cynical about it may recall the tears that fell for President Kennedy in Mandalay, Pretoria, Quito, or Smolensk. They bespoke a personal concern, a daily awareness, a sense of human trust shared with him by perhaps a billion persons.

By most criteria that one cares to apply, the United States stands at the apex of the processes of world communication and change. Though our internal growth rates may not satisfy us all, the indices of change are to be found here in their most advanced forms: disposable per capita income, productivity, ownership of telephones, radios, or TV sets, social and geographical mobility, jobs eliminated by automation, alterations in landscape, proportions of students in college, frequency of mail, passenger miles by plane or road, or what have you. In this definition, the capacity to change is also the capacity to project our change on the world scene. American news agencies account for about a third of the movement of world news by wordage. American-produced films occupy more than half the showing time on foreign cinema screens. The outward flow extends from daily news to idioms and institutions. It has yielded the foreign craze for jazz; or (with British assistance) the implantation of English as a second language for 700 million persons.

Iran, whose monarch visited the United States in June, provides a classic illustration of the energizing (and sometimes disturbing) effects of this outward-reachingness. Despite its seeming geographic remoteness, Iran is on the receiving end of more than 80,000 words of news daily from the two American press agencies and USIA. American private films are seen yearly by some 30 million viewers, the equivalent of Iran's total population one and one half times over or its middle classes 15 times over; Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola have become national drinks in the past ten years; some 3,600 Iranian students now study and live in the United States. American impulses are felt throughout the modernized sector of society, deriving from a vast flow of news, visual images, personal contacts, money and products, in which a central role is played by the communicating institutions of the United States Government.

PROPAGANDA AND COMMUNICATIONS

This, then, is the broader ambience of American foreign policy today, and particularly of American information programs as carried on by the United States Information Agency. American civilization in most ways is communicatively larger and more influential than the institution most qualified to regulate the voltage of its contacts overseas. There is nothing paradoxical about this, considering that we are a permissive nation whose private foreign investments often far outweigh the government's foreign aid, or whose tourists outnumber its officially-sponsored scholars. There may be a positive consolation for USIS personnel in knowing that what we are speaks louder than what we do or say—that propaganda for such a society possesses a larger function than subverting the country's enemies or supporting its friends.

For we shall recall that propaganda, as the United States came to employ it twenty-five years ago, was the verbal arm of military strategy: the necessary retaliation in the war of words waged by the Nazis (and at an earlier and later phase the Bolsheviks). Today it may be construed as the pursuit of the higher arts of communication consistent with the historic mission of the United States for leading and inspiring the legions engaged in evolutionary world change.

The differences are subtle and vast, a matter of recognition by the Soviet Union and ourselves of the potentially disastrous consequences of global nuclear war, but also of awareness, after these twenty years, of the limitations of mere words in accomplishing the goals of an activist or enemy-oriented policy. The suspension of jamming by the USSR of the broadcasts of Voice of America, in June, 1963, may have been a turning point in the twentieth century war of words. The Soviet Union now apparently sees that "Agitprop"—the organ for totally guided state communications conceived by Lenin and Stalin—raised an atmosphere of world suspicion without gaining the internal or external ends of Soviet policy or keeping foreign influences out of the USSR. Soviet postures since 1955 have gradually unbent to attempt to alter Moscow's reputation for mendacity and to inspire some degree of trust in Soviet words at home and abroad, without losing the essential element of control of the media and of the intelligentsia, or reducing competition for supremacy with the United States.

As the Soviet Union attempts this rare and nearly impossible feat, which has brought it squarely into conflict with Communist China, the United States has shifted its propaganda emphases in a manner which accords with our basic character as a nation and our commitment to the nationhood of others. Under President Kennedy, the mission of the United States Information Agency was rewritten to mobilize information more directly behind the varying policies of the United States country-by-country and region-by-region, but particularly a peaceful world community of free and independent states. Despite the grim background of the Cuban episodes, the broadcasts of the Voice of America to the USSR have been gradually altered in tenor to attest to the interest of the United States in the mutual search for peace, though in substance they continue to clarify our issues and differences with the USSR. The new themes of USIA, defined since the accession of President Johnson, enlist our propaganda in the cause of the resolution of cold war and the attainment of peace, whatever may be the clouds of the moment over Cyprus, Vietnam, or the Congo.

TOWARD A COMMUNICATIONAL STRATEGY

The stage is set for USIA to find the role intended for it by twentieth century history, that of transformer station intermediate between our own "impulsive" society and the communications networks of the nations in various phases of change.

Peace and stability are genuine goals for the information mechanisms of the United States, whatever their wartime origins. But such goals cannot be the only ones in a multicentered world of more than a hundred aspiring, self-assertive, and disputatious nations, vis-a-vis which President Johnson said not long ago we have "120 foreign policies." Growth and change are more logically the metier of modern American propaganda. As the American connections established over the years by common military interest or economic aid alter—as the Soviet Union seeks to promote Communism as a seemingly peaceful system for organizing the developing societies—whatever mainland China's warlike course—ways must be found to amplify and direct more precisely the energizing, institutional influence in the world media possessed by both USIA and the private instruments of contact.

USIA's themes state the strategy succinctly: "We believe that the search for an attainable and workable peace should be based on a gradual evolution in human institutions . . ."

The capabilities of the Information Agency for communication, even within the context of total American communications, are impressive. It is likely that any given issue of world significance involving the United States will impress

itself upon nearly half the world's population, largely through Agency instrumentalities. This is to say that the United States has a remarkable entree to world media. The one arm of the Agency that seeks to touch foreign individuals directly without the intermediation of foreign mechaisms is the Voice of America, broadcasting nearly 800 hours each week in 36 languages. But even the Voice has its ties to the foreign media by packaged broadcasts, which are placed on overseas domestic stations to the tune of 14,000 hours a week. The other six media of USIA carry on their work largely within counterpart organizations of the Free World (and to a much lesser extent, Communist) countries. A daily wireless news file carries 10,000 words to 111 posts overseas and from them to news dispensing media. USIA moving pictures dubbed in 52 languages are seen by possibly more than 750 million persons a year, a significant portion of them in commercial theaters overseas. The Agency operates 182 libraries and 159 binational centers in 88 countries, to the benefit of some 30 million persons. It publishes over 11 million copies of books yearly, and keeps 300 exhibits on the road throughout the globe. It teaches English via all media to many, and administers overseas for the Department of State a cultural relations program that helps to acquaint some 5,000 students, teachers, and leaders each year with the United States.

If these are the raw statistical potentialities of the USIA, its limitations are those of the United States itself in reaching overseas, whatever the medium of communication. Our nation radiates "problems" and "challenges" rather than neat ideological solutions. Even in a matter so close to the conscience of other nations as civil rights, we can make few skeptics into sympathizers. From the Mediterranean to the Philippine Sea, slavery and other forms of mistreatment of colored peoples are 7,000 years old. Yet being the cynosure of all eyes as the nation with the most "responsibility" for self-improvement, we may not gain our due credit for efforts at equalizing the lot of the American Negro. We must try again and again to communicate our endeavors in this sphere, not merely to disarm the critics but to arm the conscience of responsible nations and let it be known that the pigmentation of persons' skins is not the arbiter of their place in civilization.

American institutions and life present to the foreigner the dual faces of altruism and expansionism. The American impact may appear to one foreigner as "Coca-colanization," to another as modernization, to a third as social and economic imperialism. Generally the reaction to us is in layers—underlying confidence in our basic morality and good will, criticism of the individual American, longing for the American standard of living and political freedoms, a thirst for news about the United States, and condemnation of American policy of the moment. The protagonist of the United States must peel off the layers like an onion, determining where the core of sentiment lies. In many cases he will find valid counterbalancing attitudes. Simple defense of American policy is often not a meaningful gambit in such instances, particularly should the frustration with the United States be a reflection of a man's desire to do something constructive about his own society.

The thought that propaganda and communications can have "characterological" effects is one that entices leading savants today. * It is recognized after 20 years of experimentation that the old prewar hopes of winning whole nations to our side in one fell swoop—using information to reverse deeply-held views—are fallacious. ** Persuasive instruments can feed and strengthen ideas already in existence. They can help develop new ideas on new issues and perhaps alter slightly those views on old issues that are lightly held. But they cannot attempt to bring about a massive change in viewpoint except through a gradualistic reorientation of persons' minds—e.g., by redefining their situations and bringing new facts and ideas to bear upon them.

The very arguments against using mass communications to persuade persons in other nations to do very big things or very immediate and difficult things have fathered the thought that communications can influence the cause of nationhood much as the eighteenth century Enlightenment shaped the American Revolution. They can help to re-form national character through stimuli that hold up new and reasonable visions of change for stagnant or confused peoples.

Modern history is full of examples of societies pushed by a great man toward the goal of revamping of character—the leader himself moved by a few fermenting ideals. Turkey under Kemal Ataturk comes to mind. In recent years, the Shah has urged Iran toward national reconstruction, carrying through transfers of land that promise to be among the largest since the Russian revolution. The prospect of being a partner in future such breakthroughs—which occur through a stimulation and mobilization of national will, rather than massive transfusions of economic aid—must animate the sophisticated specialist in today's processes of international information and education, even as he is aware that normal increments of change for the average person in a society infused with thoughts of change will be very small.

Increasingly—as American aid may be reduced and as societies seek their own ways to growth—mediation with the prime movers of change will be required, itself demanding Americans of great knowledge and flexibility and personal communicativeness. To identify the activists in all echelons of the society and learn how to deal persuasively with them at the most pressing level of their preoccupations will be the challenge of the future for our specialist, whether he be in information, culture, or a technical type of activity. For he will be called upon to make not-always-agreeable American policies as palatable to them as he can, while being assured in his own mind that such policies are as wisely conceived as they can be. But above all he will need the intellectual and communicational resources to encourage his respondent to carry through a long, dismaying, painful, and often agonizing course of self and national metamorphosis. This, it seems to me, is the nub of any argument regarding masses versus classes: and the point at which Messrs. McKnight and Goodfriend can be in essential agreement, *if* they accept the premise that information is necessarily an agency of change.

OUR MOST DIFFICULT MESSAGE

The way of evolutionary development urged on other nations by the United States is of the most difficult order, making political revolution look easy by comparison. That we ask for gradualistic but nonetheless real social and economic growth frequently seems unreasonable to others. To achieve such change within the framework of existing political systems generally looks utterly unrealistic. Both points characterize Latin American criticism of the Alliance for Progress and Asian or African criticism of American aid. But even more fundamentally, they are at the heart of American contention with Marxism, a dogma which in a major sense has infected the twentieth century with its formulas of cataclysmic revolution as the road to growth.

Change is mostly a deceptively costly affair, even to the middle classes who are its strongest protagonists. The factory and railroad and city consume old landscapes and old traditions, as Henry David Thoreau and Mark Twain reminded us a century ago (and our own naturalists protest today). Industrialism unseats the artisan and craftsman, urbanization dissolves the kinship family. Populations rise as death rates de-

*The term has been coined by Daniel Lerner of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

**A view amplified by W. Phillips Davison, Senior Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations.

cline, bringing new pressures on standards of living. Land is extracted from the aristocracy. Peasants contribute their share of development by forced savings in the agricultural sector, the middle classes their share through inflation. The society is beset by ulcerating decisions as to whether its investment capital shall be applied to the agricultural sector, the industrial sector, or services. Frequently it assigns far too much to welfare, or services.

It is little wonder that the United States as the chief agency of this metamorphosis pays severe psychological costs in criticism and resentment—criticism, that we upset the existing social and economic order, bitter resentment that we do so while supporting existing governments. For some reason that eludes many Americans, evolutionary growth—the building of new walls before one tears down the old—is the most difficult principle and conception our nation has to communicate today. Yet, communicate it we must, if we are to help nations find identities that never were or have dissolved in the welter of stimuli of the twentieth century.

It has been said of developing societies that they are ripe for the demagogic "prophet." Certainly, political revolution —tearing down the established system before the new one has taken shape—has appeared a magic solution to many new nations in the past forty years, particularly since "anti-colonialism" has had such spectacular first successes. Restive military leaders in Asia and Latin American and often doctrinaire political potentates in Africa have found fault with the leisurely pace and patchwork nature of growth. A small coterie of believers in Marxism, particularly the Castros of Latin America and Africa, still turn to Communist dogma for its attractions of quickness and easiness, despite the obvious pains of the USSR and Communist China in "building socialism." In Europe and Asia, on the frontiers of these two continental nations, Communism can yet exploit the naked power of these two large nations in the form of transborder insurrection. Vietnam demonstrates to us how difficult it is for any government to suppress insurrection while attempting to carry through the reforms that may gain it popular support.

Vietnam in one way, Congo in another, Cyprus in another, Yemen in another, Cuba in another, and Communist China in still another express the most extreme dilemmas confronting an evolutionary strategy for the United States today. The challenges vary from country to country and area to area. The choices to be made between questions of immediate political interest to the United States and educational tasks related to the often dreary business of growth, are nearly always trying, as trying as the decisions that on occasion have channeled foreign aid in political rather than economic directions.

POSSIBLE RULES OF COMMUNICATION TODAY

One therefore can offer no specific formula for the stimulatory role of USIA's 1,500 Americans and 7,000 foreign nationals in the field, or for personnel in related informational or educational functions in other agencies, beyond the general rules that:

1. As ever, success in reaching into the viscera of another society with the kind of stimuli the United States is best equipped to bring depends not on the electronic capabilities of American media but the skill, sophistication, and compassionate dedication of its personnel.
2. The age calls for broad visionary ideas in each country to inform the processes of growth. It eschews pat formulas, dogmas, or ideology while crying for the larger images of nationhood.
3. For every pervasive idea broadcast in mass media there must be skillful personal followup. Indeed, no field officer can escape the function of being a personal advocate of the idea of planned change.
4. In general, the middle classes and intelligentsia are our most important audiences, because of their ability to conceive and execute programs of modernization over a span of years.
5. The successful communicator performs his duty from a vantage point close to the media leaders of the country.
6. Private mechanisms of information generally help shape in a broad way the American communicational impact in a given society.
7. The United States has as large a responsibility today to avoid the crosive effects of information—those brought on by over-communication—as it does to defeat ignorance or false propaganda.

In substance, growing countries would appear to require of the United States encouragement and support that hold before them:

1. The models of successful growth of all types to be found in world societies—economic, political, technological, communicational, and cultural. Japan provides much food for thought for the Asian society.
2. The role of law as an instrument for eliminating caprice and promoting stable foundations for the whole process of growth.
3. Education, carefully aimed through both schools and journalistic mechanisms, as vital to uniting society on common goals, techniques, and knowledge.
4. Natural science as a necessary methodological accompaniment of rational thought, research, and technology in developing societies.
5. English as the twentieth century language of growth.
6. The promotion of literacy in the native language as the most basic necessity for mass communication in a modernizing milieu.
7. Social science as a necessary discipline for elite governance of growing societies.
8. Sports and arts as the symbolic reflections of a self-confident society.
9. Reasonable international cooperation, within a context of peaceful competition, as a necessary concomitant of nationhood.

Perhaps most basic to a successful American strategy for navigating in the seas of world communications in the late 1960s is the recognition that communications equal change and that change of ferocious proportions is upon all nations, particularly the United States. In confronting what may well be the revolution of rising frustrations, as Professor Lerner of MIT has put it, we must take the sometimes dysphoric view that some nations will never reach a technological breakthrough and may well fail to gain a reasonable equilibrium of growth.

In a world of instability—and great political diversity—our communicativeness must achieve some evolutionary direction. It is our strength and our dilemma that we are the most stressful nation of history—i.e., most full of the stimuli of moving life and most in danger of erosive wear. We cannot—given the fermenting quality and outward communicativeness of American life and ways—ever relax into the simple role of conservative maker of peace or stability or purveyor of information about ourselves.

The perfecting of the Great Society will go on endlessly, impressing itself upon the majority of the individuals in the world, even as USIA strives without cease to interpret the meaning of that society to the leaders of change in other societies. Pursuing principles constantly retempered in the fires of our own progress—above all "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind," as reflected in our constant adherence to the facts, however unpalatable—we can keep our unique place at the apex of a world of societies, each society for the most part making its way forward in slow and groping fashion—but with our help—to new and yet unknown constellations of institutions and purposes. ■

COMMUNICATION: INTER-RACIAL AND INTERNATIONAL

by S. I. HAYAKAWA

This article contains one point that has seldom been brought out before: the effect of television on the social consciousness of the Negro.

THERE IS a direct connection between America's interracial problems and its international problems. Unless the Negro and the white people in the United States can learn how to communicate with each other, Americans as a whole will not learn how to communicate with the millions of people beyond our shores whose cultures are far different from our own. The struggle for interracial understanding here at home is, in fact, a testing ground for the kind of understanding of other peoples—for the capacity to understand others different from ourselves that is vital to America's success in the field of international affairs.

As with many aspects of international relations, the problem of interracial relations at home is basically a communication problem. The tremendous disturbances going on almost daily in cities in both the North and the South have deeply shocked many white people who say, "Aren't the Negroes making steady progress? Why all the sudden uproar?" Others are asking an entirely different question, namely, why these demonstrations for civil rights hadn't started long ago, with white people almost unanimous for so long in ignoring the problem and pretending that it isn't there —sealing themselves off behind restrictive covenants, moving to the suburbs, and forgetting all about it. The shocked look on the faces of all too many white people in the past few months—their feelings of outrage at the boat being rocked —are all too clear indications of the degree to which they have been shutting their eyes to what is going on.

The causes of any social revolution are many and complex. But the student of general semantics will tend to look for the part that communication plays in any large social event. I think that most students of general semantics are familiar with the idea that the invention of printing—that is, a revolution in the technique of communication—brought an end to the Middle Ages and ushered in the Renaissance. Before the invention of printing, when books were as rare as Rolls-Royces, the diffusion of knowledge, if it took place at all, was through a priesthood who told the people what it was good for them to know. After printing, there was an immediate and widespread increase of that private vice known as reading, resulting in independent reflection and thought, so that in one area of life after another—in art, in government, in science, in commerce—new ideas began to blossom. The rise of one Protestant sect after another as people read and interpreted the Scriptures for themselves instead of relying upon the interpretations of a priestly elite was only one of the many manifestations of increased intellectual activity, and therefore increased social change and unrest, brought on by the communications revolution brought on by printing.

Granting the validity of all that others have said and written about the cause of present Negro unrest, I should like to add another that has not been much explored. The great and revolutionary communications instrument of the present in the United States is television. What it has done to the nation has not yet been measured, and what it will eventually do cannot now be predicted. But there can be no doubt that it is already contributing much to social change, and that even greater changes now unforseeable will result from television. A revolution in communications is always a far more important thing than is realized at the time. I wonder how many people have thought of the degree to which the revolution of rising expectations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa is due to the portable radio? In little villages all over Africa, people who formerly had no cultural contacts beyond the next village gather today around portable battery-operated radios to hear the news from London, New York, Paris, Tokyo, and Moscow—and therefore start wanting to become citizens of a larger world than they have ever known before.

Let us review some of the peculiar facts about television. In the first place, like radio, it by-passes literacy. It can be understood and enjoyed by those who cannot read and write. Before the advent of radio and television, to be illiterate was to be cut off from the world. But now the illiterate, whether in the Congo, in Mississippi, or in New York, can hear about and concern himself with matters which he formerly knew nothing about. Television especially has brought the whole big startling world into the lives and imaginations of millions who would never have been able to discover it through reading.

Secondly, television spread with greater rapidity among the poor than the rich in the United States, among the uneducated than among the educated. Long before upper-middle-class homes had made up their minds about the wisdom of buying a television set and exposing their children to it, as many of you will recall, forests of television antennae had risen above tenement homes in the slums and in the depressed areas of big cities. In the socio-economic pattern of the spread of television over America, Negroes hold an important place. The poor and uneducated being numerous in the Negro community, television spread with special rapidity among Negroes. I recall from about 1951 a telephone call I received from an almost illiterate Negro drummer—a friend with whom I had worked many times in giving my lecture-demonstrations on jazz history. He called to tell me that he was broke, out of a job, and willing to work at anything to make a little money, and he gave this touching picture of his poverty: "Me and my wife just moved into this apartment, doc. We ain't got a stick of furniture, not even a bed. All we got is our television set."

Television also holds for Negroes the additional advantage of providing entertainment at home, enabling the Southern Negro to avoid the indignities of ill-kept, humiliating, separate balconies of the segregated movie houses of the South-

ern and border states.

Another important fact about television is that from the point of view of the producer it is a much more expensive medium than radio. Radio is cheap enough so that small groups can organize and pay for programs and stations of their own—foreign language groups, religious denominations, and the like. In almost every city, therefore, there are all-Negro radio stations featuring Negro talent, Negro news, Negro church services. Television is too expensive to be supported by any such minority, hence all television programs are addressed pretty much to the whole community. This means that whatever the television says to white people, it also says to Negroes.

All the foregoing facts tie in with another important fact, namely, that American television is commercially sponsored; it finds its economic support and justification in helping to push and promote consumer goods of all kinds. Hence television is always friendly, always beckoning cheerfully to the viewer, always inviting and alluring: *"Won't* you try our new cake mix?" "What did *you* think of Governor Rockefeller's message to the legislature?" "Summer time is picnic time, and your picnic is not complete without our beer!" "You'll get a new taste thrill from our new filtered cigarette." "Do you know what Dean Rusk said in a speech in Paris yesterday?" "Won't you drop in to test-drive the new Buick?" "It's American to want something better!"

The spokesmen of the advertising profession continue to tell us that the moral and economic justification of their activities is that they create wants and stimulate demand and thereby increase the standard of living. I have little quarrel with this argument. Advertising and mass production are profoundly democratizing influences. They put standard, mass-produced goods into the hands of everybody. They tell everybody, "No matter how miserable your present condition, you *can* be as good as anybody else. You too can look attractive. You too can have a beautiful and spotless kitchen. You too can have an exciting and romantic vacation through our thrift-plan holiday cruise. You too can enjoy all the satisfactions of living in our lush and abundant consumer economy!"

James Baldwin has said that the most difficult and bewildering thing about the white world is that it acts as if the Negro simply weren't there. Unawareness is a serious problem. Here, for example, is a television commercial telling what fun and excitement children can have if they can persuade their parents to bring them to such-and-such an amusement park. The commercial does not bother to explain that they need not come if they are Negroes. Here is another commercial inviting the family to hop into the car and drive just twenty-five minutes from downtown to Woodland Acres, the beautiful new residential development, where three-bedroom ranch-type homes are now open for inspection. It does not tell you that if you are Negro, these homes are not for you. Here is an advertisement telling you to order this new, sparkling soft drink with the thrilling new flavor. It doesn't tell you that if you are Negro, you will have to drink it standing on the sidewalk outside the café.

Now imagine that you are a Negro teen-ager, for whom the television set, with messages such as the foregoing, has been his constant baby-sitter and companion ever since he can remember. If you are this Negro teen-ager, you have spent more hours of your life in front of the television set than you have spent in school, if we are to believe the statistics given by audience research surveys. You do not know what your elders know, namely, which advertisements to heed and which to ignore as not being addressed to you. You only know that the friendly, friendly television set is always saying to you, "You are an American. You are entitled to eat and drink and wear what other Americans eat and drink and wear. You must think about the same political and world problems that other Americans think about. You are a member of the national community of Americans."

Then you discover, as soon as you begin to go out into the world to shop for clothes, eat at a lunch counter, or apply for a job, that the culture is not willing to live up to its advertising. You discover that there is a caste system that the television set has told you nothing about—and that as a member of the wrong caste, most of the privileges of being an American, except for paying taxes and serving in the armed forces, are in whole or in part denied to you.

I wonder if advertisers and television officials themselves know what they are doing to the public. Let them ask themselves as they preview a commercial how it looks and what it means to the ten percent, or in some parts of the country, the fifty percent of their viewing audiences who are Negroes. I would like them to ask themselves about the ethics of offering for sale to the entire public goods and services which will be denied to Negro clients if they decide to buy.

About a month ago, Mr. Howard Imazeki, editor of a Japanese-English newspaper in San Francisco, the *Hokubei Mainichi,* wrote an editorial which showed deep sympathy with the Negro cause as well as awareness of certain common threads that run through Japanese-American and Negro experiences because of racial prejudice. He closed his editorial, however, with a plea for more self-criticism and self-scrutiny on the part of the Negro community because of its very bad record of crime, illiteracy, violence, social disorganization, and the like. This editorial seems to have been received with great joy by the white world, because it was put on the wire services and reprinted, in whole or in part, all over the United States. The main thesis of white papers welcoming the editorial was that respect must be earned, and that Negroes would do well to earn, by diligent self-improvement, the respect that they demand from others. Nothing so gratifies the let's-not-do-anything-drastic school of thought than the assurance that the plight of Negroes in America is their own fault, and that nothing much needs to be done about their demands until they can prove that they "deserve" better.

Of course, there is much crime, violence, and family and social disorganization in the Negro community. Of course there is a great deal of illegitimacy, a large number of people living on public assistance, enormous unemployment, and a serious lack of employable skills. But to wait for these conditions to be ameliorated while doing nothing about their causes is to settle back into that do-nothing-ism that has led to the urgency and vigor of present Negro demands. I have encountered even well-intentioned and well-read white people and Orientals in recent months who have wondered aloud if there isn't something "intrinsically wrong" or "inferior" about Negroes because of their crime rate and social disorganization. I am afraid that very few people realize the psychological damage inflicted upon the Negro people during their two hundred years of slavery and the ensuing one hundred years of subjection to an almost equally oppressive caste system. I am afraid that few people other than Negroes have any idea of the problems of individual morale and self-concept that every Negro must confront as he tries to make a life for himself in our culture. In order to indicate what I mean by this, let me contrast the situation of the Negro with that of, let us say, an Oriental-American who finds himself discriminated against.

A young Chinese in San Francisco a generation ago was often the victim of cruel persecution by his white schoolmates. But he was armed against this persecution by a strong social organization—for example, his family association. He also had parents and grandparents who assured him that no matter what the local white barbarians thought of him and did to him, he could look upon them with scorn, because the Chinese are a great people whose ancestors were already civilized thousands of years ago at a time when the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were still clubbing each other with stone axes and painting themselves blue. The self-concept of a Chinese (like that of most people coming from intact cul-

tures) can be bruised, but cannot easily be crushed.

The situation of the American Negro, however, is entirely different. He knows of no ancestors whose names fill him with pride. He has behind him no social organization comparable to the Chinese family organization. Completely cut off from the great cultures of his West African ancestors, his ideas of political prominence, physical beauty, intellectual attainment, or social prestige are provided for him by the white world—which rejects him. Those who say, "The Jews, the Japanese, the Chinese work hard, study hard, and overcome the barriers that were placed against them. Why can't the Negroes do the same thing?" do not realize how much higher are the barriers against Negroes, and how many hundred years of unbroken cultural tradition enable the Jew, the Japanese and the Chinese to be as hard-working and persevering as they are.

In order to understand the plight of the American Negro and the frightful barriers that stand in his way, it is necessary to understand a little of his unique position. It is unique in that his own culture was destroyed at the same time as he was prevented from participating fully in the only other culture available to him. Many believe that the Negro's African ancestors had no culture or civilization to speak of. Of course, this is not true, as anyone will attest who has studied the great cultures of West Africa: the Benin, the Bambara, the Ife, the Senufo, and many others. But whatever culture the African brought with him to America was systematically destroyed by his white owners. The method was very simple: it was simply to separate into different plantations or districts any slaves who were found to be able to speak with each other in a common tongue. This measure was intended to prevent the formation of slave plots against their masters. It served additionally to wipe out in a generation almost all cultural inheritance and tribal memories.

Completely cut off from his culture and with access to no other sources of information, the Negro slave was told that he was fit only to be a slave, that he had no rights that a white man was bound to respect, that the best he could hope for, if he served his master well, was that he would continue to work for the same family in the Hereafter. Furthermore, the slave was literally treated as a domestic animal; he was bought and sold like horses and dogs. Slaves were of course not permitted to marry; they were mated according to their masters' wishes. Strong males were put "at stud"—like stallions; women were at the mercy of their owners' demands, with no power to protest.

It takes a great effort of the imagination on the part of all of us today to realize even dimly what it was to be a slave in the ante-bellum South—what it meant to have no control over one's own affairs, to work without pay and without hope of advancement, such as deciding on one's career, planning for the future, choosing one's mate, and striving for better opportunities for one's children.

The emancipated slaves of one hundred years ago, therefore, were not members of an autonomous culture, as are Germans or Frenchmen or Hindustanis or Ashanti. Many of them had experienced some kind of family life under slave matriarchs—but the family structure was not protected by law and it could always be ignored by the slave owner. (Those slave women who created family organizations by sheer force of will power and love and nurtured and preserved a moral sense in their children in spite of all obstacles are among the great heroines of American history.) The emancipated Negroes furthermore had few traditional patterns of social organization or problem-solving, because as slaves they had not been free agents. They were united by no common political or cultural history. They had created, to be sure, out of the materials provided by Christian missionaries, a system of religious beliefs and sentiments, which we know through their spirituals. But it was a religion of resignation rather than of constructive action. With all due allowances made for the attainments of the slave culture, it was still a slave culture, and the Negroes of 1863, the year of Emancipation, were the maimed victims of cultural and psychological mutilation. Many of them, having been told they were animals, having been treated as animals, had been reduced to shiftlessness and irresponsibility—and were given to lives of impulsive aggression and self-gratification such as characterize to this day the lives of some of the lower social classes among Negroes.

The amazing thing about the American Negro today is that within a hundred years—in a matter of four generations millions have lifted themselves out of the miserable condition in which they found themselves on Emancipation Day, and have gone on to take their place in American culture as if they hadn't a handicap in the world—the people who have become judges and lawyers and teachers and government officials and skilled craftsmen and accountants and nurses and doctors. The achievement of Negroes is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that they got so little help from white people. Why?

One of the very great tragedies of American history is the way in which the Negro was forgotten and abandoned after the Civil War was won. The South having been defeated and the slaves having been freed, it is as if the North said to itself, "Well, that's over and done with!" and washed its hands of the whole affair. The moral fervor of the Abolitionists, having expended itself in the war, seems to have been completely dissipated by the time it was over. A few of them realized, of course, that Abolition was only the first step in repairing the vast social injustice of slavery. But most people, it appears, felt that the end of the war was the end of the problem—and forgot about it.

The result of the forgetting what so many had fought the war to achieve was the shameful compromise of 1877 when, following an election of uncertain outcome, with Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, and Samuel Tilden, Democrat, practically tied for the presidency, the victory was finally granted to Hayes through a decision on the part of Republicans to give up all the moral purposes for which they had fought the Civil War in return for Southern Democratic support of the aims of Northern manufacturers and capitalists. Among the terms of the compromise was the withdrawal of all Federal troops from the South, and hence the withdrawal of all protection of Negro freemen and freed slaves from the vindictiveness of the defeated South. Negro members of the Southern legislature were weeded out as quickly as possible and measures were taken to assure that none would be elected again—measures which have been successful until the election of one Negro to the state legislature. Out of this abdication of moral responsibility on the part of the North came the one-party South, and the largely unopposed passage by Southern Democrats of all the Jim Crow laws which, contrary to popular opinion, are not traditional to the Old South, but are the invention of vindictive post-Civil War elements determined to establish, in place of the slave system that had been destroyed, a permanent, color-based caste-system.

What we are confronted with today is the fact that the work of Reconstruction—which surely should have included, and was intended to include, the restoration of the Negro to full human dignity after the crushing and destructive ordeal of slavery—was abandoned in the compromise of 1877 and largely forgotten ever since. For long enough, therefore, we have shut our eyes and ears to the unresolved problems of slavery and its aftermath—the caste system that was established largely in the absence of Northern concern. For long enough we have tried to sweep the whole problem under the rug and to pretend that it doesn't exist. It is not enough, in view of our past history, to offer equal justice to the Negro, although in actuality we are not even offering that. What we must do is to try to undo the cultural and psychological damage that still remains. What we must do is to try and work

(*Continued on page* 53)

THE SECRETARIAL UNDERGROUND

by MURIEL DONNELLY

SOME famous Frenchman said that two people know a man: his wife and his valet. This, of course, is not entirely true. There is another who sees and judges what a man is: his secretary. It has always been my opinion —and some important people in Personnel feel the same way —that efficiency reports on bosses should be made by secretaries. Then, indeed, would the Department of State have its eyes opened regarding some of its officers and staff. Does the Ambassador think the head of his political section is "intelligent, alert, willing to put in long hours of overtime, quick, capable, a fine drafting officer, gets along very well with his staff, has a nice home life, etc.?" Well, this is what the secretary could truthfully say, "he is overly ambitious, impatient, uncouth, rude, redrafts a dozen times because of his uncertainty, would forget his wife's birthday if not reminded several times, is excitable, works his staff without regard to their vacation schedule, etc." Somewhere in between lies the real man, I guess.

However, this article is not to push forward the idea that secretaries should do efficiency reports on bosses. Good as I think the idea is, the practical aspects of "inferiors" analyzing "superiors" does have built-in bombs, and I guess the efficiency report system as it now exists is probably the best. What I would like to call to the attention of the readers of the Foreign Service JOURNAL is the fact that in spite of the fact they *do not* write efficiency reports on their bosses, the secretaries *do* have a method of ascertaining whether a man would be good to work for or not. We might compare it to a sort of "secretarial underground" of opinion and advice. It works something like this:

Mary Smith has just been assigned to Moscow and, of course, reads the post report. Her decision, however, does not rest on *that*. Knowing that Sally Jones just finished a tour of two years there, Mary meets Sally for lunch.

"What do you think, Sally?" asks Mary.

"Well, the political section works terribly hard. I put in twenty hours overtime each week and there was no overtime pay available. I had difficulty getting the compensatory time and ended up losing 30 hours that year. Mr. Emerald is terribly snobbish and will invite you only once to his home, just to get it over with. However, his tour will be up soon and they are talking about sending Mr. Sapphire there. I worked with Sapphire in Fort Lamy and he is wonderful: the kind of man who thinks you should put in overtime only during a crisis."

"The Personnel people told me if I didn't want Moscow, I could go as Ambassador's secretary to Nikotemia."

"For heaven's sake, don't go. Alice Brown had that job and says the Ambassador is nice but his wife is dreadful and you spend all your time running around for her. She is constantly in the office dictating personal letters and reports of her social activities. Alice hated it."

At that moment the two girls spot Jane Double in the cafeteria and call her over.

"Jane, what are you doing in Washington?" they exclaim.

"Ambassador Amethyst is being assigned to Chad and is taking me along," is the reply.

"How lucky you are, Jane, to work for him."

"Isn't he marvelous? So intelligent, handsome, courteous, thoughtful, pleasant and kind. I guess everyone knows it, too."

Yes, almost everyone knows it. And Ambassador Amethyst should be a lesson to all up and coming young men who want to be ambassadors, too. There are so many stories I could tell from my own experience and that of my friends. I sometimes feel I could write a book called, "The Care and Treatment of Secretaries." Let me give you a few examples.

There is an ambassador now assigned to Washington who is dearly beloved by half a dozen secretaries—and they have never worked for him! He has come to their offices for reports or meetings and has attracted them by his courteous old-world manners. He passes them in the long corridors of the State Department building and always says "good morning" or "how are you." He has never been seen to lose his temper. He makes them feel like ladies, not a piece of office equipment. When he goes overseas again any one of them would like to work for him, but he will probably take his own secretary, who also adores him and knows how lucky she is.

There was a man I knew in one of the largest of our embassies. He destroyed a secretary every six months or so. Finally, Personnel said, "This is the last girl we are giving you. You must try to get along with her. It can't be all the girls' faults." This sobered him up a bit and he made the effort and finished his tour with the last one, although at times it was a round-by-round sparring fight. I am delighted to say, however, he was shortly thereafter retired and never reached his goal of ambassador. I am sure that a dozen secretaries around the world read of his retirement and thought, "Thank goodness they finally caught up with him."

Actually, the rules for getting along with people are old and haven't changed over the ages. The old golden rule of treating others as you would like to be treated yourself still holds true. St. Thomas Aquinas once said that if you wanted to love someone you sometimes had to put the love there. It was all very theological and I don't have the exact quote, but to paraphrase, if you want an intelligent, capable, responsible secretary, you must treat her as an intelligent, capable and responsible person. Let her know why something is being done—or so often, being re-done—say "please" and "thank you" when she does do something for you; don't wait until efficiency report time to tell her her faults without giving her a chance to correct them first; treat her as a lady and not a piece of furniture; take enough interest in her to find out what her gripes are (all secretaries have them: with some it is getting that fifth cup of coffee; with others it's the constant redrafting; with others it's running around the State Department getting clearances; with some it is an unfair distribution of work); look upon her as an aide and assistant—and soon she'll turn out to be just that.

There is, of course, another side to the coin: suppose a boss is almost impossible and the secretary completely (to him) incapable? I have a saying inherited from my mother which she constantly told me during various crises of my life: "Your health comes first." To paraphrase that, if a secretary can't stand her boss she should transfer out; if a boss can't stand his secretary he should request another one from the Personnel Section. The boss will then write his efficiency report on the secretary, and the secretary—denied such an outlet—will report via the secretarial underground. Neither will escape the slow grinding wheels of justice and truth. ■

I sat in a room in Washington just aware that Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev might be dead. In the same room months before I had just learned that President Kennedy might already be dead.

My room was Studio Fourteen of the Voice of America. Seconds later, electromagnetic radiations carried my voice and its awesome story to listeners in far-off areas of the earth. In those moments I *was* the Voice of America.

Such experiences made me think again, deeply, about how our nation's voice has come to resound with honor for America when she speaks to her neighbors of the world.

by C. S. RICE

OUR INTERNATIONAL BURDEN OF TRUTH

THE salty, often-fog-laden sea air at the easternmost tip of North America crackled with man's first intercontinental wireless message 13 years before the first world war. But the industrial giant of America never pounced on this discovery of Signor Marconi until 41 years later, spurred by a second world war.

In between, the United States did pioneer many advances in radio and, later, electronics of more advanced nature. But except for navigational aids and limited naval transoceanic communication the *science* of *distance* broadcasting found little attention. And, as there was no question of what America should communicate internationally by radio, the *art* of devising program content for distance radio remained untouched in our country.

But Great Britain, France, Japan and other powers—all with broadcasting a function of government—used the new international communication as a natural link with their oversea lands. A solidifying Soviet Union integrated the use of distance broadcasting into its over-all Communist expansion.

The Late-Comer

Uncle Sam was the late-comer. By the time his voice spoke up half his Paeific navy was knocked out. He was about to surrender in the Philippines. Britain alone held on in the Atlantic. It was Fehruary 1942.

The speeial task groups under Presidential political-warfare appointee (Major-General) William J. O'Donovan came to include a group of radio writers, producers and broadcasters qualified in German, Italian and Spanish. Given spaee in Manhattan's Radio City and the relatively-limited shortwave faeilities of the US private networks, on the 17th of the month they addressed the war-shocked world for the first time with six words that have resounded ever since wherever man listens:

"This is the Voice of America."

A few strains of "Yankee Doodle" preceded each airing. The tune seemed fitting, for it had all the spirit of awakening America coming to the aid of a globe in the hands of tyrants. (And the substantial strains of "Columbia" now appear equally suitable to a world-leading US.)

A few months later, the Voice group became part of the new Office of War Information, teamed—as has since been the case—with other media of international comunication. The end of the war—and reorganization—placed the Voice of America within the Department of State. Then, in 1953, with its sister media, it formed the United States Information Ageney, still guided by the State Department as to the direction of its content.

The early post-war years were not sympathetic to administrators of the US Government oversea information program. The hroad demobilization pressed down on the information effort. Then came the period of adjustment—not to peace, as expected by so many—but to the Cold War.

The Fifties—Growing Years

The nineteen-fifties found the Voice of America seeking to relieve the tautness of life forever irritated and threatened by the hammer and sickle, to bring light to the darkening dreariness of freedom on its knees in so much of the world, and—most importantly—to inspire a bright vision in men unwilling to yield.

If open conflict in Korea accented the acuteness of the new division, the information program suffered from the new cleavage of the world, rather than gaining support. For there came the domestic impact of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin—his sensational and mostly unfounded attaeks on alleged Communist infiltration of the State Department, which then included the information service. Understandably, the American publie and its lawmakers took time to get the

facts before the day came when the information work could function unsullied and unretarded.

In the early years of the decade, a special subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations examined the information effort.

The output of the Voice at that time came from New York, Washington and Munich studios, which originated programs for both domestic- and foreign-based transmitters. In 1953, 42 US-located transmitters varying in individual power up to 200,000 watts were situated at 12 locations. Abroad, there were transmitter complexes at Munich, Tangier, Salonika, aboard vessels at Rhodes, Colombo, Manila and Honolulu.

In addition, foreign-language Voice programs were re-

Two technicians on duty at the Master Control Board. The board, manned around the clock, can feed 26 programs to Voice's US transmitters at the same time and can switch all channels at every station break.

broadcast on local stations abroad, as were recorded programs offered by our information officers on the scene. A high-power broadcasting plant was expected to enter operation at Okinawa and stronger signals were anticipated from the Philippines and Munich.

The senators found fault with the technical efficiency of the Voice. They thought that the operation had not benefited from the expertise available, that planning had been poor with consequent waste of funds. Committee members traveling abroad returned concerned over the lack of evidence of listenership.

Voice officials, all based in New York at that time, could and did point out that embassy personnel with whom the senators came principally in contact overseas did not necessarily try to listen to the broadcasts, and it was the foreign population whose attention was sought. It was not unusual or unexpected that some US officers overseas concentrated on local projects and unconsciously underestimated the Voice's impact on local listeners.

Although the acceptance of transmitted ideas is most difficult to measure, there does seem to be in restrospect some validity to the subcommittee's contention that there had been little effort to gauge listenership. Yet, this could well have been due to the less-reliable means of measurement available at the time and a prevailing lesser emphasis on measurement itself.

Sample program scripts left the subcommittee unsatisfied. They called for more direction at the top, less initiative for the section chief. But the latter always had to consider the constant, absolute deadline for broadcast material, for quantity as well as quality. Program producers cannot sit back and quibble over each and every script. Within a broad, honest procession of programs they *can* try to be sure that our national head is held high, eyes straight ahead, that our step is *free*.

The broadcast chiefs pointed to the over 300,000 pieces of mail received each year, plus the requests for program schedules that totalled over one million.

The Voice of America's actual organizational name, both within the State Department and within the separate US Information Agency established in July 1953, has been the International Broadcasting Service. In 1953, about 1,500 people were on its rolls in the US and about 150 overseas, the great majority of the latter being technicians, aided by several times their number of local employees. Then, as now, contract production and technical specialists supplement the work of government personnel.

VOA shortwave transmitters overseas from 1948 through 1952 had increased from 11 to 30, medium-wave outlets from one to six. In the United States, 42 transmitters represented an increase of four and 20 new curtain antennas had been put into operation. The number of studios had risen from 10 to 23.

The Voice was speaking in 46 languages in broadcasts varying in quantity according to the potential audiences. Within one day, about 48 hours of broadcasting went out, half to Europe, a fourth to the Far East, and the remainder to Latin America, the Near East, South Asia and Africa.

The Senate subcommittee surveyed 50 American foreign

correspondents on their opinion of the Voice's effectiveness. (None were within the Communist sphere.) Comments were mixed, but there was a consensus then that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) outshone VOA. There was credit for the Soviet broadcasting operation, too. But the newsmen's appraisal did concern a rival communications medium conceived "way back home," possibly suspect on two points. The correspondents complained about reception. They carped at programing. They liked the BBC's restrained news readings and found the Voice tending to over-sell.

There was some applause for VOA. It seems we have reason to doubt the validity of the total judgment, at least, in terms of proper perspective and objectivity.

But through the years, criticism, experience and technical advances have combined to enhance hard, diligent work by those serving the Voice. Before setting forth the assured stance of direct VOA output today let us consider two closely related factors.

First, *local distribution* of US radio program material: there is no doubt that when it is possible it offers highly effective penetration into the thought processes of the world's citizens. Local distribution can come about in two ways—by *relay* of VOA's own actual transmissions, simultaneously or delayed, over the foreign community's regular broadcast stations; or, by broadcast locally of *recorded* VOA programs.

Now for a look at activity that shares the shortwave spectrum of the Voice of America.

The Other Voices—Friend and Foe

Radio Free Europe broadcasts exclusively to five of the six European satellite nations, leaving out Albania. Broadcasts to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria featuring natives of those countries create an internal, domestic radio service for each fettered nation.

RFE is "free" itself—it does not suffer from the limitations imposed on government oversea voices. A government radio must consider the bounds of international protocol, the conduct fitting states enjoying diplomatic relations. Too, there are other, less-exact requirements which, nonetheless, impose prudence when it would not apply in the private broadcaster's arena.

With studios in Munich and transmitters in West Germany and Portugal, RFE provides a much-needed focus-point for free-thinking Eastern Europeans and lightens the load of their darkened environment.

Also private is Radio Liberty. In the manner of Radio Free Europe, using only foreign tongues (there are many *within* the Soviet Union) and native-born broadcasters, it addresses the USSR.

Radio Free Cuba buys time on three commercial US stations for broadcasts aimed at the neighboring island nation. (The outlets, in Miami and Key West, Florida and New Orleans, Louisiana, otherwise carry on as normal standard-broadcast outlets.)

Another private American broadcaster, Radio New York Worldwide, influences Europe and Latin America. It operates commercially—sells time—but sees its public-service responsibility (required of every US Federal Communications Commission licensee) as enhancing the US world image.

In New Orleans, the Information Council of the Americas produces what it calls "truth tapes" that go to 120 local stations within Latin America. They present refugees from Cuba and from countries behind the Iron Curtain telling the Latin American nationals the facts of life under Communism. The cost of this effort is very low compared to operating high-powered shortwave transmitters. As mentioned, listenership is high, but the convenience and impact of rapid flexibility of content are missing—and no national authority is present as in the case of direct, government radio.

Somewhat similar to Radio New York Worldwide is an operation headquartered in San Francisco transmitting to the Far East from that city, Manila, Okinawa and another oversea site. Known as the Far Eastern Broadcasting Company, it employs 16 transmitters in all and also directs some programing to Latin America.

330 Independence Avenue, Southwest, is the headquarters of the Voice of America. In this building programs are prepared in 37 languages for direct broadcast to audiences abroad.

"London Calling" to listeners around the world means the BBC—the British Broadcasting Corporation's External Services. The BBC gets respect not only in Moscow but in Washington, but—they've been "calling" in depth longer than anyone. Undoubtedly reflecting the lessening direct influence of London, the BBC reduced its output in the 'fifties while that of the US and USSR rose. About 40 languages are still heard. The corporative status of the BBC embodies a quasi-private concept and probably presents an environment more conducive to creativity than that of the wholly-government broadcast agency.

Broadcasting from the Soviet Union is rigidly controlled, an arm of the total Soviet apparatus, keyed to the current and longer-range goals of Communist expansion. Slanted material predominates but genuine appeal to the listener embellishes the scripts. Broadcasts to the United States feature some speakers whose "American accents" are impeccable. It's assumed they are ex-Americans.

Red China employs distance radio similarly to the USSR, although audience composition (availability, comprehension potential) limits the medium in Asia.

The Sixties—Loud and Clear

The eighth of February 1963 was one of the few days the Voice of America mentioned itself as it spoke to the world in English and 37 other languages from studios in Washington. That day, the Voice had *doubled* its power, as the day's newscasts noted. VOA came closer to then-USIA Director Edward R. Murrow's forecast:

> ". . . we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that man can know us for what we are and can at least believe what we say."

The twofold increase in VOA power resulted from the additional signal strength of the new transmitter complex at Greenville, North Carolina. A total output of *4,800,000 watts* carried the Voice more powerfully and clearly to millions of listeners in Latin America, Europe and Africa and actually pushed VOA coverage into two-thirds of South America, instead of covering only the northwest third, gaining both new direct listeners and local-relay possibilities.

Greenville's operation also permitted a reduction in the leasing of some private transmitters in the U.S. It employs *six 500,000-watt* transmitters and six 50,000-watt units. *Ninety-five directional* antennas reach up hundreds-of-feet into the air over the Carolina coastal plain. Throughout the day, adjustments focus broadcasts to desired target areas.

Millions of Africans now hear VOA over a new major relay station outside Monrovia, Liberia, consisting of six 250,000-watt and two 50,000-watt transmitters. Other powerful transmitters in the United States, England, Berlin and on Rhodes today fill out the technical array. And there are carriers at Munich, in the Philippines, on Okinawa—each including a *1,000,000-watt* transmitter in their lineup. There are oversea VOA medium- and long-wave carriers that bring broadcasts into the same meter bands used by the populace for local reception.

When domestic stations abroad pick up VOA programing and simultaneously rebroadcast it on a large scale or for long periods it is because of a current event of high, worldwide interest: a crisis in world affairs or an outstanding achievement—such as a space journey. In Latin America, though, over 250 stations in 15 countries regularly relay VOA weekly, and even daily, Spanish-language transmissions.

Normally, VOA programs adhere to a standard format. Beginning on the hour, there is 10 or 15 minutes of news (sometimes followed by analysis), then feature material completing the half-hour. The three- or four-minute analysis comes closest to overtly influencing the listener. But such context is 'low-key' and principally reflects US policy.

With truth *the* criterion, great caution governs the dissemination of VOA news—the programing staple. Normally, events must be the subject of more than one major news service before they are used. If VOA sees a need to broadcast a happening only reported by one news agency, the Voice will make clear the lack of authentication and the identity of the source.

Spoken at a slower rate and confined to a limited vocabulary, "Special English" news and features attract listeners whose English is less than fluent, particularly students of the language.

Against the Soviet Union's over 1,000 hours-a-week of broadcasts to international audiences—and Red China's almost 800 hours—the Voice for about 750 hours during the seven days enunciates in one way or another US foreign policy and depicts American life—industry, education, the arts, science, agriculture—sports, music and religion. American *opinion* is widely broadcast and gets good acceptance, as the hearer knows it is what the US citizen himself hears and reads.

Feature programs, without news, are also recorded specifically for oversea play by local stations, when the information officer abroad can obtain such domestic airing.

To cover outstanding events, Voice specialists staff program centers in Munich, Rhodes, Cairo and Beirut, and in Manila and Bangkok. And local correspondents are called on when news breaks suddenly in far away places.

What is the Voice's current role? The VOA is a primary champion of our side in today's dialogue between freedom and its enemies.

In all these trying Cold War years that have called for so much firmness and patience and have ruled out the use of mass violence to remedy matters, our oversea communications effort has undertaken to present the true face of the United States, a valid picture of American thought and life. In the fifties we hoped, and almost expected, the documented image would attract and win the minds of men unalterably to our viewpoint, even our way-of-life. Today, we tend to believe that our mode of existence cannot suit each enclave of this vast earth, each man. Oversea information objectives and messages blend into man's pluralistic reality.

Although television has come to the more-developed areas of the world and some trans-oceanic telecasting has taken place, *radio* remains the most dominant and instant communicator to nations and their peoples. Millions of transistor and other radio listeners exist in lands that will not have widespread television for a decade, or longer. Many if not most of these people do not know how to read. For them, the radio receiver—relatively inexpensive, portable—is *the* fount of information and, we hope, freedom.

Light—for the Voice

The Voice of America operations in Washington never cease. The United States of America speaks to the world from the Voice studios throughout the night. . . A wondering world hears of the fabled/maligned land called America. The lights that burn at the Independence Avenue studios indicate that truth and decency are streaking by microwave transmission to the Greenville carriers, by-line to other US transmitters. And then millions of watts, unleashed, become communicators.

Across the Potomac River, halfway up the slope into Virginia, the light of a small flame burns endlessly, too. It is over the young President who said:

> "The Voice of America carries a heavy responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are . . . tell them of our basic beliefs . . . make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition . . . ." ■

EDITORIALS

PROGRESS REPORT

LAST May an "important message" was sent to members of the Association jointly by the then President and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Association. The present Board of Directors has turned to the problem of implementing the plans and improvements envisaged by the former Board.

A Committee on Career Service Principles has been appointed and the Association is fortunate to have former Ambassador Livingston Merchant as the Chairman of this Committee. Marshall Green, who has been so active in Association affairs, will assist him. All classes of Foreign Service officers will be represented on this committee which will include a number of USIA officers as well.

A Committee on the Foreign Affairs Symposium has been created under former Ambassador George V. Allen and a number of preparatory meetings have been held. There is complete agreement on the holding of a symposium this autumn but no final decisions have been made on the subjects to be discussed.

The Board is still pursuing the possibility of establishing a Foreign Service Association Club. The Foreign Service Protective Association is interested in this project and DACOR (which now has some club facilities) may eventually wish to join in this project. The all important question of where to locate such a club is yet to be resolved.

For a number of reasons the Board decided to abandon the idea of having certain organizations affiliated with the Association in the category of "Corresponding Membership." It was agreed that the new categories of "Fellows in Diplomacy" and "Corresponding Members" would adequately lead to a closer relationship with those Americans outside the Government who are concerned with and interested in foreign affairs and the Foreign Service.

The JOURNAL will report from time to time on the progress being made in these worthwhile undertakings. ■

HE WORE TWO HATS WELL

EVER since the issue of November, 1963, the masthead of the Foreign Service JOURNAL has carried this line under "JOURNAL Editorial Board:" Edwin M. J. Kretzmann, Chairman. This was the beginning of a happy era which came to an end on December 22, 1964, when Mr. Kretzmann attended his last Board meeting. At the end of the month he retired from the Foreign Service.

During his time as chairman of the Editorial Board Mr. Kretzmann filled a double role. He was a senior officer in the State Department—a post that exacted much more than the statutory eight hours a day—and in addition he carried out the many duties which befall the Chairman of the Editorial Board. For some men this double role might be acutely difficult: the JOURNAL, after all, is the voice of the American Foreign Service Association; it is not the voice of the Department of State. Through his fifteen months as chairman of the Board, Mr. Kretzmann maintained a serene, unwavering balance between his obligations to the Department and his obligations to the Board. He was a cohesive force in promoting the welfare of the magazine.

Mr. Kretzmann's long experience in public relations and his familiarity with the whole field of news publications gave him unique qualifications for guiding the affairs of the JOURNAL. He was fertile in conjuring up new ideas for articles and vigorous in pressing suitable writers to put them down on paper. He was generous with his time in writing editorials and book reviews. As chairman of the Editorial Board he attended all meetings of the Directors of the Association and contributed freely and wisely to their deliberations.

Before his departure as chairman of the Editorial Board, Mr. Kretzmann was urged to continue his contribution in the shape of articles and reviews.

We are confident that the readers of the JOURNAL join the Editorial Board in wishing Mr. Kretzmann a happy and active retirement. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

No sooner had the Christmas hurly-burly subsided than Washington ran up a new fever. This time it was the Inauguration. From the outset it was apparent that this one would be the biggest and the costliest Inauguration whirl in history. Hotels announeed that they would not aeeept reservations for a stay of less than four days. Nevertheless all the 16,000 rooms in the District were snapped up in no time at all. It was then aseertained that there were 15,000 more rooms to he had in the hotels and motels of outlying areas within 15 miles of the eapital. The rush then began for these.

In the meanwhile the printing presses began grinding out invitations. They proliferated like Greek draehmas at the end of the war. The pre-Inauguration total ran to 150,000 and 50,000 more will be issued after January 20th. Four years ago for the Inauguration of President Kennedy there was a total of 59,000 pre and 50,000 post.

It is perfectly obvious that the majority of those holding the 150,000 bristols will not be able to get into a single ceremony or gala or ball. Indeed they are being sprayed throughout the country and most of the recipients have no intention of eoming to Washington.

What then do the reeipients do with their trophies? They show them to their friends and neighbors. They build up prestige at the small eost of ineiting a little spite and envy. They are also suitahle for framing. They make a nice companion piece to the diploma from Wabash Business College.

At previous inaugurations the eomplaint was heard that the parade ran too long. There was too much of everything including high sehool bands. This year the entrepreneurs have deereed a "short and vital" parade involving about 15,000 persons. Four years ago, 32,000 persons took part. To see the parade one ean stand at the eurb and try to see over other peoples' shoulders, or one can buy a seat in various stands lining Pennsylvania Avenue. These eost $3.50 to $25.00.

The prineipal eeremony is, of eourse, the Inauguration itself. Only the most prominent eitizens ean erowd into that. The biggest social event is the Demoeratic gala for members of the President's Cluh, where the entertainment will be provided hy topnoteh stars of the stage and sereen. Priority for this goes to the members who won their laurels by giving more than $1,000 to the party treasury. There are 3,000 of these and their wives bring the total up to 6,000. The armory holds 8,000.

The luckiest people in all this brouhaha are foreign ambassadors stationed in Washington. They and their wives draw numhered seats at the Inauguration eeremony and again for the paradc. On top of this they will get a free bus ride from the State Department to the Capitol, from the Capitol to the reviewing stand and from the reviewing stand haek to the State Department. On the buses there will be no protoeol problems, no assigned seats. Each ambassador will be free to take any seat he faneies.

It is estimated that the bill for the Inauguration celebrators will eome to $1.5 millions. The entrepreneurs think that the participants will in one way or another foot the bill.

An agitating question is, "Will it snow or not?" Everyone who was in Washington the day of the Kennedy Inauguration loves to dwell on the muddle ereated by the parade and the snow. Estimates of the snowfall seem to run from 5 to 80 inches. No matter how many inches it was certainly the worst hlizzard since that time Cotton Mather got arrested for drunken driving on Pennsylvania Avenue.

It would admittedly he more eonvenient to have no snow on January 20th. But on the other hand think of how demoralizing it will he, when you launch into your reminiscences of this inauguration to have someone eut off your current with, "But 1965 was nothing eompared with 1961. Why the blizzard then . . ." Perhaps it would be better to have snow. Then in the days to come you ean launeh your narrative with confidence. "Do you know how long it took me to get from the Mayflower Hotel to my home in Silver Spring? Well, guess!" You know then that you have got them on your gaff and never, never will they forget that you witnessed the Inauguration of 1965.

Graekle Trouble

"London," a refleetive type from Pimlico once said, "is a eity of 'omes." How right he was, for, wherever people eongregate there are bound to be 'omes. It is equally true of Dallas, Cheyenne and Washington, D. C. Cities of 'omes all of them. But Washington is, in addition, a eity of birds and squirrels of all kinds. In Washington there are too many of every species. And the situation is getting worse. A reeent census of grackles—those big, blustering, obstreperous blaek birds—shows a total of 427,652 in the Washington arca. A year ago there were only 28. No eomplaints were heard against the 28 but 427,552 are definitely too many. It shows what lax attitudes ean lead to . . . all thinkers on immigration problems should study the grackle situation.

Why should all these graekles impose on us? We don't reeommend brutal aetion hut a serious effort should be made to induce the grackles to go elsewhere. It eould he pointed out to them that they would find a finer climate in Muleshoe, Tex., Chowchilla, Calif., or Yazoo City, Miss. And the food supplies would be exeellent in Joplin, Mo. and in Kankakee, Ill.

The most serious aspect of the problem is the rather suspieious eneampment of these birds in Germantown, Md., near the headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission. It seems very odd that the grackles had to pick this spot. Seeurity officials should look into it at once.

Triste Addio

For years and years Mrs. Marie McNair has been whirring around the Washington diplomatic eircuit. Her lively deseriptions of dinners, luneh es, boozies and other diplomatie didoes were an essential part of the Washington POST. It was always a pleasure to learn what the tiara set was up to at the Corcoran reeeption, what the Tellurian ambassador said to the Ginsterian ambassador's wife, how the John Chaffinch Puleiphers flew up from Palm Beach to grace Mrs. Carnarvan's garden party. It is so much pleasanter reading about these doings than going to them. It was a most agreeable sensation sitting at home, earessing one's martini and thinking, "Why should I exert myself? Mrs. McNair won't miss a triek and tomor-

row I'll hear all about it." And now the POST announces that Mrs. McNair has retired. The newspaper will never be the same again.

Award of the Month

Does Sam Harrison deserve the February achievement award? All our sleuthing, all our recourse to Pinkertons and police dogs have failed to locate him. The SATURDAY REVIEW which relates his commendable behavior identifies him simply as "works for the State Department." A barber shop was the scene of Mr. Harrison's triumph. Here is the account supplied by Jerome Beatty, Jr., in the S.R.:

All the chairs were filled. Sam was the only one waiting. A man came in after Sam and was greeted in warm fashion by one of the barbers:

"Hello, Mr. Jackson. Be with you in a minute."

When his customer left, the barber turned to Mr. Jackson and said, "next."

As Mr. Jackson went toward the chair, Sam said, "Hold it. I'm next."

Mr. Jackson stepped back politely and gave his place to Sam. While the barber cut Sam's hair petulantly, he kept up a running conversation with Mr. Jackson including hints to the effect that he would be finished shortly. When he got through, Sam saw that he had done a hasty, poor job. Sam handed the barber a dime as a tip and said, "This is for you."

Then he walked down the row to an empty chair, sat in it and said to that barber, "A haircut, please."

The barber said, "Say, didn't you just get a haircut?"

Sam replied, "Do you call this a haircut?"

"Yes."

Sam asked, "Where is the manager of this shop?"

They pointed him out. He was in the lobby on a coffee break. He had not witnessed any of these events. Sam went out and approached him, saying, "I think I'd like a haircut. Don't you think I need one?"

The barber looked at Sam's head and replied, "You certainly do. Come inside and we'll take care of you."

This tale indicates that Sam Harrison is an admirable citizen. If we give him the February Achievement Award, it may flush him out of the bushes.

Broad Minded View

The January Washington Letter was full of applause, you will recall, for the Kennedy memorial film "Years of Lightening, Day of Drums." Word has come from any number of capitols that the film is having a huge success. There is no more beguiling item than one from Colombo: Ceylon's Foreign Ministry decreed cuts in references to Fidel Castro. They were regarded as "uncomplimentary." There were also cuts in the sections dealing with President Kennedy's visit to Berlin and events in Southeast Asia. These were considered anti-Communist.

The Name on the Door

Almost $9,000 has come in from Association members for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. If the total reaches $10,000, a plaque bearing the Association's name will go up on the door of a box in one of the theatres. Up to now nearly all contributions have been substantial sums. This suggests that members must have felt that small sums were unsuitable, not worth the trouble or whatever. But a flood of small sums could easily make up the last $1,000. This is not to say, of course, that large sums will be spurned. We repeat: to get within $1,000 of the goal and then falter would be a sad business.

The Contest Winners

You may read on page 4 the results of the photograph contest. One gratifying aspect of the contest was the difficulty of picking the winners. There were no bad entries at all. There were so many first-class pictures that the judges had many hours of perplexity.

This is an appropriate time to repeat a compliment uttered by Julien Binford, a distinguished painter. Examining three recent issues of the JOURNAL, Mr. Binford said, "The high quality of all the art work—photographs, cartoons and sketches, is incredible in a magazine of this size."

Great Marlowes—Past and Present

Sylvia Marlowe, the famous harpsichordist, gave a recital in New York's Carnegie Hall and the next morning the New York TIMES printed a laudatory review with this headline, "Julia Marlowe on Harpsichord scans music of 20th Century." An excusable error, *no es verdad?*

Stumbling Blocks

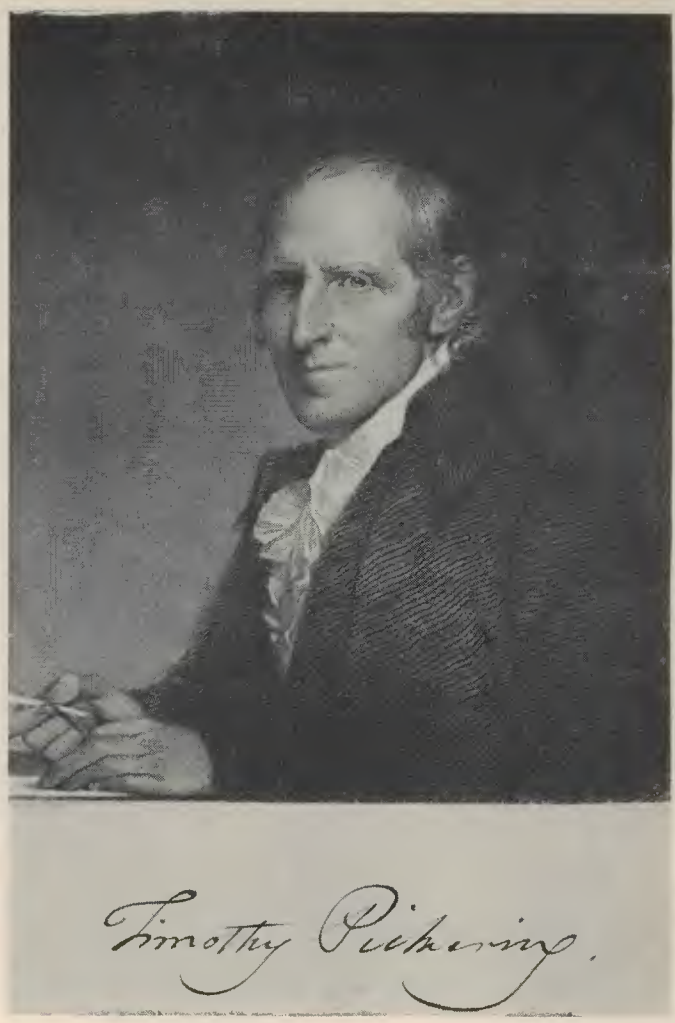
Even Georgetown, supposed to be a quiet and decorous part of Washington, has its civic upsets. A citizen stumbled over an historic carriage block in front of an old house and sued the District of Columbia for $100,000. The board of commissioners promptly decreed that the carriage blocks had to go. Instantly there was an uproar created by the owners of the carriage blocks and investing the services of all who love the finer things of life. "Carriage blocks," went the clamor, "are a part of Georgetown's charm. Let people watch their step, limit themselves to one martini and they won't stumble over carriage blocks." The commissioners relented —up to a point: people with carriage blocks may keep them if they will take out insurance policies for $100,000 protecting the District against the suits of stumblers. ■

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

by ROBERT W. RINDEN

"If we spend all our money on hats, dear, how can we meet our representational responsibilities?"

Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, 1795-1800



THE SECRETARY WHO REFUSED

by ANDREA RONHOVDE

ONLY once in the history of the United States has a Secretary of State refused to resign and forced the President to fire him outright. The dubious distinction belongs to our third Secretary of State. Timothy Pickering, a colorful New England puritan, whose diplomacy has been called "passionate"; but whose honesty, fearlessness and sense of duty have not been questioned.

If reluctant later to leave his high position, Timothy Pickering was no more willing to take on the responsibilities of governing the State Department, when President George Washington offered him the job. No less than five important men of the day, including Patrick Henry, had turned the President down when, in 1795, he sought to fill the position just vacated by Edmund Randolph. In a discouraged mood, Washington confided to Alexander Hamilton:

> "What with the non-acceptance of some, the known dereliction of those who are most fit; the exceptional drawbacks from others . . . I find the selection of proper characters an arduous duty."

In view of the burdens of holding public office in those days, the reluctance on the part of Pickering or anyone else to serve was not surprising. A salary of $3500 a year seemed hardly adequate to support a wife, eight sons and twin daughters and, at the same time, to live in a style befitting Cabinet rank. Furthermore, in the early days of our republic, the head of a department was held personally responsible for any financial losses incurred by his department. When Edmund Randolph resigned, a deficit of $50,000 was discovered and charged to him and his heirs. It was over fifty years after Randolph's death before the account was finally closed. Pickering himself, while serving as Quartermaster General during the Revolution, was helping Martha Washington into her carriage when the sheriff rode up and served him a writ holding him personally responsible for debts contracted by his department. (He was mercifully saved from debtor's prison by an act of the New York state legislature.)

Discharging his social obligations, moreover, was a duty for which Pickering felt himself both temperamentally and financially ill-suited. Tall and gaunt, with a bony face, high narrow forehead, eagle nose and long firm chin, he was outspoken and had a stern and overbearing manner. His simplicity of dress was notable in a period where ornate styles for men were the fashion. "While all sorts of people are greased with pomatum and whitened with powder, my bald head and lank locks remain in *statu quo*," he remarked in a letter to a friend. Having served as Secretary of State for several years and having bought very few new clothes, he finally conceded some new ones to be a necessity, inasmuch as "my old clothes I have already worn on both sides."

When entertainment expenses began to mount, he found himself forced to limit his social activity; and in regretting a dinner invitation, expressed his position in a manner typically forthright and candid:

> "It is not easy for me to offer an apology that has not truth for its basis . . . Mrs. Pickering and I are constrained to forego many pleasures of society, because we cannot persuade ourselves to enter on a career of expenses which, being far beyond our income, would lead to ruin."

Born in Salem, Massachusetts and educated at Harvard, Timothy Pickering had that extraordinary versatility typical of so many successful men of his time. Before going into public service, he practised law, taught school, directed a choir, sold real estate and tried his hand at farming. But it was his military career which brought him to national attention. As a Colonel in the Revolution, he fought at the head of the Essex regiment and was later appointed adjutant general and quartermaster general. Always much interested in the militia service, he wrote a manual on the organization and training of militias which remained the authoritative text on the subject for many years. When the Revolution was over George Washington appointed him to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois, and he handled that with such ability that Washington appointed him Postmaster General, then Secretary of War, and finally Secretary of State.

Pickering was a loyal New Englander and a staunch Federalist and these two influences consistently determined his policy views. The commercial interest of New England was always his guiding principle—he saw events through the eyes of a citizen of Salem facing the sea. Because of this outlook, he was basically pro-British and anti-French. This Francophobia grew stronger with each year in office until he came to refer to the French as "devils out of pandemonium" and make his famous toast to "the world's last hope—Britain's fast-anchored Isle."

During his five-year tenure as Secretary of State (1795-

TO RESIGN

1800), Pickering was primarily occupied with reconciling France to the provisions of the Jay Treaty—a maritime agreement with England which France felt contained provisions grossly inconsistent with our earlier treaty obligations to her. As efforts by John Adams' administration to pacify France's growing hostility seemed to be failing, Pickering's diplomatic papers became more vitriolic in tone. In contrast to Adams, he no longer felt that there was anything to be gained by a suppliant attitude or by friendly overtures to the French government. He was opposed to sending the conciliatory Pinckney-Gerry-Marshall mission to Paris in 1797; and when the scandalous news came back that the envoys had been asked to make a present of 50,000 pounds sterling to Talleyrand and members of the Directory in order to be received, Pickering spared no harsh words. In an explanation to Congress of what came to be called the XYZ affair (Pickering having substituted the letters for the names of the Frenchmen who approached the American envoys with the demands for money), he declared:

> "In this way it (France) determined to fleece us. In this way it gratified its avarice and revenge—and it hoped also to satiate its ambition. After a series of insults unresented, and a patient endurance of injuries, aggravated in their nature and unexampled in their extent, that government expected our final submission to its will."

This kind of passionate language was becoming more frequent in Pickering's diplomatic writings, and he was beginning to be gently criticized for it. John Jay commented that the XYZ report contained expressions "rather too caustic for a state paper." Hamilton cautioned his good friend against using intemperate language, and John Adams was later to refer to Pickering's style of expression as "indecorous." But the Secretary was never lacking in a certain self-awareness, and at the time he was removed from office wrote:

> "I confess that the manifestation of villainy whether public or private, has ever been wont to excite my indignation, and I am not used to conceal what I feel. Hence a severity of expression which should seldom be admitted into diplomatic papers. This temper, now called acrimonious, is one of my ostensible sins; but I am certain that my removal is to be ascribed to other causes."

After the XYZ affairs, the antagonism between John Adams and his Secretary of State grew steadily. A division in the Federalist party between supporters of Adams and Alexander Hamilton had developed. Pickering not only sided with Hamilton on most issues but also consulted with him secretly on affairs of state. For President Adams a situation in which his own Secretary was acting as "one of Hamilton's spies" became intolerable. (In defense of Pickering it should be pointed out that the idea that members of the President's Cabinet should give loyal support to all the President's measures did not take definite shape until a later period. As long as a Secretary took care of his duties as a department head, he was free to take his own line in politics.)

But Adams had had enough of Pickering's opposition and outspoken criticism. In an almost comic exchange of letters the President finally succeeded in ridding himself of his recalcitrant Secretary.

> "As I perceive a necessity of introducing a change in the administration of the office of State, I think it proper to make this communication of it to the present Secretary of State, that he may have an opportunity of resigning if he chooses."

Pickering replied:

> "Several matters of importance in which my agency will be useful, will require my diligent attention until about the end of the present quarter."

Then he went on to say that he had expected to stay on until the election (nine months away) and that if Jefferson were elected, he would, of course, step out and had been "economizing" in his "family arrangements with a view to that event." He concluded by saying: "After deliberately reflecting on the overture you have been pleased to make me, I do not feel it is my duty to resign."

Adams' reply was immediate:

> "Divers causes and considerations essential to the administration of the government in my judgment requiring a change in the Department of State, you are hereby discharged from further service as Secretary of State."

The antagonism between the two men continued for the rest of their lives. Adams, in particular, was never reticent about putting on record his opinion of his one-time adviser. "Under the simple appearance of a bald head and straight hair, and under professions of profound republicanism, he conceals an ardent ambition, envious of every superior and impatient of obscurity." In another somewhat gratuitous declaration, Adams said: "His removal was one of the most deliberate, virtuous and disinterested actions of my life."

Few people at the time shared this harsh opinion of Timothy Pickering for he went on to serve as both Congressman and Senator from Massachusetts, continuing as an active leader in the protection of the interests of New England. In the view of historians, Timothy Pickering was too sectional in his aims to be ranked as a great Secretary of State, but he was a more than able administrator and a man who worked hard and sacrificed much in doing what he believed to be his duty. ■

AAFSW: REPORT

ON THE FOURTH DAY OF CHRISTMAS . . .

the young people of the Foreign Service celebrated with their annual dance at the Chevy Chase Women's Club. From nine until midnight, two hundred teenagers did the Twist and the Watusi, Cha-cha-cha and Fox-trot for the benefit of the AAFSW scholarship fund.

In a holiday mood, Marjorie Ford, Sandy Maddox, Carl Root, Nell Jean McConeghey and Allan Byroade arrive from a dinner party.

Betty Lathram pins a name tag on her brother, Tom, while Linda Conroy looks on.

Mrs. Thomas P. Dillon, president of the AAFSW, has the first dance with Ambassador Joseph Palmer, II, Director General of the Foreign Service.

Cherilyn Barrett is welcomed by Mrs. Sterling Cottrell and Mrs. Robert Donhauser, members of the committee.

"Where did we meet? Was it London? Or Manila?" Before the music began, the teenagers compared notes on past posts, present schools and mutual friends.

Devon Cottrell and her escort develop some new steps to the music of Beach Johnson's band.

Dance contest winners Devon Cottrell and her partner receive their prizes from Vic Dammit.

Dancers Rosetta Starr and Vic Daumit demonstrated, ran contests and kept things moving.

After having arranged pre-dance dinner parties all over town, decorated the hall and supplied refreshments, part of the committee relaxes.

Volunteer bartenders John Stutesman and Wade Lathram had no idea that teenagers could consume so many soft drinks. They were spelled during the evening by Assistant Secretary Dwight Porter and John Dorman.

Palermo. Mrs. John Ordway, wife of the Consul General, welcomes Mrs. O. P. Bobbitt (sister of President Johnson) to Palermo. Mrs. Bobbitt and her friend, Mrs. Mildred Rupley, were taking a cruise aboard the *Cristoforo Colombo.*

Conakry. Ambassador James I. Loeh presents a wheel chair to a crippled Guinean boy, Amara Camara. The chair was the gift of the Kiwanis Wheel Chair Club of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania and was delivered by Pan American Airways.

SERVICE GLIMPSES

Beirut. Ambassador Armin Meyer escorts Prime Minister and Mrs. Haj Hussein Oweini into the theater for the Beirut premier of the USIS film "John F. Kennedy, Years of Lightning—Day of Drums."

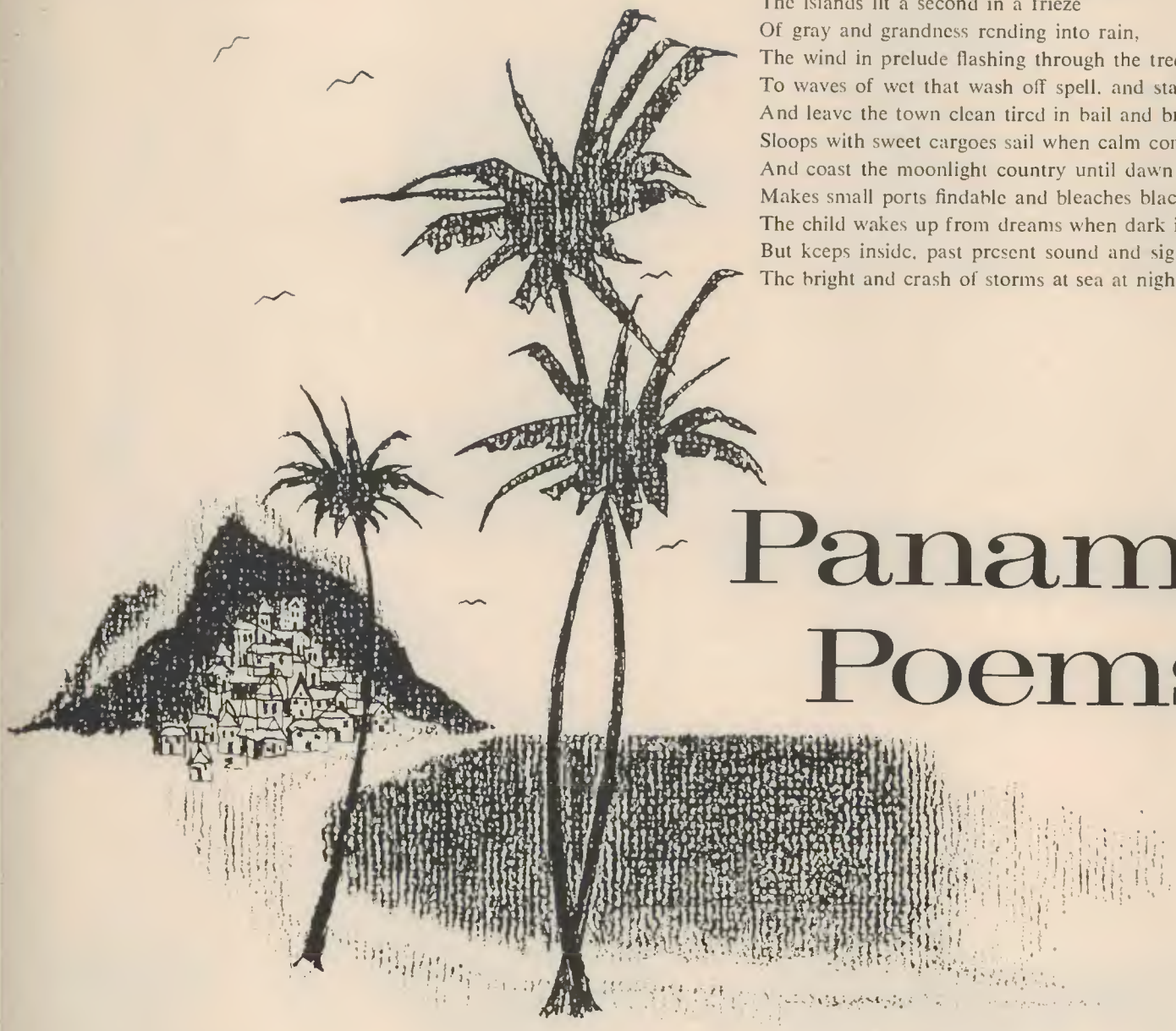
Nagoya. Philip F. Dur, American Consul on Nagoya, addresses US Air Force personnel and workers at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries on the occasion of the occasion of the contract between the Air Force and Mitsubishi for the repair of F-102s.

Milan. Ambassador Frederick Reinhardt and Consul General Earl T. Crain view Milan from the roof of the Duomo. The photo was taken on the oeeasion of the Ambassador's most reeent trip to Milan to attend the opening of a new Stigler Otis elevator plant.

Santo Domingo. Mrs. W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., wife of the Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, presents a eroupette to the Infants Ward of the Robert Reid Cabral Hospital, on behalf of the American Embassy Wives Association. Shown in photo are, l. to r., Mrs. Matt Rettinger, wife of the Direetor of Courses, Santo Domingo Binational Center; Mrs. Clarenee MeIntosh, wife of the Ameriean Consul; Dr. Haydee Rondon of the hospital staff; Mrs. Bennett; Dr. Oetavio Conzales, head of the Infants Ward.

Colombo. Ambassador and Mrs. Ceeil B. Lyon are shown with the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, at Temple Trees, Mrs. Bandaranaike's offiicial residenee. The three principals had just attended a private showing of "Years of Lightning—Day of Drums."

Djakarta. Ambassador Howard P. Jones thanks Tan Eng Gie, young Djakarta artist, for the portrait of President Johnson presented to the American Embassy.



by P. B.

Panama Poems

I. BALBOA'S MEMORIAL

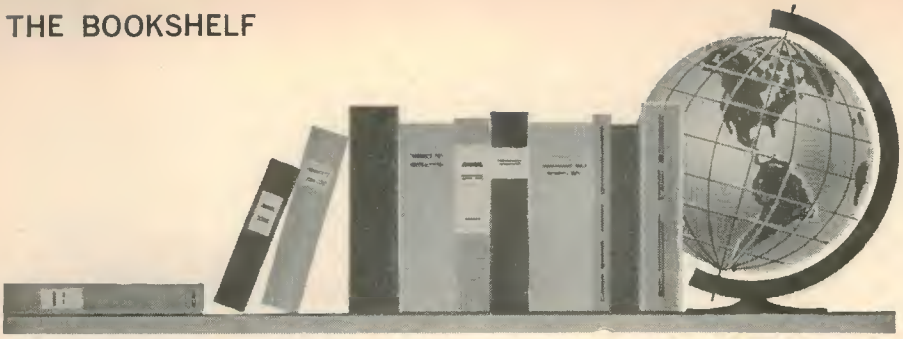
Under the spreading corotú tree, cool light;
Thousand times lovelier the livid sky,
Panama noon: hawks in their columned height
Ride in the glare above the green, and cry
White passion lies in the Panama street
Come eat papaya, Panama music's sweet.
Morena! Drunk on Chame's ragged peak
We dream on the green volcanoes of Coclé,
Teeth of the tropics, caught in clouds that seek
To bring us solace, bring surcease from day
Too full of light and air alive with cries
Of coffee, cheap oranges; Panama passion dies
And whitewashed banyans loom along the park
And anchored shrimpboats sail to fish the dark.

II. JUNE STORM

The blind-bright crash of storms at sea at night
Is fearsome for the child until she sees
The beauty of the boats in sheets of light.
The islands lit a second in a frieze
Of gray and grandness rending into rain,
The wind in prelude flashing through the trees
To waves of wet that wash off spell, and stain,
And leave the town clean tired in bail and breeze.
Sloops with sweet cargoes sail when calm comes back
And coast the moonlight country until dawn
Makes small ports findable and bleaches black;
The child wakes up from dreams when dark is gone
But keeps inside, past present sound and sight,
The bright and crash of storms at sea at night.

III. RIO BAYANO

At Chepo parrots pierce the village shade.
A splendid Negro paddles to the pier
And strange small Indians, poling fast and staid.
Dock slim piraguas full of fruit and fear
From Pan-pipe towns a two-day pole upstream
Up savage slow Bayano by green noon
To the Cuna capitals of dance, of dream,
Of dancers circling softly in the moon:
At Aguas Claras souls are in the street
When light has left, and Christ was never known.
And old men chant the story incomplete
Of earth-Mamá who bore that tree alone
That stands by salty rivers of the sea
Not far from where Bayano flows for me.



The Troubled Atlantic Partnership

NOBODY seems satisfied with the current state of the Atlantic Alliance. Its closest friends admit that it needs modernization. The world of 1949, when the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, has vanished beyond recall. In 1964 America and Europe face problems of a different sort, and measures of adjustment appear to be in order.

What shape should these measures take? The stimulating books under review by no means exhaust the list of possible remedies, but they do suggest a range of available choice.

In "The End of Alliance" Ronald Steel, a Foreign Service officer turned publicist, pursues an iconoclastic tack. NATO was useful, he maintains, when a powerful America was protecting a client Europe. But today the United States is vulnerable to terrible nuclear retaliation if it comes to the defense of its European allies. Unsure of American aid, Europe has attained a strength of its own which will eventually lead to its unfettered independence. As the familiarly outlined "disarray in NATO" is paralleled by the disintegration of the Communist bloc, the finger of history seems to Steel to point to both Soviet and American disengagement from Europe and to a basic US-USSR detente. The power centers of the new world will then emerge as the US, the USSR, China, and an uncommitted Europe.

NATO, Steel notes, could not long survive the withdrawal of American troops from the Continent. But this, he believes, is hardly a cause for serious concern, since the Alliance is becoming detrimental to America's interests. "The Alliance was built to counter the Russian threat to Western Europe. If the Russians are willing to remove their troops, and if the Europeans can now protect themselves, there is no longer any imminent threat and thus no need for America to be involved in the ground defense of Europe. NATO's passing can be greeted with satisfaction by everyone concerned."

Through his crisply written pages, it is sometimes hard to tell whether Steel is indulging in analysis, prophecy, or exhortation. A little of each, no doubt, and therein lies his failing. Steel has a keen eye for the centrifugal forces in the Alliance, and he has little hesitancy in extrapolating some current trends in Europe and in the Communist sphere to the point where the kind of syllogistic logic quoted above seems plausible enough. This is oversimplification run riot. And in the process he gives little weight to the persistent forces that have enabled the Alliance to survive for fifteen years and to remain a vital element in the planning of all its members for the future.

The fact is that, as the Berlin crisis in 1961 and the Cuban crisis in 1962 showed, defense against aggressive Soviet maneuvers is still a necessity. The break-up of NATO is still a primary Soviet objective, because a fragmented Europe would give them opportunities they now lack. As the U-2 incident and the abortive Paris Summit Conference demonstrated in 1960, the steps toward detente are easily reversible. Far from resenting the American military presence we maintain in Europe in our own interest, our allies would be appalled if withdrawal became an immediate prospect. And there is every reason to hope that an integrated Europe can and will cooperate with the United States in an Atlantic partnership enabling each to contribute to the common security.

Much of the factual background for these propositions is laid out clearly and dispassionately in "The Politics of the Atlantic Alliance." Described as a short political guide, it is actually a history, a description of the NATO organization, and a survey of its political, military-strategic, and economic problems broadly considered. If it eschews forecasts, it presents in balanced form the whole complex of issues about which the debate over NATO's future swirls. For the student or the new practitioner in the Atlantic world it will serve as an excellent introduction.

NATO's future depends heavily on the way in which Europe and the United States react to the non-conformist course pursued by Gaullist France. Like Steel, Robert Kleiman of the New York TIMES presents in "Atlantic Crisis" a view generally sympathetic to the French. To Steel, de Gaulle appears as the paladin of European independence, leading a European revolt against the Anglo-Saxon outlanders, aiming at the expulsion (the word is Steel's) of the American army from a neutral Europe in exchange for a Russian withdrawal from the satellites.

Kleiman's focus is somewhat narrower: his purpose is to explain what went wrong with President Kennedy's "Grand Design" of Atlantic partnership. He attempts to do so largely in terms of an examination of what President de Gaulle has done to obstruct both Atlantic interdependence and European integration, and why he has done it. In a sense Kleiman has made a noble effort to give us "instant history"—colorful, often circumstantial, and sometimes inexact. This is necessarily so; as Mr. Kleiman admits, the events are still too close to us for true perspective. Nevertheless, one gets the impression that, to Kleiman, the French were right in most respects and their opposite numbers were wrong. The British were largely responsible, he holds, for their own exclusion from the Common Market, and President Kennedy at Nassau should have offered Polaris submarines not to the United Kingdom but to a European nuclear force based on a joint Anglo-French force open to other Europeans.

Mr. Kleiman's thesis is that the United States can build an Atlantic policy only on relations of equality with a Europe in which de Gaulle is recognized as the strongest force. Equality between the two wings of the Atlantic partnership is clearly a necessity. But, one might ask: "Who speaks for Europe?" Clearly—today at least—not France, which is at odds with other Western European states on many political, economic and military issues, including the problems presented for others by creation of the *force de frappe*. As long as the Gaullist *mystique* envisages France as something above or apart from the rest of Europe, it is not going to be easy to create a European entity capable of dealing with the United States on an equal footing.

Another approach to the same problem is found in Professor Furniss' outstanding study on "De Gaulle and the French Army." Historians and political scientists will find illuminat-

ing this survey of the crisis in French civil-military relations arising from de Gaulle's liquidation of the Algerian affair. Professor Furniss has thoughtfully described the French Army's challenge to civilian government and the way in which the French President has mastered its disruptive effects and reintegrated the army into the French polity. We are prone to forget that French nuclear policy is, at least to some extent, an aspect of the rebuilding of French military status and morale.

Significantly, Dr. Furniss reaches the conclusion that American interest would be best served if the United States did nothing whatever to assist in the further development of the *force de frappe*. This is not because he is under any illusion that French nuclear policy would be reversed simply because President de Gaulle departed from the scene or because French officials had recovered from some temporary aberration. Rather, it stems from his view that non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is an over-riding common interest of the United States and the Soviet Union, and that American compromise on this issue might encourage French intransigence on Atlantic policy in general. At the same time, Dr. Furniss argues for evolution toward an Atlantic Alliance in which Europeans share more directly in political and military decisions.

Thus the concept of Atlantic partnership figures prominently in all of these books. Taken together, they lay out the promise of a new Atlantic relationship, the obstacles in its way, and the alternative road of European separations. American policy, committed to partnership, must work within the framework of high hopes and hard realities if it is to bring that partnership to fruition.

—DAVID H. POPPER

THE END OF ALLIANCE: *America and the Future of Europe, by Ronald Steel. Viking Press, $3.75.*
THE POLITICS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, *by Alvin J. Cottrell and James E. Dougherty. Praeger, $5.00, cloth, $1.95, paper.*
ATLANTIC CRISIS, *by Robert Kleiman. Norton, $2.95.*
DE GAULLE AND THE FRENCH ARMY, *by Edgar S. Furniss, Jr. Twentieth Century Fund, $4.00.*

The Birth of a Nation

REVERED or reviled, a few men are always remembered in the birth and growth of any new nation. Theodore Herzl and Chaim Weizmann may well be recorded as the "seers" who envisioned the new Zion in Israel, but David Ben-Gurion will be remembered as the "doer" who achieved it. "Israel: Years of Challenge" is his autobiographic account of that achievement.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's extremely readable book is a remarkable self-revelation of a leader whose prophetic determination, singleness of mind and purpose, and unblushing methods have produced a nation. It is a compendium of confidence—which history seems to justify. It is a history, as much of omission as commission, obviously designed to inspire admiration for, and from, a devoted, determined people, drawn from all corners of the earth, who have created a green, growing nation out of a vast but reclaimable waste. It is an extraordinarily lucid guide to understanding the emotions, the thoughts, and aspirations of our Israeli friends, whom we have not always understood but who have always taken us for granted.

One could comment in support or in opposition on many of the items discussed. The book ably portrays the constant nuisance and jeopardy which the Arab *fedayeen* and other hostile activities have constituted. One must readily accept the exasperation of Israel at the Suez blockade and the trade boycott. But can one accept Mr. Ben-Gurion's bland account of the timing and connivance involved in launching the Sinai Campaign? Was Israel really so frightened over her neighbors' military build-up (Chapter six, "At Bay," and the first paragraph of Chapter eight) when Mr. Ben-Gurion could casually say, "Our mobilized forces would be directed mainly to Sinai, although it would be necessary to keep a few brigades along the borders of Jordan and Syria in case their forces should go into action on orders of the Egyptian Supreme Commander (p. 120)?" And why, after the Sinai Campaign, was there so much more political agony over protecting free passage of shipping through the Straits of Tiran than over preventing further *fedayeen* raids across armistice lines (the alleged reason for the Sinai campaign)?

In this context I would point out a comment in Mr. Ben Gurion's book and ask a question. In his chapter, "Independence Reborn," Mr. Ben-Gurion refers to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947 partitioning Palestine into Jewish and Arab States, and says "the terms . . . were not merely a recommendation but regarded as juridically binding on the peoples directly concerned and all member states of the United Nations." (pp. 29-30). Could not an approach to solving the bitter conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors be found if Israel accepted this same position with regard to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of December 12, 1948 relating to the over-all peace settlement and the repatriation or compensation of the Palestine Arab refugees? The Commandments were not written part in stone and part in clay.

Having said this, I repeat, David Ben-Gurion will be remembered as a "doer," a man who achieved a dream. His book is an extraordinary insight into an extraordinary figure in this century.

Golda Meir's book is more solid history than Mr. Ben-Gurion's from a more stolid historian. She, like Mr. Ben-Gurion, is shown as a distinct personality, a leader, and a brilliant mind. Frankly a selection of papers (all but one, speeches), her book is a remarkable collection of moments in Israel's history: the centuries-old persecution (and persecution complex?); the fierce determination to create a Jewish State (as a matter of ancient "Law"); the UN General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947; the "defense" of Jerusalem—which was not included in the original Jewish state ((p. 44)); the inevitable internal problems of the "old-timers" versus the immigrants and doctrinaire legislation which didn't work out the way planners expected.

The over-stated wrath in Mrs. Meir's attack in the UN General Assembly against Egypt's Suez Canal restrictions against Israeli ship passage, and the brazen apologia for Eichmann's kidnapping from Argentina are polemic weaknesses in an otherwise strong portrayal of a strong personality and the country she represents.

Together, "Israel: Years of Challenge" and "This Is Our Strength" are essential keys to understanding Israel. One who has known Israel and its Arab neighbors can only comment that Israel and its leaders have accepted the challenges and are destined to go from strength to strength. Is there, therefore, need for the further cries of "Wolf!"?

Marie Syrkin's "Golda Meir: Woman With a Cause" is described as "an authorized biography." Mrs. Meir may well deserve much biographic treatment, but I suggest that she actually suffers from Miss Syrkin's effort. Fatuous adulation is not fair biography. As history, it is even less reliable than Mr. Ben-Gurion's. The narrative does have many sympathy-provoking scenes and it gives, inadvertently, a remarkable insight into a mass persecution complex—however deep or justified. The book is filled with examples but one will suffice. In discussing Israel's invasion of Sinai in 1956, Miss Syrkin says:

> "Worst of all, the United States, third party to the Tripartite Declaration of 1950—in which the three Western powers had pledged themselves to oppose any aggressive action in violation of the borders established by the Palestine armistice—*took the side of Egypt.*" (p. 279. The italics are mine.)

Could it not have been possible, Miss Syrkin, that, even in jeopardy to its alliance and friendship with Britain and France, the United States did what was expected of it: it took the side *against aggression?*

—James M. Ludlow

Israel: Years of Challenge, *by David Ben-Gurion. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston,* $5.00.

This Is Our Strength: *the Selected Papers of Golda Meir, Henry M. Christman, editor. Macmillan,* $4.95.

Golda Meir: Woman with a Cause, *by Marie Syrkin. Putnam,* $4.95.

Four Views of India

John Lewis' "Quiet Crisis in India" is required reading for anyone concerned with Indian development or U. S. policy toward it. The quiet crisis he describes so acutely is the noxious combination of the lack of incentives to reward extra effort, administrative lethargy, overemphasis on saving-mindedness and understress on production, and the pivotal foreign exchange scarcity which together threaten to slow the pace of Indian growth so that economic momentum is not maintained and political tolerances may be over-passed.

In the space available in these columns it is impossible to do more than suggest the range of issues Lewis examines. He analyzes and generally approves the contours of the third plan, although he considers it conservative in light of Indian needs. He argues the case for the goal of industrial self-sufficiency. He thinks the competitiveness between industrial and rural development has been overdone, since the scarce resources needed for each one are not needed by the other, and success in both depends on an increasingly close relationship between industry and the countryside. He believes managerial shortages are as critical as lack of capital. The organization of skill, market incentives and capital goods distribution in the countryside is far more critical than improving scientific knowledge or mounting further direct efforts to change village ways. He downgrades the village as the critical developmental unit, and argues instead for town-centered development.

He has ideas on US policy too. He believes US support for India's development is indispensable, perhaps requiring US assistance for the rest of the 60's of from six to seven billion dollars. The last quarter of the book reviews US aid relations and critically examines US aid procedures and practices.

The jacket blurb of "India, A World in Transition," calls it a *tour de force* and it is just about that. Mrs. Lamb has written the most readable and inclusive one-volume survey of Indian life this reviewer has seen. She attempts to communicate to the non-specialist what she has learned in over a decade's exploration of India. She has done her homework well and has been observant during her five visits to the subcontinent.

Specialists on any one of the sixteen subjects she takes up will no doubt find points of detail to quarrel with. But her chapters on Indian history and the British period are a useful and perceptive background. Her discussions of Hinduism, the minority religions, and caste, family and social change are sensitive and unusually helpful in communicating the essential mood and quality of much of Indian life.

It is an excellent overview of India, written with conscientious effort to understand across the cultural distance which separates Hindu India from modern America. Her writing is clear, her thought orderly and her presentation carefully organized.

Donald Eugene Smith's "India as a Secular State" is the most comprehensive study of this important Indian problem that we are likely to see. He rightly stresses the apparent paradox of an India, the bulk of whose population is Hindu, in an Asian setting where religion counts for more than it does in the West, nevertheless attempting to develop a secular state. As he defines it, a secular state guarantees religious freedom, treats citizens without regard to their religious affiliations and maintains separation of church and state. In a society like India's, where the most fundamental associations apart from the family are inextricably mingled with religion, and where the world is perceived so often through the symbolism and myth of religion, establishing a secular state is no mean trick. His discussion highlights major elements of this challenge and elicits admiration for the political leaders embarked on such an effort, as well as for the author's patience and thoroughness.

The book is not for the casual reader. It could have profited from editing to eliminate often interesting but sometimes unnecessary detail. However, it is authoritative on its subject and therefore highly recommended for the serious reader.

In "Portrait of India," Bradford Smith attempts to present the Indian kaleidoscope by recounting his own impressions after the manner of the experienced, sensitive journalist. Eyes and ears (and nose) alert, he reacts to India's incredible variety. He contrasts its high idealism with its deep suspicion of others; its archaic hereditary social structure with its movement toward change; its concern for the individual's inward state with its daily repudiation of the individual's condition in society; the easy word with the difficult deed; and many other facets of Indian life. He frankly admits to his frequent astonishment and perplexity. His sensitive curiosity took him into religious discussions in hopes of understanding the many faces of Hinduism. Talks with students evoked their plight in ill-organized, lethargic, over-crowded and deteriorating universities. They charmingly report on the problems of finding a mate in contemporary India. He attempts to characterize the Hindu mind; he puzzles over the streak of violence in allegedly non-violent India.

He is better at description than explanation, at evoking conversation, sights and smells, than presenting an orderly, illuminating understanding. Indians will find his observations sometimes rude, but he is fundamentally a sympathetic, affectionate observer. This unpretentious—and somewhat ill-organized—book will materially reduce the astonishment of the first visitor and recall to the old hand many delightful and maddening experiences.

—Howard Wriggins

Quiet Crisis in India, *by John P. Lewis. Economic Development and American Policy. Brookings Institution, $5.75.*

India, A World in Transition, *by Beatrice P. Lamb. Praeger, $6.50.*

Portrait of India, *by Bradford Smith. Lippincott, $5.95.*

India as a Secular State, *by Donald Eugene Smith. Princeton, $10.00.*

Taj Mahal, Early Morning *by Lynn Millar*

Reference Work

A statement on a geographical basis of modern Britain's resources, physical, economic and industrial—a complete and ordered portrait of this country from the rocks beneath to the industry above. Its two hundred pages of maps are so planned that all these material aspects of Britain can be seen and studied in relation to each other, within the covers of one great folio volume.

THE ATLAS OF BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND. *Oxford University Press, $100.*

CLIMATE OF CONCERN

SARGENT Shriver has been such an active and effective advocate of the objectives of the Peace Corps that his political and social views are already well known to the general public. The present publication of a representative selection of Mr. Shriver's speeches, delivered to a wide variety of audiences at home and abroad during the last nine years, along with new introductory material by Mr. Shriver, is welcome, however, for the insight it gives us into mind of a man whose present assignment as head of the President's War on Poverty campaign is even more important than his work in organizing the Peace Corps.

As might be expected, the book contains much material of interest on the Peace Corps, but it also brings together between hard covers a broad range of Mr. Shriver's public declarations on the war on poverty, on civil rights, on health and education, and on the more general topic of the national soul. The theme common to all sections of the book is the overriding importance of the moral issue—of our fundamental obligation to feel a sense of commitment to the cause of the common welfare. In everything Mr. Shriver has done, as President of the Chicago School Board or as Director of the Peace Corps, we see him striving energetically to convey to others his own intense convictions about the need for strong moral purpose. The creation of what Mr. Shriver calls "a climate of concern" has been, and continues to be, the object of all of Mr. Shriver's activities.

Public speeches are inevitably tailored to some extent to the audiences to whom they are delivered. People who have seen Mr. Shriver in action know that there is still more to him than this book can tell us. The "Point of the Lance" might have been an even more interesting book, for example, if it had also contained other, less obviously public, writings of Mr. Shriver. For all of that, the book nevertheless gives its reader not only a convincing portrait of the underlying moral fervor of its persuasive author, but also a glimpse here and there of Mr. Shriver's unusually charming and attractive private personality.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

POINT OF THE LANCE, *by Sargent Shriver, Harper & Row, $4.95.*

THREE RUSSIAN MEMOIRS

LITTLE, perhaps, links these three memoirs of Abrikossow, Tschebotarioff and Ehrenburg but their general Russianness and the fact that all three writers lived, early or late, years in exile from their homeland. Abrikossow was the scion of a rich family of candy manufacturers in Moscow (the family still survives there minus their factories) who entered the Tsarist Foreign Office in 1904, a rare deed for a commoner whether rich or poor. After service in St. Petersburg, London, and Peking (his account of diplomatic life in 1912 China is the most fascinating part of the book), Abrikossow was transferred to Tokyo in 1916. He remained at his post there until 1925 when, no longer representing any Government at home, he finally closed the chancery doors and embarked on the long life of an exile which ended in Palo Alto in 1951.

The memoir of Tschebotarioff, a young Cossack officer in 1917 and a retired Princeton professor now, is in part a valuable first-hand account of

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Russian military life before and after the October Revolution. The memoir also makes the rare but valid observation that since relatively few Russians ever emigrated to America, while millions of non-Russians oppressed by the Russian Empire did emigrate here, there has come about in America a certain amount of prejudice against Russians as Russians and a tendency to blacken late Russian Tsarism a little more than it deserved. Tschebotarioff's attack on the "distorted image of prerevolutionary realities" seems to have been what most led George Kennan to write the book's foreword. But at the other end of the book from the foreword, Tschebotarioff, who returned to Russia in 1959 for the first time in four decades as a member of an American exchange delegation, describes Soviet life today with what the reviewer thinks is an uncritical and maybe homesick eye. Unfortunately, the author's lack of objectivity in describing 1959 Russia may lead the reader to question also the objectivity of his account of earlier days.

Ehrenburg's book is without doubt the most important of the three. (If one must rank them by value, Abrikossow's stands second and Tschebotarioff's last; all three are useful reading for amateur or professional students of Russia.) True, Ehrenburg gives us less than an honest account of the inter-war period in Eastern and Western Europe, but it is a considerably *more* honest account than Soviet writers, including Ehrenburg, ever wrote about Europe from the time of the great Stalin purges until this book appeared. The value of the book, both for Soviet readers and for us, is not so much in Ehrenburg's descriptions of Hemingway and Malraux as in his descriptions of the Soviet writers, soldiers and diplomats who vanished in the purges—and perhaps especially in his description of coming back to Moscow from Spain in 1937 to find out suddenly how many prominent citizens were being "taken" by the police, never to return.

There is one small mistake in the translation which raises an interesting point: Ehrenburg, writing of the Soviet Jewish writer Peretz Markisch who vanished in the 1948 anti-Jewish purge, is translated as saying he could read Markisch only in translation because he did not know "Hebrew." In Russian the word is *yevreiskii,* which means not Hebrew but Yiddish. Ehrenburg himself was never a Yiddish writer but rather a Soviet Jew writing in Russian: but he worked closely with the Soviet Yiddish writers in the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee during and after World War II and he calls himself a friend of Peretz Markisch. At a 1963 Moscow conference, Ehrenburg was accused of complicity in Stalin's postwar purge of the Committee's leadership, in which not only Peretz Markisch but many other prominent Jews perished. Ehrenburg promises to carry his memoirs, which here run only to 1941, at least up to 1956; one wonders what he will ever tell us about *that.*

—PETER S. BRIDGES

REVELATIONS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT, *by Dmitrii I. Abrikossow. University of Washington Press, $6.95.*

MEMOIRS: 1921-1941, *by Ilya Ehrenburg. World Publishing Company, $6.95*

RUSSIA, MY NATIVE LAND, *by Gregory P. Tschebotarioff. McGraw-Hill, $6.95.*

Perspective on the USSR

ISAAC DON LEVINE is one of those figures, unfortunately becoming rarer with the passage of time, whose experience in Russian affairs goes back to the turbulent last years of the ancient regime. His latest work, "I Rediscover Russia," picks up the strands of his personal contact with Soviet society where he dropped them some 40 years ago in 1924. Nothing could be more appropriate to our evaluation of the current Soviet scene than the perspective that he provides as a result of renewing his acquaintance with an order which he last saw as a doctrinaire, intolerant effort to refashion completely the fundamental bases of human organization.

Mr. Levine finds in what he saw a measure of encouragment, limited to be sure by the importunities of Communist power, but heading away from the extremist obsessions of a revolution in its first flowering. He sees a desire and will to achieve a common ground with the West on the part of articulate elements of the population who have until recently been kept silent by the brutalities of Stalin's police state.

Mr. Levine's book has the virtue of providing many a glimpse into areas relatively unexplored by Western observers. As a result of careful preparation and skillful maneuvering he was able to peek behind the bureaucratic curtain obscuring the Soviet archives world and to see documents bearing on the early history of the Bolshevik movement. He succeeded in tapping literary sources and in procuring an interview with Maxim Gorky's aged widow. His book, despite its brevity, offers an interesting and professional assessment of a society more subject to change than the outer world perhaps realizes.

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

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THE AFSA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM TODAY

THE population explosion is having its impact on AFSA's scholarship program . . . the number of scholarship applications is expected to reach an all-time high in 1965. Increasing membership in the Association means that this trend will continue proportionately. Families, moreover, face sharply rising educational costs at the college level. For all of these reasons more and more AFSA members have become interested in the scholarship program, and the need for scholarship funds is also growing.

Dating back over 30 years, the scholarship program is one of AFSA's oldest and most important activities. The Committee on Education, which administers the program, has taken various steps in recent years to increase the funds available and to adapt the program to changing conditions. Since 1960 the number of applications received annually has grown from 113 to 191, the number of scholarships granted has increased from 40 to 71, and the amount awarded has grown from $20,000 to $37,300. Over the last five years 282 scholarships with a total value of $138,300 have been given.

Where the Money Comes From

All AFSA members are invited to make a voluntary contribution to the scholarship fund when they pay their annual dues, and most of them do so. Private donors have helped most generously. Recently, the Paris Commissary Association turned over a substantial sum to the program. Gifts from other commissary associations and like organizations would be warmly welcomed. The Association of American Foreign Service Women established its annual Book Fair in 1960 to raise scholarship funds. Last year the sum of $5,700 was made available by that Association. Substantial sums have been contributed by a number of other people interested in the scholarship program. Several of these have been in four figure amounts. From time to time, memorial funds in honor of deceased officers have provided further funds. These scholarship contributions are, of course, subject to income tax deduction.

Who Gets Scholarships

In earlier years scholarship aid was granted to qualified children whose parents were members of the Foreign Service, the Foreign Service Reserve, and the Foreign Service Staff Corps, i.e., mostly State Department personnel stationed overseas. Since 1960, however, reflecting the broadened membership of AFSA, an increasing number of scholarships have been granted to young people who have a parent employed by USIA or AID. For most scholarships, membership of a parent in AFSA is a requisite. Some, however, are open to any student whose parent is or has been an FSO, FSR, or FSCR whether or not the parent is or was a member of AFSA.

Most scholarships are given for undergraduate study at a college (or junior college) in the United States, although a few are given each year for study at a preparatory school. This year, scholarship winners are attending 56 different colleges and institutions all over the United States.

Scholarships are given for graduate work only in exceptional circumstances, since there are many teaching fellowships available for graduate work from other sources.

Preparatory school applications receive careful consideration by the Committee, but only a few awards in this category are granted each year. The decision to send a child to a private preparatory school is an optional one in most cases. It is considered therefore that such schooling should normally be financed by the parent.

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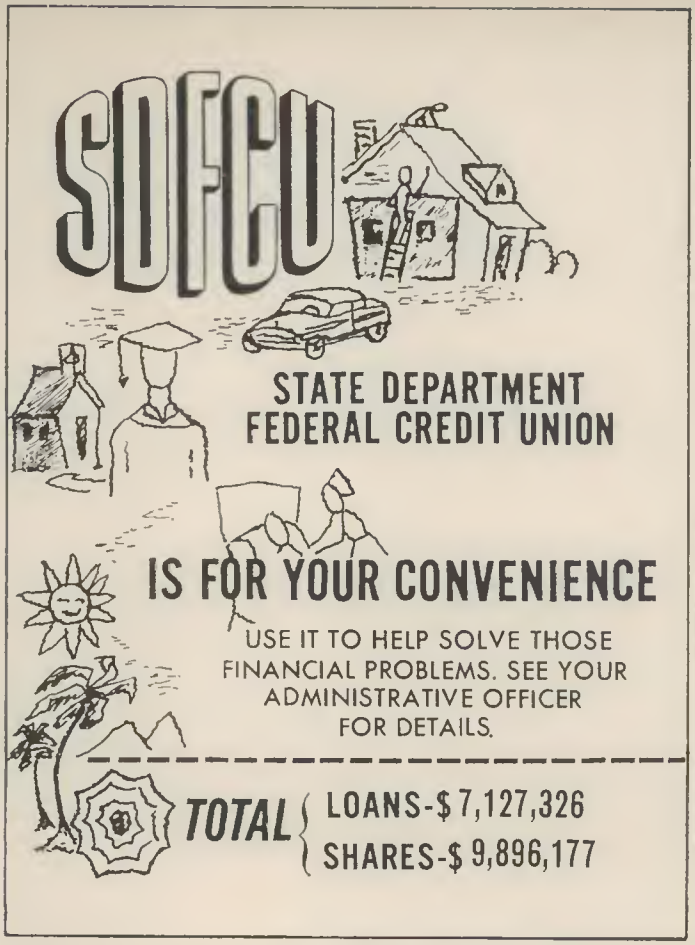

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How Scholarship Grants are Determined

Until 1964, scholarships had been fixed at a standard $500. Now, a sliding scale is used under whieh grants up to $1,000 may be given, depending on the degree of financial need. The new system recognizes that the eost of eollege edueation is eontinuing to rise and permits the Committee to take into aeeount the differing needs of suecessful eandidates.

Two major elements are considered in awarding scholarship aid: First, the applicant's degree of financial need; seeond, his relative standing compared to other candidates as regards scholastie record, eharacter and motivation, leadership and potential. Awards are based, thus, on the eombined basis of need and merit in competition with other applicants.

In 1964-65 the Committee ranked all candidates according to merit eategory. This rating was then combined with the individual's rating of finaneial need and the size of the grant was then established. If the student was in the most needy group and also ranked in the top merit group, eligibility for a $1,000 grant was established. Applieants falling in the middle range of finaneial need and ranking in the top merit eategory were eligible for grants ranging from $500 to $700.

Parent's Financial Statement

A confidential financial statement similar to that used by the College Seholarship Service (a cooperative program of the Collegc Entranee Examination Board) is filed by parents with the Educational Consultant to AFSA. It is seeen by no one else. Thc degree of finaneial need as determined by the Edueational Consultant is defined in broad categories and is then turned over to the Committc on Education for its use.

Seholarship Applications

The Committec on Edueation does its utmost to insure fairness between applieants and for this reason has adopted a "Statement of Criteria and Procedures" to guide it. The text of this Statement is shown in a box below. An important

CRITERIA AND PROCEDURES FOR THE GRANTING OF AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS

The objective of the scholarship program is to grant awards, within the limit of available funds, to the most deserving applicants. The following factors are regarded as of primary importance in this regard:

a) Scholastic record.
b) Character and leadership as demonstrated by accomplishment, standing among fellow students, and personal qualities.
c) Motivation and development potential.
d) Special problems due to Foreign Service backgrounnd.
e) Degree of financial need.

Although it is not possihle to assign precise weights to each and every factor which must be taken into consideration in evalnating merit, the following general standard of weighting has been adopted with respect to the first three factors to insure uniformity of approach:

Scholastic record—weight of one-half
Character and leadership—weight of one-quarter
Overall potential—weight of one-quarter

Where applicable, appropriate weight shall also be given to a fourth factor, special problems due to Foreign Service backgrounnd. In the first instance, each Committee member shall exercise his own judgment concerning the degree to which the individnal merit score of the applicant should be adjnsted to this account. Snch cases will then be reviewed by the Committec as a whole.

After the foregoing factors have been evalnated and individnal merit scores assigned, the degree of financial need of each applicant will be combined with his individual merit score to provide an overall rating. The overall ratings will be the basis for comparing candidates and arriving at the final determination of awards.

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variable beyond its control, however, is the differing content of the material submitted in support of individual applications. The candidate's personal statement or essay should provide insight into his personality and character. While many essays do, some do not. Comments turned in by teachers also vary greatly in comprehensiveness with respect to the applicant's record, motivation and character. Finally, the Committee expects the application to be sent in on time, neatly and accurately presented. Applicants are urged, therefore, to devote care and thought to the personal essay and inform teachers whom they ask to fill out questionnaires about the purpose and the importance attached to this information by the Committee.

New Excellence Awards in 1965

AFSA has established a special "Award for Student Excellence," a new non-monetary award to provide the Association a means of recognizing all-around excellence and achievement for Foreign Service children. Application can be made independently from scholarship aid, in which case no financial statement is required from the parent, or application can be made for both a Special Award and scholarship aid. Special Awards will be given to those applicants judged to be outstanding as regards scholastic record, character, motivation and potential, whose achievements reflect credit on the Foreign Service.

How the Education Committee Operates

Members of the Committee (four men and four women) are appointed by AFSA's Board of Directors because of their interest in the program, the fact that they have no children in the age group competing for awards and their willingness to devote long, thoughtful hours to the work of the Committee.

The system now used by the Committee in judging the relative standing of candidates is akin to that followed by Selection Boards. The Committee is divided into two four-member teams. As committeemen review individual applications, they place each candidate in one of five rank categories of approximately equal size, using a + or − sign to indicate standing within the category. A rating of "1+" thus indicates an outstanding candidate in every respect, "5−" indicates a relatively weak candidate. After the Committee members, working separately, have reviewed all applications and assigned category ratings, each team meets to compare results and work out a team rating for each candidate. Usually, individual judgments agree within a narrow range. Where they do not, the team reviews the application and tries to reach agreement through discussion.

Next, the captains of the two teams meet and compare team results. These, too, usually show a high degree of unanimity. Indeed, experience indicates that whenever the judgments of four members on a team coincide, the judgments of the four members on the other team are almost always identical. To provide more time for consideration of cases where there is disagreement, it has been decided that next year an application will be reviewed by all eight Committee members only where there is substantial disagreement in the rating among four team members. Finally, on a Saturday late in May, after six weeks of intensive work, the Committee meets as a whole to review one-by-one the cases where there is substantial disagreement. Then the combined financial need and merit ratings of each finalist are reviewed and a decision made on the awards—both the number of scholarships to be granted and the amount of each grant. These results are reviewed once more early in July to take into account any information received from applicants about financial assistance being awarded by others and changes in their plans. Immediately thereafter each candidate is notified of the Committee's decision, and in September checks are sent to the appropriate institutions. ■

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MEMORIAL TO AMBASSADOR STELLE

AMBASSADOR CHARLES C. STELLE had a host of loyal colleagues and good friends both in and out of the US Foreign Service. They were in the academic and business worlds, as well as in Government life. They came from the Far East, where he was born, grew up, and later served, as well as from the Near East, Europe and America. They formed lasting personal attachments to him whether they were Soviet or British diplomats, with whom he worked so closely in the nuclear test ban talks, or representatives of the many more countries participating in the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference. They included Secretaries of State as well as the young new FSOs, whose first assignments, as members of "Charlie's" staff in Geneva made them part of the last staff, unfortunately, that the Ambassador was ever to have around him. For on June 11, 1964, in the full flower of his creative powers and with at least a decade of valuable service to his country still in prospect, Charles Clarkson Stelle suddenly and unexpectedly passed from our midst.

His most conspicuous contributions to our national security were made during his last five years when he worked, with relatively few interruptions, to advance the cause of peace through positive, but realistic and controlled, measures of arms limitations and disarmament. No man worked longer and harder on the nuclear test ban treaty, and few contributed as much to the general evolution of US disarmament policies in recent years. He was the signatory for the United States on the Moscow-Washington "hot line" agreement, which he negotiated.

Some of us who were fortunate to be associated with him have asked ourselves and each other how Charlie would best like to be remembered. After much thought, we have decided that he would be most pleased if he could become the spark for any project that would help, even a little, to promote high standards of excellence and character among the youth of today and tomorrow, for whom he was trying to do his bit in building a safer and saner world. Specifically, it has seemed to us that it would be most fitting if an annual scholarship could be established in his name to assist some outstanding young man in a Foreign Service family, preferably to attend Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. Charlie found

much inspiration and guidanee in Andover in his own youth and eould not have been more pleased when his son ehose to follow in his footsteps. However, if no Foreign Service child qualifiecl for a seholarship or for admission to Andover, the fund eould be made available to a qualified applieant for another preparatory school.

To this end, and purely in our personal capacities, we ask all of his friends and all of our friends to join with us in making a eontribution to the Scholarship Fund in memory of Charles C. Stelle whieh will be administerecl by the Ameriean Foreign Serviee Association. It is hoped that this fund will be suffieiently well established to permit a substantial grant to the first recipient in the summer of 1965. Cheeks should be made payable to the AFSA Seholarship Fund indicating that they are for the Charles C. Stelle Fund, and sent to the Ameriean Foreign Scrviee Assoeiation, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, D. C. 20006. All contributions will be deduetible from Federal Ineomc Tax.

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AFSA: Minutes

December 11: The Finanee Committee has initiated studies for a program whieh may result in a non-interest-bearing loan program for the edueation of ehildren of members of the Assoeiation. This would be in addition to the Seholarship Program. Further discussion on this projeet will be held with the Committee on Edueation and the Legal Committee.

The speaker for the February Foreign Serviee Association luneheon will be Carl Rowan, direetor of USIA.

Mr. Weiner reported on the possibility that home leave expenses of Foreign Service personnel may be deduetible on income tax returns. The Legal Committee is studying this possibility and other tax problems.

December 30: The Board diseussed plans for a symposium to be held in the fall with the feeling that the members of the Assoeiation would weleome an annual opportunity to exehange views, as other professional organizations have been doing for many years.

DEATHS

(*Continued from page* 2)

pointed Ambassador to Libya in 1954 and resigned in 1958.

THOMASSON. David A. Thomasson died on Deeember 22, in Lisbon, Portugal. Mr. Thomasson entered the Foreign Serviee in 1923 and retired in 1960. His posts prior to his resignation in 1928 to enter private business were Tirana, Helsingfors and Montevideo. He was reappointed to the Foreign Serviee in 1931 and served at Addis Ababa, Helsingfors, Naples, Tokyo, Mexico City, London, FSI, Strasbourg and Zurieh and Vaduz where he was Consul General at the time of his retirement.

VIKINGSON. Eugene R. Vikingson, FSO, died on January 6, 1965 in Alexandria, Va. Mr. Vikingson entered the Foreign Serviee in 1962. He served at Paris from 1962-64 as 3rd Secretary and Viee Consul. At the time of his death, he was assigned to GATT, Office of International Trade.

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WILLIAM J. HANDLEY—NEW CHAIRMAN OF EDITORIAL BOARD

William J. Handley who has recently been appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs is the new Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. He has recently returned from Bamako, Mali, where he was Ambassador for the past two and one-half years.

This is the third time that Ambassador Handley has worked on the Journal. He served on previous Editorial Boards between 1950 and 1951, and 1960 and 1961.

Born in Surinam of American parents, he is a graduate of the University of Maryland and has served in various capacities in the State Department and USIA over the past twenty years. Early in his career he specialized in Labor matters and was assigned to Cairo in 1945 as Regional Labor Attaché in the Near East. Later he was Labor Adviser in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

A career USIA Reserve Officer, the new chairman has served as Deputy Public Affairs Officer in New Delhi, Assistant Director of USIA for NEA, and as Director of the Information Center Service. He was the first USIS Career Officer to be appointed Ambassador. Mr. Handley is married to the former Mary Lee Kilduff and they have two children, Carolyn, who is 21, and Jeffrey, who is 10.

Chairman Handley likes golf, although he is admittedly no Arnold Palmer. Whenever he breaks 90 he feels he has had a great day.

RECENT SERVICE ITEMS

by JAMES B. STEWART

► George Winters recently recalled the examination for the Foreign Service which he took in 1927: "That was the year when the first written examinations were canceled because some misguided aspirant in the Department had had access to the questions. I was burned up with such an incompetent outfit but nevertheless decided to try again. I passed without further study which probably I hadn't on the first try. *Así es la vida.*"

► Bill Moreland, retired, of Dawson Moreland Associates, Washington, D. C., has been conducting a unique type of school—teaching Congolese pupils about commerce and trade so that they can become commercial attachés in their country's embassies.

► Harold Tewell, retired in Coral Gables, goes way back to the time he was stationed in Vancouver: "Last May, at the meeting of retired FSOs living in Florida, my wife related an incident which took place when you inspected the Vancouver office. After dinner in our home our then small daughter Shirley toddled down from her bedroom to ask her mother if she and her sisters 'had done all right' while the inspector was there."

► Stewart Anderson, recently retired, recalls an incident of the last day of his F. S. School: "A member of the class, when asked by Secretary Hull to which post he had been assigned, replied, 'Tokyo, Sir.' Mr. Hull remarked, 'That's fine, if you ever get there.' The next day was December 7, 1941—Pearl Harbor." ■

(Continued from page 25)

toward the restoration of full human dignity to the Negro after 300 years of its denial.

In other words, communication between whites and Negroes must begin, especially on the parts of whites—since political and economic power are largely in the hands of whites—with something approaching a clear understanding of past relations between the two groups and the realities of the present situation.

In short, successful communication between Negro and white citizens must begin, as all communications must begin, with a profound recognition that words are not enough, that words must be the prelude to actions, and that actions must be earnestly considered and honestly proposed in the light of the full historical context and the present realities.

To return to the problem of international communication: what kind of image, to use the language of mass communications, are we projecting to the world? What credence do other nations give to our messages? What faith do they place in our statements of motive? What trust do they place in our promises?

Students of semantics are familiar with the concept of metacommunication—the idea that every communication is accompanied by a communication about the communication which may either underline or cancel the original communication. You may say, for example, "I love you," while presenting the lady with flowers, which are the metacommunication which underlines the communication. Or you may say, "I love you—you know damn well I do," and stamp out of her presence, slamming the door as you go—which would be another kind of metacommunication.

I am deeply concerned with white-Negro relations, therefore, not only because of an interest in justice for the Negro, but also because of an equal interest in America's position in the world. What we say to Europe, Latin America, Asia, or Africa, will be respectfully heeded or laughed at, depending on the metacommunicative accompaniments in our own national behavior that either reinforce or cancel our messages. If the world gets a picture of an America of dynamic change in which the injustices of the past are being energetically uprooted, this fact alone will gain for our diplomats, our USIA officers, and our Voice of America broadcasts a larger, more respectful audience. But if the prevailing picture the world gets of us is that of Negroes being stoned as they move into a new home in Chicago, Negro children being set upon by police dogs in Birmingham, non-violent demonstrators being herded around with electric cattle-prods, we can speak with the tongues of angels about freedom and human dignity, and only be laughed at for our efforts.

The problems posed by the unfinished business of post-Civil War Reconstruction are perhaps the most serious that America faces, both internally and vis-à-vis the rest of the world, at least two-thirds of which is non-white. They constitute not only a political and practical issue both nationally and internationally, but also a profound moral issue. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have both spoken eloquently for the federal government and placed that moral issue squarely before us. Many educators and religious leaders and an enormous number of young white people, especially in colleges and universities, have already taken the issue to their hearts and are doing something about it.

Anatol Rapoport once said that a great man should be measured not by the standard of past ages, "How many millions of people were afraid of him?" but by a new standard, "How many people has he made less afraid?" Perhaps we can measure ourselves as a nation by a similar standard, not, "How many nations are afraid of us because of our military might?" but, "How many millions of people in the world

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have we made less afraid. To how many have we given hope because of the example we have set of justice and equality for all?" ■

This article was presented as a lecture in the State Department Auditorium on June 25, 1964, as the third of a series of noonday programs on "Aspects of Inter-Cultural Understanding." The series is sponsored by the Center for Cross-cultural Communication in cooperation with the State/USIA Recreation Association.

A non-profit educational institute which utilizes the social sciences and the arts to promote better inter-cultural understanding, the Center for Cross-cultural Communication was established by former USIA Cultural Affairs Officer, Warren Robbins. Its principal project is the new Washington Museum of African Art (see p. 30, May 1964 issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL).

Dr. Hayakawa, a consultant to the Center and a trustee of the Museum of African Art, is a Professor of English at San Francisco State University. As the foremost authority in the United States in the field of General Semantics, he is particularly interested in the contribution that an understanding of semantics can make to interracial understanding.

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ANDREA RONHOVDE is the daughter of Andreas G. Ronhovde, Deputy Chief of Mission of the American Embassy in Oslo. She attended public schools in Stockholm, the National Cathedral School and an American Correspondence high school in The Hague. In 1960 she graduated from Radcliffe and has since worked in educational television and for ABC News. She has just returned from a year of study and travel in Europe. Miss Ronhovde is related to Timothy Pickering through her great grandmother, Olive Pickering, who in the 1870's traveled by stagecoach from New Hampshire to Montana to be the school teacher in the then rough town of Missoula.

C. SINCLAIR (BUD) RICE is a contract broadcaster (in English) for the Voice of America and has also written VOA scripts. Previously he was a civilian specialist with the USAF in Washington for more than five years. He has contributed articles to professional publications.

Since writing the article, "One Day in the Life of a FOO," for our January issue, BRUCE RATTENBURY has been transferred out of the Field Operations Section and named Radio Officer of USIS Laos. Before joining USIS, he was a reporter for UPI, staff writer at the University of Chicago and Information Director of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. Mr. Rattenbury and the staff of the JOURNAL apologize for the errors in the names of USAID representative, Harold Voelkner, and USIS Laos staffer, Khamsin Souphasiri. The printer apologizes for the error in Mr. Rattenbury's name.

MURIEL DONNELLY entered the Foreign Service in 1953 and has served in Jordan, France and Ecuador. She is currently on assignment in the Department. This is her second JOURNAL article.

THEODORE A. WERTIME currently edits VOA's FORUM. His publications in the history of science include a book (1962) and a recent cover article in SCIENCE (December 4).

RUTHANNE NADLER, mother of five and wife of frequent contributor S. I. Nadler, found time to produce our cover paper cut to wish the best to JOURNAL readers for 1965. Another Nadler, daughter Elizabeth Ann, contributes to the JOURNAL as the valued editorial assistant while attending Dunbarton College where she is a junior.

SAMUEL P. DIELI, author of "A Death in the Delta," which appeared in the January issue, is assistant information officer at Cantho, Vietnam. Writing for Dieli is no offhand, idle craft. He was a professional writer before he joined USIA. He was formerly assistant public affairs officer and the acting public affairs officer at Palermo. ■

THE SECOND OLDEST PROFESSION

compiled by JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

". . . A sound professional displomatic corps is neither impeded, on the one hand, nor guaranteed, on the other, by the fact of democracy. . . . The existence of a permanent body of expert diplomatists is determined basically by two factors: the position of a nation in world affairs and public appreciation of the significance of that position."—Henry M. Wriston, *Diplomacy in a Democracy*

• • •

". . . To keep the country out of trouble . . . in the right way, is the main object of diplomacy."—Elihu Root

• • •

". . . The diplomatic service has outgrown its usefulness. . . . It is a costly humbug and sham. It is a nurse of snobs. It spoils a few Americans every year and does no good to anybody. Instead of making ambassadors, Congress should wipe out the whole service."—The New York *Sun* (1889)

• • •

"Diplomacy is the ability to take something and act as though you were giving it away."—Banking

• • •

"Diplomacy is to do and say
The nastiest thing in the nicest way."
—Isaac Goldberg, *The Reflex*

• • •

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

• • •

"The dead diplomatist, inseparable
On his finger-end the skeleton-keys
Of compromise and ambiguity."
—W. D. Rogers, *End of a World*

• • •

"When they seem going they come:
Diplomats, women, and crabs."
—John Hay, *Distichs*

• • •

"I have discovered the art of deceiving diplomats. I speak the truth and they never believe me."—Camillo di Cavour

• • •

". . . There is recurrent hope (in the US) that foreign affairs will give so little trouble that the Secretary of State will be free to go fishing and that the most important of the United States embassies can be staffed with party spoilsmen."—BBC's *The Listener* (1959)

• • •

"Happy the country which offering so little can yet attract to its employment so many illustrious public servants, from Robert Livingston to Christian Herter."—H. G. Nicholas, *The American Secretary of State.*

• • •

"It is natural for the people of any country to be suspicious of their government's foreign office, made up as it is of men who habitually associate with foreigners. The American State Department is no exception."—David Cushman Coyle, *The United States Political System and How It Works*

• • •

"The premise that a 'career' ambassador is *ipso facto* a good appointment and that a 'political' appointment is *ipso facto* bad is just plain silly."—Malcolm S. Forbes

• • •

"Sound diplomacy is frequently synonymous with sound psychology."—R. M. McClintock, Ambassador

• • •

"While democracies will always have diplomacy, it is a question whether they will ever have diplomatists."—Jules Cambon

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

"The Friendly American"

YOUR fine JOURNAL reaches a lot of people, some of whom we think might be interested in our organization, The Armed Forces Writers League (AFWL).

Founded in 1954, the Armed Forces Writers League is a non-profit organization with headquarters at George Washington Station, Alexandria, Virginia 22305. The AFWL is dedicated to advancing development and employment of individual communication skills in every medium as a means of furthering its patriotic goal to "Help Write America Right."

AFWL membership is open to any United States citizen (writers, artists, photographers, public relations practitioners, etc.) who subscribes to the aims and purposes to which the League is dedicated. Membership dues are $5.00 a year.

The League's many member services are designed to kindle the novice writer's initial spark of interest, make the necessary self-help and educational tools available, furnish direction, encouragement and practical know-how at critical points in the individual's struggle toward professional writing proficiency, and finally, provide a direct avenue to publication of his work through the League's own literary agency in New York City.

One of the accomplishments of the AFWL is "The Friendly American," a prize winning book for every American at home or overseas who believes that there is another side to "The Ugly American." Awarded The George Washington Honor Medal in 1964 by the Freedom Foundation of Valley Forge, this 267 page book contains 50 heart-warming stories from around the world, one of Dr. Tom Dooley's last efforts, "A Stirring Letter to a Young Doctor," an item entitled "Goals for All Men" in 28 languages, and other related material. Through special arrangements it can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, at $1.25 prepaid.

PHILLIP R. WHEELER

Alexandria

Well, Now!

THE "Washington Letter" in its recommendations to abolish certain expressions forgot one of the most important: the word "now" when preceded by "hye."

KENNETH DUNCAN

Alexandria

Competitive Service?

IT IS certainly unnecessary to point out that we are in a competitive service. We relish competition and believe that all should compete on an equal basis. At this time of year, when the competitive aspect of our careers is most on our minds, we would like to voice an objection to a situation that makes one special group "more equal than others."

Under the Junior Officer Program some officers enter the Service as FSO-8s, some as FSO-7s. We endorse wholeheartedly the entrance of officers with the required background, experience, and ability at the higher level. We agree that this is a proper inducement for qualified individuals, who have spent several years in other fields of endeavor, to join the Foreign Service.

But we object to the present system whereby those who join the Foreign Service as FSO-7 are considered for promotion to FSO-6 three times a year, by special Junior Officer Program boards, in competition only with those who entered as FSO-7s. Officers who entered as FSO-8s, either before or after the inception of the Junior Officer Program, are considered for promotion once a year by the annual FSO-7 class board.

There is no magic formula for choosing a good Foreign Service officer. A capable assistant professor, a super soap salesman, or a Captain in the Horse Marines is not guaranteed a successful career in the varied disciplines of the Foreign Service. These individuals are, and should be, offered a higher entrance grade than those who enter with only a college degree. But once they are Service members they must prove worthy of further advancement by solid achievement in on-the-job performance in competition with *all* officers of comparable grade.

All FSO-7s should be considered together, as a class, either by the JOP Boards or by the annual boards. The present dual method should be abolished. It introduces an inequity into the promotion system that does a disservice to the Foreign Service and the officers concerned.

JUNIOR OFFICER

Washington

More Syntax Sleuthing

CONGRATULATIONS on the diverting and useful feature introduced in your November issue, on how not to write English. The people who are taking time out to volunteer these samples—Mr. Maffitt in the November issue, EMJK in the current issue—are to be commended. Very good, too, is your decision this time not to supply a list of errata but to leave the reader to do his own homework. Here, then, is mine, dutifully submitted.

The review of "Farewell to Foggy Bottom" in the current issue is, needless to say, a stunning *tour de force* in its total avoidance of the relative pronoun *that*. Example (page 41, column 2, line 7): ". . . The events in Korea *which* led to the lamentable stalemate . . ." Is *which* meant, to introduce a non-defining clause? Or does it introduce a defining clause? If the latter, the passage should read: "the events in Korea *that* led . . ."

Even where there is no danger of misinterpretation, *that* is still desirable for defining clauses, according to Nicholson's "Dictionary of American-English Usage" (New York: Oxford Press, 1957), "because its regular association with defining clauses helps to establish a workmanlike distribution of the relatives to the work that has to be done" (page 649).

Let us now apply this rule to that entire unwieldy (if not obscure) sentence of which the above-quoted passage is a part:

"Nor would anyone criticize his patient and objective reconstruction of events in Korea *which* [read: *that*] led to the lamentable stalemate growing out of the war nobody wanted, which wasn't fought for victory, and which spawned events both in Korea and the world *which* [read: *that*] continue to haunt us today." The sentence still has no less than five relative clauses, but at least—if I have guessed correctly the sentence's meaning—the reader can now tell which are defining clauses and which are non-defining.

Applied to both of EMJK's book reviews in your current issue, the above rule results in such improvements as: ". . . the policies *that* General de Gaulle is pursuing . . .", "the kind of Atlantic partnership *that* the United States could enjoy . . .", "the kind of problems [*that*] he encountered . . .", and so on down to "a world totally different from the one *that* existed when he entered the Service in 1925."

The one exception I would take, with all due respect, is on a point of substance. Is the world of today *totally* different from the world of 1925? Say rather *so very different* or, at most, *fundamentally different*.

Again, congratulations on a splendid exercise. I look forward to its continuance in coming issues.

G. R.

Washington

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25,000.00	8.75	12,500.00	13.13
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Those Troublesome Bears

I ENJOYED reading Lewis A. Harlow's article on "The Russian You Don't Hear" (Foreign Service JOURNAL, November 1964). However, I'll bet he was just as surprised as I was when he found that two of the captions for his photos of the "talking TV bears" had been switched.

When I compared the English captions with the Russian balloons in two of the photographs, it was not only a case of "The Russian You Don't Hear," but also the Russian you don't see.

WILLIAM B. DAVIS

Addis Ababa

THE November issue of the JOURNAL has several articles of interest to me, particularly since years of my employment, both in federal and private employment, have been abroad. One of these, on page 26, is of special interest. Its title, "The Russian You Don't Hear."

I noticed a mistake in it. The English captions underneath two of the bear pictures do not correspond with the statements made in Russian: to wit, "Please be seated. The doctor will see you presently;" and, "A funny thing happened when I was on the way to the theatre." These are reversed.

Mr. Harlow's article gives the best description and analysis that I have ever seen of this interesting language —Russian.

LEO RICHARDS

Washington

Editor's Note: There was indeed a mistake. It was not, however, the author's fault. The transposition occurred during the makeup process.

"The Lord Bless You All Real Good"

THE December "Washington Letter" in "Awards for a Word" omitted the most important word that is being squeezed out of the language: the word "very." Its place is being taken by "real." Examples: "That house they live in is real old . . ." "Esmeralda plays the guitar real good." "My sister was real mean to you all." Yours real truly,

FLOYD HARLAN

Florence

Hemi-Demi-Semi-Quaver on the Parma Opera

THE last time I heard an opera in Parma the newspapers printed a story that the famous soprano Rosanna Carteri had fainted before a performance of "La Traviata" and then, *mirabile dictu!* had pulled herself together and achieved a triumph.

The gallery gods of the Parma opera have set up a "charming" legend to the effect that they are the cagiest audience in the world. Anything that displeases them is greeted by catcalls, boos, stamping of feet, etc.

It is about time that the legend be exploded so it is a pleasure to read in today's papers that the distinguished American baritone, Cornell MacNeil, let them have it. As the catcalls grew ever louder, MacNeil went to the footlights and shouted, "Basta, cretini!" ("Enough, you idiots!") That set up a riot and ended the performance. The Parma gallery gods don't think of themselves as idiots. They are discerning amateur critics.

Mr. MacNeil says he will never return to Parma. If all other first-rate singers scratched Parma off their lists for a few years, the gallery gods would abandon their silly pretenses and their loutish behavior and learn to behave like adults.

MARTIN JEPSON

Laguna Beach

Reflections on the Last Shelter

AS a forward-looking outfit, DACOR has it all over AFSA. Such is my ineluctable conclusion after reading the December JOURNAL article, "Graves Project Initiated by DACOR."

"Where will Y-O-U spend eternity?"—with all its disturbing implications—has long troubled many Foreign Service people. Now, thanks to DACOR enterprise, its members may rest *in pace* among the 400. ("The area selected is available for 400 graves.") Moreover, as of this count, no less than fourteen present or former chiefs of mission have shown interest in this deal.

What is AFSA doing about a resting-place for its members? "Lovers," reported A. E. Housman, "ask not whom they sleep beside." But Foreign Service officers are not so casual; nor are they so egalitarian as to think that six feet of earth make all men the same. So let us have a report soon in the JOURNAL on where and with whom AFSA intends its members to lie.

ROBERT W. RINDEN

San Francisco

Speaking Syntax-wise

We are advised, in the Washington Letter, of the outcome of the exercise run in connection with my Thrust for Clarity letter and I congratulate Messrs. Rinden and Gerber. Irregardless of the importance of the subject, so far as the reactions of FSOs to the question of drafting English I think this type-thing serves a worthy purpose.

With the above five I guaranty not to be heard from again on this subject.

EDWARD P. MAFFITT

Washington

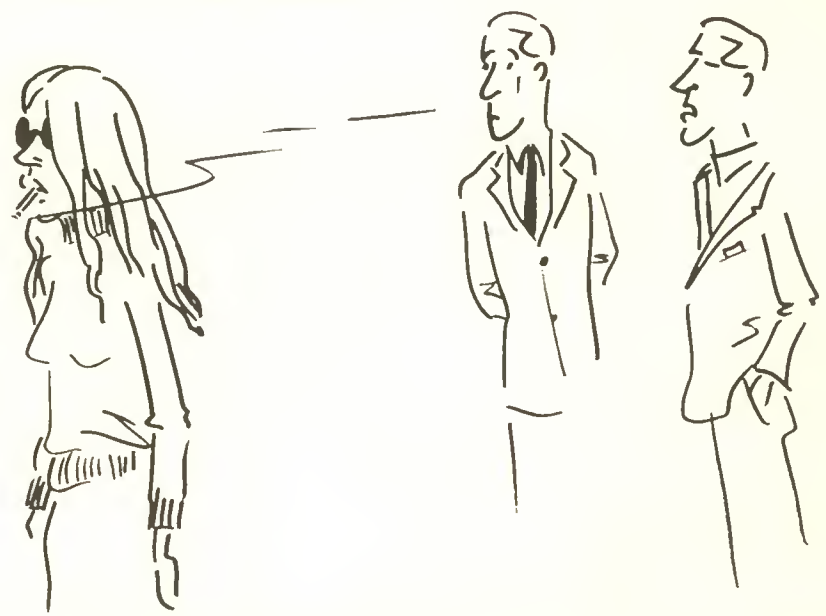
Careeer Service

WILLIAM E. KNIGHT in the December JOURNAL states that the Foreign Service Association intends to establish a committee to "deal systematically with the Career Service principle."

A name intimately associated with that principle for many years, was that of Wilbur J. Carr and it would seem appropriate to name the committee, in order to identify it, after the father of the Career Service.

JAMES B. STEWART

Denver



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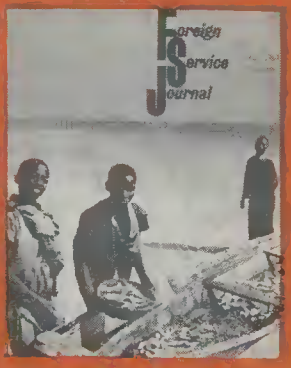

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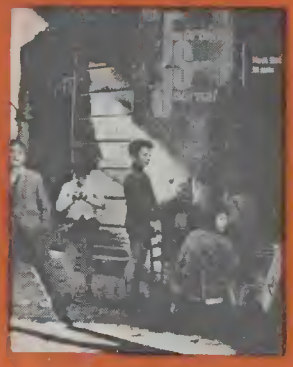

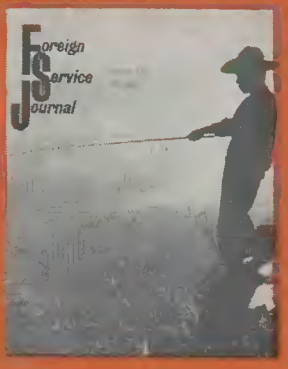

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