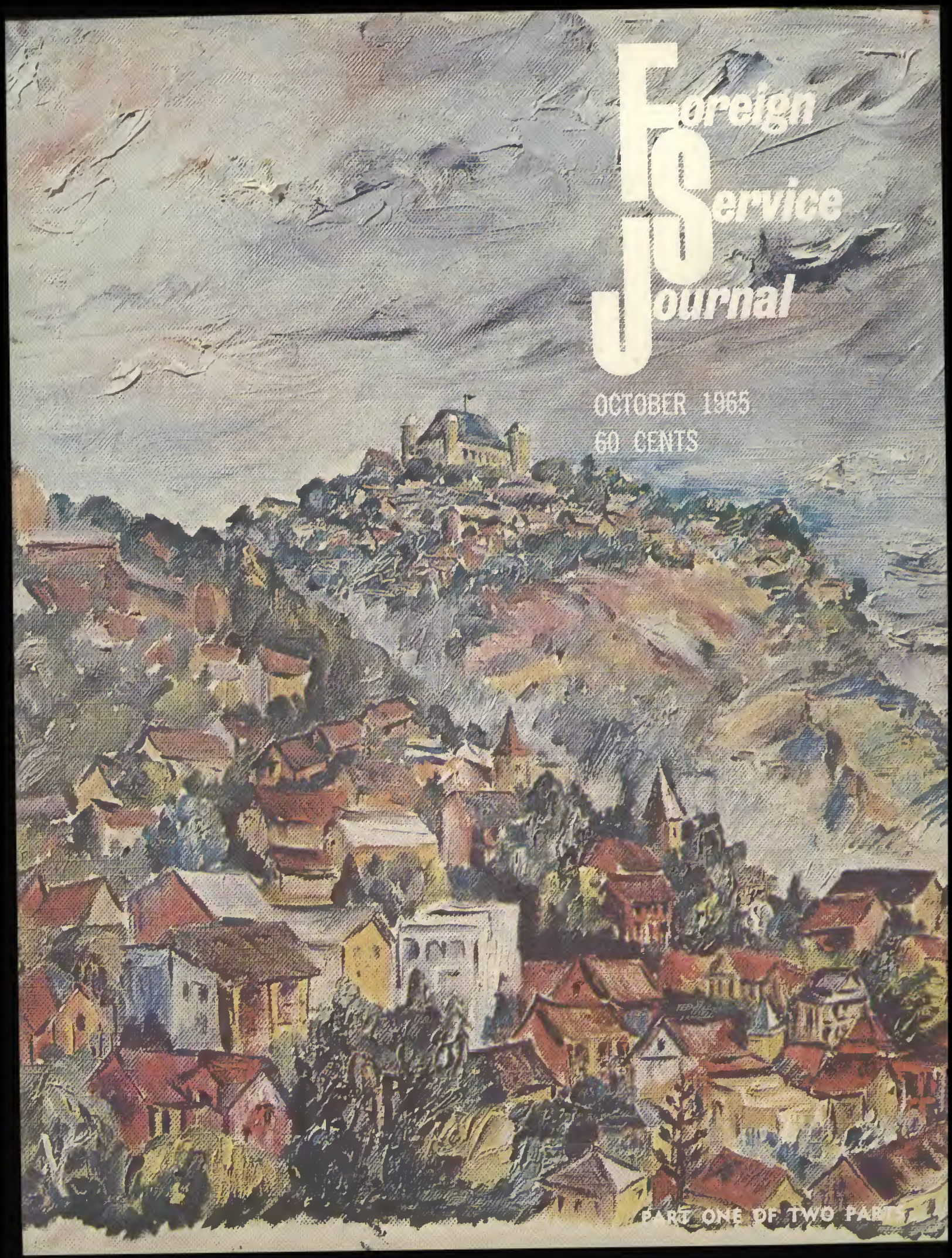

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OCTOBER 1965

60 CENTS

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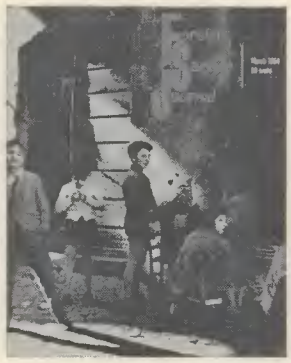

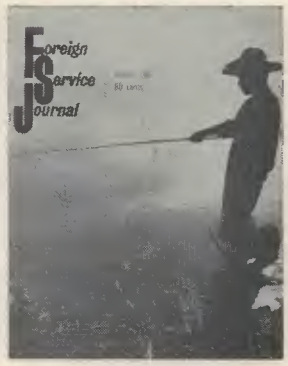

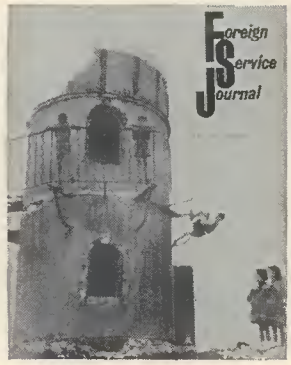

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THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is composed of active and retired personnel who are or have been serving at home or abroad under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. It groups together people who have a common responsibility for the implementation of foreign policy. It seeks to encourage the development of a career service of maximum effectiveness, and to advance the welfare of its members.

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The Foreign Service JOURNAL is the professional journal of the American Foreign Service and is published by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit private organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the Foreign Service as a whole.

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departments

Vat OngTu. Vientiane, also painted by cover artist, Lilian Eisenberg.

Photographs and Illustrations for October

Lilian Eisenberg, wife of FSO Robert Eisenberg, painting, "Chateau de la Reine, Tananarive," cover and "Vat Ong Tu, Vientiane," page 2.

Audio Visual Staff, Foreign Service Institute, photographs, pages 19, 20, 21, and 22.

Robert W. Rinden, FSO-retired, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 33. Pierre Blanchar and Madeleine Ozeray, 1935.

Paul Child, FSO-retired, photographs, pages 31 and 39.

Ernest Williams, cartoon, page 54.

Howard R. Simpson, USIA, 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

W. T. M. BEALE, *to Jamaica*
JOHN H. BURNS, *to the United Republic of Tanzania*
PHILLIPS TALBOT, *to Greece*
RICHARD H. DAVIS, *to Rumania*
JOHN A. GRONOUSKI, *to Poland*
JOHN GORDON MEIN, *to Guatemala*
RAYMOND L. THURSTON, *to the Somali Republic*

Births

CANNEY. A son, Christopher Hughes, born to FSO and Mrs. Paul Canney on June 11, in Helsinki.

CLEVELAND. A son, Hobart Harrington, III, born to Mr. and Mrs. Hobart H. Cleveland, on December 13, in Tokyo.

GREENE. A son, Thomas Warren, born to FSO and Mrs. Ernest Thomas Greene, on June 30, in Greenwich, Connecticut.

HORAN. A daughter, Margaret Robinson, born to Mr. and Mrs. Hume Horan, on June 30, in Tripoli. A son, Alexander Hume, was born on March 24, 1963, in Beirut. Mr. Horan is political officer in Baida, Libya.

PETTERSON. A son, John McIntyre, born to American Consul and Mrs. Donald K. Petterson, on July 13, in Dar es Salaam.

WOOTTON. A son, Charles Banks, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wootton on July 9, in Kingston, Canada, while Mr. Wootton was attending the Canadian National Defence College there. (Mr. Wootton is at present serving as Economic Counselor at the Embassy in Ottawa.)

Marriages

BAXTER-GINTER. Prudence Welborne Baxter, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. William O. Baxter, was married to Donald Norman Ginter on August 21, in St. Alhans Church, Washington, D. C.

CRAWFORD-MULLIGAN. Barbara Crawford, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. William Avery Crawford, was married to George Glover Mulligan, on September 4, in Wayne, Pennsylvania.

MOTTER-SIMMS. Ronda Motter was married to FSO John W. Simms on September 11, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mr. Simms will be assigned as staff aid to the NATO Secretary-General after September.

PIEKARSKI-DORR. Irene Mary Piekarski was married to John Robert Dorr, son of Mrs. George Longazo of Palo Alto and the late FSO Robert John Dorr, on August 30, in St. Marys, Pennsylvania.

VASS-MACLENNAN. Linda Carol Vass, daughter of US Minister to Japan and Mrs. Laurence C. Vass, was married to David H. MacLennan on August 18, in Madison, Wisconsin. Dr. MacLennan is Assistant Professor of Biochemistry at the Enzyme Institute of the University of Wisconsin.

WABEKE-GILBERT. Elizabeth Henriette Wabeke, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Bertus H. Wabeke, was married to Dennis Arthur Gilbert, on August 21, in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Deaths

DUNLAP. Maurice P. Dunlap, FSO-retired, died on July 30, 1965, in Dell Rapids, South Dakota. Mr. Dunlap joined

the Foreign Serviee in 1915 and served in Stavanger, Copenhagen, Odense, Bangkok, Port au Prince, Stoekholm, Dundee and Bergen, from whieh post he retired as Consul in 1942.

KRANICH. Chloris Coates Kranich, daughter of FSO Robert H. Kranich and Mrs. Kranich, died on August 28, 1965, in Falls Chureh, Virginia. Mr. Kranieh is presently assigned to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency of the Department of State.

KNUTZEN. Gladys M. Knutzen, FSO, died on August 15 at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Miss Knutzen entered the Foreign Serviee in 1945 and served at Copenhagen, Rio de Janeiro, Tokyo, Seoul, Bonn, Nice, and Buenos Aires. In 1954 she received the State Department's Commendable Service Award. Memorial contributions may be sent to the American Caneer Society, Washington, D. C., or to the Ameriean Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

MEEHAN. Major Charles M. Mcehan, father-in-law of Ambassador Clare H. Timberlakc, died in Geneva, Switzerland, on August 13, 1965, after a short illness. Major Meehan is survived by two daughters, Julia M. Timberlake, in Geneva, and Rosamond (Mrs. Carroll W.) Hayes of Alexandria, Virginia.

MILLER. Spencer Paul Miller, FSO, and his wife, Marian Louise Miller, were killed September 5 in an automobile aceident at Cheyenne Falls, Colorado. They werc en route to the University of California where Mr. Miller was to take advaneed studies in international eeonomies. Mr. Miller entered the Foreign Service in 1950 and served at Frankfort, Bonn, Asuneión, Liverpool, University of California (Indonesian language training), Medan, Kuala Lumpur and the Department. The Millers are survived by two sons, Donald, who was injured in the aeeident, and Hugh James, who is serving in the USAF. Donald and Hugh Miller can be addressed in care of Mrs. Miller's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Morton B. Smith, 1125 Woodside Rd., Park Hills, Berkeley, California.

OLIVE. William M. Olive, FSO-retired, died on August 13, 1965, in Delray Beaeh, Florida. Mr. Olive joined the Foreign Service in 1945. He subsequently served in Shanghai, Victoria, Kingston, Paris and Marseille, retiring in 1962.

PUTNAM. Helen Nieholl Putnam, former FSO, died on August 2, 1965, in Palo Alto, California. Mrs. Putnam entered the Department in 1945 and joined the Foreign Serviee one year later. She served in Calcutta, Colombo, and Marseille, as well as in Washington. She resigned in 1958.

SHAW. G. Howland Shaw, former Assistant Seeretary of State, died on August 15 at the Washington Hospital Center. Mr. Shaw joined the Department of State in 1917; he served in Turkey, and in the Department for many years. Mr. Shaw retired from the service in 1945 and devoted most of his time to the problems of juvenile delinquency and eriminal rehabilitation in Washington.

SWISHER. Donald William (Billy) Swisher, son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald P. Swisher, died at the age of two years and three months, on July 26, in Seattle, Washington.

WASHINGTON. Herman A. Washington, FSO, died in Hong Kong on August 15. Mr. Washington entered the Foreign Serviee in 1952 after several years with governmental agencies, primarily in the field of refugee organizations. He had been assigned to the Consulate General in Hong Kong sinee 1959.

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INDEX TO ADVERTISERS—OCTOBER, 1965

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

LILIAN EISENBERG, our cover artist, has made many appearances in the JOURNAL. Her "Malagasy Sketches" appeared in May, 1964, and "Notes from a Laotian Sketchbook" in December, 1962. Mrs. Eisenberg is now in Pretoria, South Africa.

CAROLINE K. O'NEILL, wife of FSO W. Paul O'Neill, Jr., served on the Committee on Education from 1956-60. Her article, "Purpose Becomes Motivation," appears in Part II of this issue. She is also the author of "The Problems of Bringing up Children in the Foreign Service," a condensation of a college thesis which appeared in the JOURNAL's issue of April, 1945.

GALE HARGROVE, whose "View of a 'Nice Neighbor'" appears on page 51 of this issue, is a Foreign Service Staff officer who in twenty-odd years abroad has served as Secretary, Administrative Assistant to Ambassadors, Protocol Officer and Biographic Reporter. At present, in her first stateside assignment, she is taking her international crises in consolidated form at the US Mission to the UN, after having survived such experiences as two years in the Amazon jungles, life on Guam and in Germany during the war, the Hungarian Revolution on her first day of work with the Escapee Program in Salzburg, Port-au-Prince at the time of the Trujillo assassination. She is wondering now, with the world awry, if this is quite the time for able-bodied personnel to be basking on the beaches of Nassau, her new post.

HARRISON M. HOLLAND, author of "Sumo—the Sport of Giants," is a Japanese language officer who has served in the Embassy in Tokyo for the last six years. An FSO-3, he is now assigned to the Executive Secretariat. Our readers may recall a previous article written by Mr. Holland for the JOURNAL, "Tokyo Sans Geisha."

S. I. NADLER, frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, has served in Tientsin, Singapore, Taipei and Buenos Aires. Of the numerous publications he read in preparing "Breaking the Language Barrier," he wishes particularly to cite "Language Learning in the Foreign Community," by James R. Frith; "The Foreign Service of the US," by William Barnes and John H. Morgan; "Resources for Language and Area Studies," by Joseph Axelrod and Donald N. Bigelow; "The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher," by Wilga M. Rivers; "Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice," by Nelson Brooks; "Parallel Proverbs," by Mario Pei, in the SATURDAY REVIEW, May 2, 1964; and "Malay Proverbs," by Sir Richard Winstedt. He would like to thank Howard E. Sollenberger, Dean of FSI's School of Language and Area Studies, his deputy, James R. Frith, and Claudia Wilds, head of the Language Testing Unit, for their cooperation and patience in answering questions.

JAMES A. RAMSEY, a former Foreign Service officer, is now the President of International Affairs Associates, an organization specializing in foreign trade questions. He has recently returned from an extensive trip through ten European countries which, he asserts, has reinforced the views he expressed in this article.

CONSTANCE V. STUCK, author of "When the Circuit Becomes Integrated," has served in Rome, Djakarta, Moscow, Montevideo and Belgrade in the budget and fiscal field. She entered on duty in the Office of the Budget in the Department of State in August.

CHARLES W. YOST is a Career Ambassador who has been Chief of Mission in Laos, Syria and Morocco, and was with Governor Stevenson at the US Mission to the United Nations from January, 1961, until the Governor's death, and has recently been appointed Ambassador Goldberg's Deputy at USUN.

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New Editorial Board Members

AFTER experience in teaching and business, Robert B. Houghton joined the Foreign Service in 1945 as an auxiliary Vice Consul. Except for an initial three-year assignment to Nairobi, his Foreign Service career has been spent almost exclusively in the Near East or working on Near Eastern affairs. Mr. Houghton began his career in that area appropriately enough by serving in Jerusalem where he was assigned during the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Six months of Arabic training in Washington followed. He than served as Economic Officer in Damascus where he was married. Since Damascus Mr. Houghton's assignments have been primarily in the political field, i.e., Near Eastern Section in the London Embassy, a year's Near Eastern Area studies in Beirut, Chief of the Political Section in Jidda and then to the Department where he served in NEA and AF as Officer in Charge of Sudanese Affairs. He subsequently served as Chief of the Political Section in Amman and in CMAD as Chief of the Political Career Management Branch. Since July 1 of this year he has been Deputy Chief of the Mid-Career Personnel Division. Mr. Houghton was born in Boston, April 4, 1921.

THE Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department of State, John Patrick Walsh, has this to say about himself:

"I don't have much to say about myself that is bright or new. I am a Chicagoan born, bred and in heart—today. I have a BS from the University of Illinois, an MA from Catholic University and a Ph.D. from Chicago University. I was a Knights of Columbus Fellow at CU and Foreign Relations Fellow at the Bowie Seminar at Harvard. I was a submarine officer during the war and the Navy remains in my blood—too much Navy coffee, I suppose.

I have served in sundry posts and have come to rest for the moment in the "eye of the storm" in the Department. I received a Meritorious Service Award in 1958. I am an FSO-2 (added thought).

To the extent that I still have hobbies, I am proudly occupied with the task of raising three fine children."

Editor's note: if any reader is curious to ask how long it took him to achieve all this, the answer is: he was born on December 21, 1918.

by WILLIAM E. KNIGHT

THERE once was a great hacienda surrounded by beautiful lawns and tall boxwood trees, which was supported in magnificent style by many farms stretching to the horizon in all directions.

The owner of the hacienda, who was primarily interested in the running of the hacienda itself, was troubled that his farmers were unable either to control the woodchucks which spoiled his lawn, or to keep the tall boxwood trees neatly trimmed on top. So he said to himself, "Farmers are obviously of no use to me. Henceforth I must hire only specialists." And he hired dachshunds to dig out the woodchucks and giraffes to trim the tops of the boxwood trees; and soon the woodchucks were gone and the boxwood trees were beautifully trimmed on top.

Thereafter, whenever the managers of the outlying farms applied to him for farm workers he said he had no farmers but could provide them with dachshunds or giraffes. The dachshunds could not only kill woodchucks but could also dig postholes and drainage ditches, and the giraffes could help trim the tops of olive trees as well as boxwood. The farmers said that that would be nice and would help a little, but that what they really needed were qualified all-round farmhands who could plow and harrow and fertilize and milk the cows and feed the chickens and repair farm machinery.

But the farmers had to take what they could get and do the best they could with what they had; and just as they expected, the dachshunds were not very good at plowing and the giraffes were not very good at repairing farm machinery.

The farms, as a result, gradually went downhill, and the income of the hacienda did the same. There finally came a time when the farmers began to grow old and retire and there was no one to replace them but dachshunds and giraffes, and as everyone knows, dachshunds and giraffes don't know very much about farming in general—just about digging up woodchucks and trimming the tops of boxwood trees. The owner at last recognized his mistake and launched an expensive crash program to hire all-around farmers, but it was many a day before the farms were again running as well or as profitably as they had run before.

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25 YEARS AGO

OCTOBER 1940 IN THE JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART

The Spanish Prisoner Swindle

Jane Wilson*, Secretary to the Executive Committee of AFSA, delved deep into the "Spanish Prisoner Swindle" at the time I was Consul General in Mexico City and wrote an article for the October, 1940 JOURNAL. At the very time the Consulate General was cooperating with the Mexican police in their efforts to run down the swindlers, I personally received the following letter:

"A person who knows you and who has highly spoken about you has made me trust you a very delicate matter of which depends the entire future of my dear daughter as well as mine. I am in prison sentenced for bankruptcy and I wish to know if you are willing to help me save a sum of $285,000 dollars which I have in bank bills inside of a secret place in a trunk that contains the cash and which is deposited in a customs house in the United States.

"To compensate for you all your troubles, I will give you the THIRD PART OF SAID SUM.

"Fearing that this letter may not come to your hands I will not sign my own name till I hear from you and then I will entrust you with all my secret.

"For serious reasons that you will know later please reply via air mail. I beg you to treat this matter with the most absolute reserve and discretion. Due to the fact that I am in charge of the Prison's school I can write you freely and in this way.

"For the time being I am only signing 'L'

"I cannot receive your reply directly to the prison so in case you accept the proposition please airmail your letter to a person of my entire trust who will deliver it to me safely and rapidly. This is his name and address." . . .

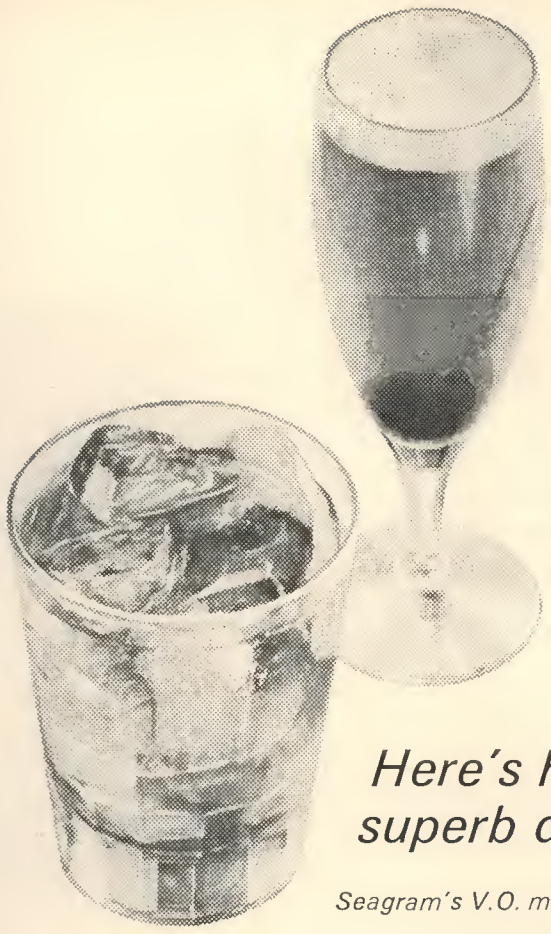
As Jane points out: "In the files of the Consulate General at Mexico City appears hundreds of these swindle letters which have been forwarded by wary recipients for investigation . . . One of these letters was forwarded to the Department of State by a wary addressee with the attached notation: 'I thought this old game was dead long ago, along with gold bricks and sales of City Hall and Brooklyn Bridge. But, as Barnum said, 'One is born every minute,' and not long ago I saw in the TIMES about a man buying a lot in southern Central Park. It seems to me that anyone who bothers to answer such an obvious clip proposition as this deserves to be 'took'."

I had left Mexico City for Zurich before a Mexican was arrested by the Mexican police in connection with the swindle. He was indicted by a San Francisco jury for swindling a San Francisco minister of the gospel.

At the end of Jane's article is the following note: "With appreciation to Consul George P. Shaw, in charge of the Consulate General in Mexico City; and Consul Robert G. McGregor, Jr., for their advice and ready cooperation in making available material for this article, as well as to Mr. Ed Morgan of the United Press in Mexico City, and Mexican officials."

*Jane and FSO John C. Pool were later married. Their daughter Amanda will soon be "sweet sixteen."

Jeffries-Bailey. Miss Margaret Keith Jeffries and Mr. John W. Bailey, Jr., Assistant Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, were married on September 18 in Washington.



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Comment, 1965: Jock and Margaret are enjoying retirement in Sarasota. John, their son, after finishing at Trinity last year, has completed a year at the American Institute for Foreign Trade in Phoenix. Margarita, their daughter, finishes at Hollins College, Virginia, next year.

Up They Go!

Here are a few promotions from a page full of them in the October, 1940 JOURNAL: Class II to I: William Burdett, Nathaniel Davis, John Erhardt, Charles Hosmer, Robert Murphy and Avra Warren. Class VII to VI: James Bonbright, James Gantenbein, Hervé L'Heureux, Sheldon Mills and Edward Wailes. Unclassified (A) to Class VIII (in part): John Emmerson, Beppo Johansen, U. Alexis Johnson, and Edward Rice.

Diplomatic Dilemma

"Gone are the glamour and glitter which have always characterized, for Washingtonians, the foreign diplomatic corps," writes Dudley Harmon of The Washington POST, in the October JOURNAL. She describes how the war has affected the lives of the envoys and begins her article by telling of her experience in a powder room: "Dashing into the powder room of a European legation to hang up my coat before a recent dinner, I found neither the accustomed powder nor the luxurious dressing table before which women guests had prinked in the past. Instead, I stumbled over three desks, four typewriters, and two heavy file cabinets. The room had changed from daintily feminine to grimly business-like. In that transition is the story of the differences which war has brought to diplomatic Washington.

"Since that March day when the Germans moved in on Vienna, ten different embassies and legations in Washington have either been Blitzkrieged out of existence or else function anxiously on reduced budgets, their status here still recognized despite Nazi invasion. After the Anschluss, the Austrian Minister philosophically handed over his Washington legation and took up lecturing at a local university. The Albanian envoy did a complete fadeout as a diplomat and now devotes himself to writing books. Still functioning are the representatives of eight other invaded countries : Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Latvia and Lithuania . . ."

Born in Kobe, Japan, a son, Robert Hammond, to Vice Consul and Mrs. William Charles Affeld, Jr. on September 10, 1940.

Goose Stepping for Gretchen

Edwin Plitt, in his report to the JOURNAL, mentions the raising of the swastika banner on the Eiffel Tower on June 14, 1940. He writes of the blackout and the curfew and then: "But these are only ephemeral. Paris never changes, except for the better. The nonchalant Seine has taken ages to mold this city into a permanent contour of beauty . . . It has always absorbed its conquerors, be they men or metal. Once again, bullets were unable to stop the invaders, but already many of the latter are enticed from the safety of their Panzerwagons to venture out on dangerous patrols and reconnoitering expeditions to the innumerable glass front pill boxes cleverly distributed on the river's right bank; attractively mined with silk and lace lingerie, and 'manned' with an army of short-kilted shock troops, whose age-old knowledge of the effective use of powder, glycerin, camouflage and the synthetic gases of Guerlain, Houbigant, Chanel and others, will upset the most rigid army discipline. These are proving to be secret weapons the high command overlooked. It is true that the young grey-green sons of Mars are leaving their 'marks' on Paris, but it is just as certain that when their army-on-wheels rolls once more across the

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•

Our Export Department is at your service. Just tell us, "Ship me each month . . .", and you can be sure of a continuous supply of fresh cigarettes and tobacco.

Rhine, the Paris redolence of Hans' knapsack will probably be the cause of his having to goose-step to his Gretchen's displeasure for the rest of his days. . ."

RECENT ITEMS

Fantastic Yet True: Arthur Frost will never forget a certain seaman who appeared many years ago in his office in Guatemala: "He had a line of patter and a string of anecdotes, that, try as I would, I could not manage to stop or turn aside. Finally he said how much he had liked consuls of whom he had met plenty in his rambling around the globe, and then he said: 'You know I picked up at the last port one of your magazines and I find that consuls, in addition to other things, are also poets. Listen to this, and then he spouted the following:

Though I love the sea like a sailor
And would by her side e'er rest
There are times when I yearn
For Belgrade or Bern
Where the eight-eight-six non-est.

Half-wages, sick seamen and squalor
Board, lodging, oh, wrecks and the rest.
There are times that I yearn
For a post like Lucerne
Where eight-eighty-six is a jest.

For a respite from ship and from sailor
And the countless cares of the coast
Though may Neptune be gay
At Belize or Bombay,
Oh, the peace of an inland post!

"My name was not in the Consular BULLETIN where it had appeared and I had told no one that I was the author. So my visitor did not know who had written the lines but he had memorized them and appeared to relish their application to his calling."

The Rescue of a Heaving Invalid

John Fuess recalls that he arrived at his first post, Mexico City, as a Protection Case. In March, 1939, he started out in a venerable car to drive to his post. He had nothing but trouble from Nuevo Laredo to Actopan, some 100 miles from Mexico City. There his long suffering vehicle gave up the ghost.

"By this time," says John, "It was about 6:00 P.M. and I was able to put in a call to the Embassy in Mexico City. Some kind soul there assured me that the Embassy would send out a tow truck, and sure enough the truck arrived just about midnight. And who was perched alongside the driver, but Johnny Wilson! What a rescuer! The professional Protection Officer, the American 'Lawrence of Arabia' in Mexico, the magician who could accomplish anything and make it look easy! So in due course, the heaving invalid was chained behind the tow car and the onward journey resumed—only to have the tow car break down at the ultimate crest of the mountain range. It was raining, black, cold and near two in the morning. Yet somehow the tow car was brought to life and the trip continued until arrival at 4:00 A.M. at the Hotel Genève. Johnny suggested that I not bother to report in to the Embassy until 9:00 A.M. I didn't!"

► Sam Sokobin, an old China hand retired in Atherton, California, has an unusual collection of material pertaining to "diplomatic dress." He has some early engravings of seventeenth century ambassadors, embassy buildings and diplomatic receptions in China and Japan. ■

BREAKING THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

by S. I. NADLER

Guns are left to do what words
Might have done earlier, properly used.
—John Waller, *In Beirut*

THE breaking of the language barrier is accompanied, not by a linguistic variation of a sonic boom,but, rather, by a persistent murmur. This may be heard at half-hour intervals on the bus which shuttles between the Department of State and the Foreign Service Institute, in Arlington Towers. As the bus intimidates its way through traffic, students of one or another of more than thirty-six foreign tongues stare at basic sentences in FSI language texts and then roll their eyes upward, murmuring a phrase aloud, committing it, hopefully, to memory.

Less spectacular than Special Forces training at Fort Bragg (carrying a Swahili pocket dictionary does not seem to do as much for one's image as does wearing a green beret), this phenomenon reflects a development no less vital to the security of the United States. Diplomacy has undergone changes; it sometimes glides over the primarily government-to-government to a people-to-people pattern. There are more people in more countries, living under the mushroom-shaped shadow of modern weapons of war, with whom we must communicate; and there is less time than formerly to use words properly. Foreign language proficiency, which not so many years ago was a rare exotic asset, has become a requisite skill.

The Foreign Service Institute did not come into being until November 13, 1946. In the less than two decades which have passed, minor miracles have been wrought on something analogous to an assembly-line basis in that part of Arlington Towers which used to be a garage. One can cite the fact that, over the past ten years, the FSI's School of Language and Area Studies has trained more than 2,000 officers in the five "world" languages (French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish) and over 500 in thirty-two "hard" languages (from Amharic, Arabic, and Bambara to Twi, Vietnamese, and Yoruba). One can note the designation as language essential positions of 85% of all officer level positions at posts where one of the world languages is a primary language, as well as similar designation of 380 overseas positions involving 26 hard languages. As usual, however, statistics tell only part of the story. The significant and dramatic part of this story lies behind the facts that proficiency *can* be created in a relatively short time, that it *can* be measured, and that there *can* be *meaningful* statistics, at all.

Vietnamese native-speaker instructor, with class of four, using model village as teaching aid.

They spell it Vinci and pronounce it Vinchy; foreigners always spell better than they pronounce.

—Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*

With logic, statistics, and the incontrovertible facts of his organization's accomplishments, Howard E. Sollenberger, Dean of FSI's School of Language and Area Studies, quickly disabuses the visitor of any lingering idea

Native speaker-instructor and linguist administering language proficiency test.

that the American is somehow less capable of learning a foreign language than is any other inhabitant of this planet. For most of their history, however, Americans did accept this erroneous notion. Thus, Christopher Morley could be sure that fellow-American readers of his "Thunder on the Left" would appreciate his view that "Life is like a foreign language: all men mispronounce it." Robert Benchley in "The Old Sea Rover Speaks," was certain of a chuckle with the comment that "I haven't been abroad in so long that I almost speak English without an accent."

The change in attitude came gradually; the taking of action took longer. World War Two was a major contributing factor. Sputnik I, contrary to popular impression, was not.

Speech is civilization itself. The word, even the most contradictory word, preserves contact —it is silence which isolates.

—Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*

The first top-level official recognition of the language problem was President Cleveland's issuance of an Executive Order requiring candidates for appointment to the middle grades of the consular service to pass an oral examination in French or the language of the post of assignment. Since the spoils system was still in effect, however, neither the examinations nor their results had any meaning.

Congress effected the first real provisions for language proficiency in 1902, authorizing ten "student interpreter" positions for the Legation at Peking, further taking steps to protect these officers from the vagaries of the spoils system. This latter action, reflecting awareness of the major investment represented by language training, may have been the more important. While the Rogers Act of 1924 extended the benefits of this insurance against the spoils system throughout the Foreign Service, the number of officers assigned to language training did not increase. In the years between 1932 and the eve of World War Two, only 58 received language training at government expense. The remainder, when abroad, presumably comforted themselves with thoughts such as that of Spinoza: "Surely, human affairs would be far happier if the power in men to be silent were the same as that to speak."

There were reasons—if not justifications—for the small percentage of officers assigned to language training before the Second World War. Pre-war, for example, the US maintained embassies or legations in less than 60 countries, as compared with nearly twice as many today. Where foreign diplomats did not speak either English or French, one of no more than a dozen languages sufficed for transacting official business. It was also an era of leisurely diplomacy. Aside from conducting a modicum of inter-governmental business, the American ambassador and his staff had little more to worry about than reporting major developments and going bail for merchant seamen who had violated local custom and/or girls. There was no need and less inclination to deal directly with the people of the country.

Modern diplomacy, which sometimes veers from the standard government-to-government pattern to a people-to-people pattern, did not merely suggest—it demanded —greater proficiency in more languages on the part of increasing numbers of people. The entry on duty of Dr. Henry Lee Smith, Jr., June 1, 1946, has been termed a landmark in the history of language learning in the US foreign affairs community. In a policy statement published in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, Dr. Smith called for intensive instruction, emphasis on speaking, linguist-native speaker teams of instructors, and use of audio aids, all within an organization encompassing a language school in Washington and a world-wide net of extension programs.

Established by the Foreign Service Act of 1946 to provide instruction to meet the needs of the foreign affairs community, the Foreign Service Institute opened for business November 13, 1946, with a School of Languages —which became the School of Language and Area Studies in 1962—as one of its components. In the course of the next few years, the foreign affairs community had its own population explosion, with generous contributions from the US Information Agency, the Military Assistance Program, and predecessor agencies of the US Agency for International Development. Between 1954 and 1957, the Foreign Service Officer Corps, alone, jumped from 1,900 to 3,400 (as contrasted with less than 900 in 1939). The FSI, however, was not provided the means to keep pace, prompting the Wriston Committee to recommend in 1954 that "the purpose of Congress, as expressed in the Act of 1946, be fulfilled." And, with that kind of impetus, so it came to be.

A self-appraisal survey of language skills was undertaken in the Foreign Service. Even without allowing for the fact that self-appraisal is scarcely the most accurate method for determining any kind of proficiency, the results were still disheartening, showing less than half the officers on duty to have sufficient command of any foreign language to the point of being able satisfactorily to conduct official business in it. Immediately, there was

launched the inevitable crash program, with expansion of Washington and field facilities. On November 2, 1956, the Secretary of State approved a policy which stated, in part: "Each officer will be encouraged to acquire a 'useful' knowledge of two foreign languages, as well as sufficient command of the language of each post of assignment to be able to use greetings, ordinary social expressions and numbers; ask simple questions and give simple directions; and to recognize proper names, street signs and office and shop designations." Then, language proficiency was made one of the factors which determine an officer's chances of promotion, possibly the best method to "encourage" acquisition of a useful knowledge of foreign languages.

The cumulative effect of these and other actions was all to the good. A critical part of the job remained: getting it done.

> ***Dictionaries are like watches; the worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to to go quite true.***
>
> **—Samuel Johnson**

Giles Lytton Strachey, in "Words and Poetry," ventured that "Perhaps of all the creations of man language is the most astonishing." Seventeenth century Abraham Cowley, in "The Prophet," saw the infinite variety of language as he cited "Words that weep and tears that speak." In "Mirror for Man," Clyde Kluckhohn summed it up with the observation that "there is more to a language than its dictionary. The Italian proverb 'tradutorre, traditore' —the translator is a betrayor—is all too correct." The foreign language student, in brief, cannot enjoy the linguistic license of Humpty-Dumpty, in Lewis Carroll's "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," who could proclaim: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more or less."

It is now generally accepted that one cannot learn a foreign language without some understanding of the culture within which that language is used, any more than one can truly learn about culture without understanding its language. "Analysis of a vocabulary," states Kluckhohn, "shows the principal emphasis of a culture and reflects culture history . . . Every language is also a special way of looking at the world and interpreting experience. Concealed in the structure of each different language are a whole set of unconscious assumptions about the world and life in it."

In Arabic, there are more than six thousand different words for camel, its parts, and equipment. The coastal Malay has always been a sailor and a fisherman, and he has scores of proverbs drawn from boats and fishing. "One ship with two captains," thus, is a wife who has taken a lover; a great man influenced by sycophants is "a ship in tow of a dinghy"; and the fact that men are not infrequently ruined by women is reflected by "Fish perish through bait."

Striking similarities and revealing differences among proverbs tell much about cultures. We feel that "Too many cooks spoil the broth"; in Russian, it is "With seven nurses, the child goes blind"; in Persian, they hold that "Two captains sink the ship"; and the Italians say that "With too many roosters crowing, the sun never comes up." Our advice is "Pray to God and keep your powder dry"; the Russians counsel "Pray to God but row toward shore." Our "Clothes make the man" and China's "Three-tenths according to a man's ability, seven-tenths according to his clothes" is countered by Spain's "Though the monkey wear silk, it's still a monkey." If the officer headed for Africa doubts that its inhabitants are aware that pride goeth before a fall, he might check the Swahili proverb: "He is there above; await him below." He could also do worse than ponder the basic wisdom of the Swahili "Whether the cock crows or not, it will dawn."

Cross-cultural clues abound, too, in everyday expressions. In English, we *take* a step; the Spanish speaker *gives* a step. It is probably not by chance that French Protestants address the deity with the familiar *tu*, while the French Catholics use the formal *vous*.

In "The Silent Language," Edward T. Hall amplifies Kluckhohn's observation that the structure of a language conceals a set of assumptions about the world. "How the person speaking relates to natural events," writes Hall, "also varies. We say, 'I'll see you *in* an hour.' The Arab says, 'What do you mean, *in* an hour? Is the hour like a room, that you can go in and out of it?' To him, his own system makes sense: 'I'll see you before one hour,' or 'I'll see you after one week.' We go out *in* the rain. The Arab goes *under* the rain." Hall insists that "We must never assume that we are fully aware of what we communicate to someone else. There exist in the world today tremendous distortions in meaning as men try to communicate with one another. The job of achieving understanding and insight into mental processes of others is more difficult and the situation more serious than most of us care to admit."

George Bernard Shaw probably came closest to a distillation of the essence of language-culture interrelationship when he described the British and the Americans as "two peoples separated by a common language."

Howard E. Sollenberger (second from left), Dean of FSI's School of Language and Area Studies, confers with senior staff.

> ***Repeat!***
>
> **—English translation of word used hundreds of times daily by average FSI language instructor.**

The method used at the Foreign Service Institute for teaching foreign languages is known by many names, in-

cluding the accurate and descriptive—but still somehow unlikely—"oral-aural." Most generally used is the designation *audio-lingual.* Whatever it may be called, however, the results establish this approach as clearly superior to any other method yet devised.

During the student's first few days as a member of a beginning class in one of the languages taught at the FSI, he becomes familiar with practically all the procedures and characteristics which reflect the main features and pattern of the audio-lingual approach.

• He notes immediately, for example, that the class is small—three, four, or at most six. This, of course, assures maximum, almost continuous, participation on the part of all, as well as intensive individual attention from the instructor. The latter is obviously a native speaker of the language being taught.

•• A major tenet of the audio-lingual approach is that the meanings which the words of a language have for the native speaker can only be learned in a matrix of allusions to the culture of the people who speak that language. A non-native speaker cannot provide those allusions. R. L. Politzer observes that, "if we teach language without teaching at the same time the culture in which it operates, we are teaching meaningless symbols or symbols to which the student attaches the wrong meanings."

•• As a native speaker, the instructor presents the language being taught as it is actually used by educated people in their everyday lives. He does not present it as grammarians may think it *should* be spoken. From the very outset, he keeps his students speaking at the normal speed in which the language is spoken, never permitting any slowing down by the students or himself. At the same time, he guards against his own natural tendency as a native speaker to choose special vocabulary and structures for the foreigner, that is, the student.

•• From time to time, the class is visited by somebody else, not a native speaker. He is the other half of the linguist-native speaker team. His function may not be fully apparent, since much of his work is behind the scenes, but his role is critical in any professionally conducted language program. His relationship to the instructor has been compared to that of the architect to the builder. The linguist designs the course, prescribes the material, and outlines the method of teaching. He also supervises the process of teaching and resolves any problem the individual student may encounter. As the authority on structural "grammatical problems," he provides such explanation as may be required by students. This team approach to language teaching is probably utilized more fully at the Foreign Service Institute than anywhere else in the world. In any event, it is undoubtedly a major factor in the success of FSI's program.

• Another fact which quickly becomes obvious is the great amount of drill, the almost constant repetition. The learner soon realizes, however, that he is not repeating given sentences over and over again, so much as repeating patterns. Meanwhile, imitating the instructor, who is a native speaker, he finds—*mirabile dictu!* (from one language *not* taught at the FSI)—his accent is improving.

•• Another basic assumption on which the audio-lingual system rests is that foreign language learning is basically a mechanical process of habit formation. In the words of N. Brooks, the "single paramount fact about language learning is that it concerns not problem solving but the formation and performance of habits."

•• Language may thus be viewed as a system of responses which have been so well learned as to have become habitual. What happens is that the student, in course of constant drilling and repetition of patterns, finds himself responding automatically in the language he is studying to stimuli in that language.

Mahmoud Abba (r.), Hausa instructor, records tape for language lab. under supervision of scientific linguist, James Redden (c.).

• Nobody in class is writing anything, nor is anybody being asked to write anything.

•• This aspect of the audio-lingual approach derives from the observable fact that language is initially a speaking-hearing operation, a communication system dependent upon the production and perception of sounds. It follows that language skills are learned more effectively if segments of the foreign language are presented in spoken before written form.

•• Logically, given the nature and history of written forms, the progression is not "Look at this written form and pronounce this way," but "Form X, with which you are already orally and aurally familiar, is written like this." Psychologically, meanwhile, the teaching of spoken and written forms at the same time is not a sound procedure, because the learning tasks are most different. It has, further, been proved that, if the spoken language is learned first, the acquired language facility can be transferred to the written form, while experience has not shown the reverse to be true. The time lapse between the first step in studying the spoken language and the first step in studying the written does not matter. What matters is just that there be a separation.

•• The student uses a text, but it contains mostly phonemic spelling. This special way of representing sound units of the language is easy to learn and, when the student begins to learn the traditional system, easy to unlearn.

• The student observes, in the early stages, the lack of discussion of grammar and the absence of analysis of the language he is learning. As a matter of fact, if you ask, during the early stages of the course, "Why do they say it like that?", the instructor will probably reply, "Because that's the way they say it!"

•• A key assumption of the audio-lingual approach is that analogy provides a better foundation for foreign language learning than does analysis. Brooks believes that the learner who "has been made to see how the language works has not learned any language; *on the contrary, he has learned something he will have to forget* before he can make any progress in that area of language."

•• After a while, the student will, however, find himself engaged in discussion of grammar. Analysis does play an important part in the audio-lingual scheme, but not during the beginning drill sessions, not while he is building up automatic responses. Linguistic analysis can help a student understand how a strange structure in a foreign language differs from one in his own, but analysis by itself cannot lead the ear to feel the foreign structure as natural. When the time comes to discuss, say, the subjunctive of a verb, the linguist uses an expression the class already knows, saying, in effect, "When you say this, you are using the subjunctive. Now, I will tell you why you use it and how it is formed." Many think that herein lies the secret of the startling success which audio-lingual instructors have in teaching their students to read. If, for example, the verb at the end of a dependent clause in German is precisely where the audio-lingually trained student feels it naturally belongs, he is not likely, when reading, to waste time looking for it before he reaches it.

Whene'er I hear French spoken as I approve,
I feel myself quietly falling in love.

—Owen Meredith, *Lucille*

At the conclusion of the course (usually 16 weeks for "world" languages and six months to two years for some "hard" languages), there comes the moment of truth for the student: he takes a language proficiency test.

The test generally takes half an hour, with the time equally divided between speaking and reading. The student is alone with two examiners, a scientific linguist and an instructor who is a native speaker of the language. The speaking test consists mainly of a conversation with the native speaker on a variety of topics, social and professional, as well as imaginary situations and interpretation of problems. The reading test requires that the examinee translate passages of varying levels of difficulty orally into English. The following advice is given the examinee before he takes the test:

• Answer questions as fully as possible; help the examiners get the largest possible sample of your speech. They do not want brief, concise answers, preferring loquacity to profundity.

• On the other hand, try to speak accurately; do not sacrifice grammar for speed.

• Do not be a perfectionist in translation if it takes you a long time to think of just the right word. If you can show by paraphrase that you clearly understand the meaning, you will be given credit. Make intelligent guesses if you like.

In rating the examinee's speaking ability, the examiners consider these five aspects of performance (in order of importance): control of grammatical structure; completeness of comprehension; breadth and precision of vocabulary; fluency; and accuracy of pronunciation. In judging reading, the examiners are interested in a close translation into English which shows the examinee's accurate and detailed understanding of the material.

The student is thus given a double rating, one for speaking (S) and one for reading (R). Minimum professional proficiency requires at least an S-3/R-3 rating. The rating scales have been developed by the FSI "to provide a meaningful method of characterizing the language skills of foreign service personnel of the Department of State and of other Government agencies. Unlike academic grades, which measure achievement in mastering the content of a prescribed course, the [ratings for language proficiency] are based on the absolute criterion of the command of an educated native speaker of the language."

The ratings are so defined as to provide a precise indication of an individual's command of the language and to permit comparisons. In each case, there is a short definition of what the rating indicates and an amplification. The short definition of R-3, for example, is: "Able to read non-technical news items or technical writing in a special field." The amplification is: "Can read technical writing in a special field or modern press directed to the general reader, i.e., news items or feature articles reporting on political, economic, military and international events, or standard text material in the general field of the social sciences." For S-4, indicating full professional proficiency, the short definition is: "Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs." The amplification: "Can understand and participate in any conversation within the range of his experience with a high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary, but would rarely be taken for a native speaker; errors of pronunciation and grammar quite rare; can handle informal interpreting from and into the language, but does not necessarily have the training or experience to handle formal interpreting."

The Language Testing Unit, which was set up as part of the School of Language and Area Studies (then the School of Languages) in July of 1958, now gives tests in the following tongues: Amharic, Arabic (Eastern), Bulgarian, Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese (Mandarin), Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hausa, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lao, More, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Somali, Spanish, Swahili, Swedish, Thai, Turkish, Urdu, and Vietnamese.

Speech finely framed delighteth the ears.

—The Apocrypha (2 *Maccabees*. II, 32)

I am a product of the FSI's audio-lingual method of teaching foreign languages. A few years ago, I took the

(*Continued on page* 54)

The Strengths and Weaknesses of American Foreign Policy

by JAMES A. RAMSEY

AMERICAN foreign policy in the twentieth century has on frequent occasions offered many difficulties both for those whom the United States has considered as its friends and those who have been in a more detached relationship to it. One need only recall the rejection of membership in the League of Nations or, more recently, the march to the edge of the atomic precipice over Cuba. And yet US foreign policy, with all its faults and wasted opportunities, has many a success to its credit and has proved itself equal to some of the very trying demands placed on the nation by the catastrophes of the past 50 years. At the same time there are weaknesses in the American outlook on the world which prevent the full flowering of the country's influence on the global scene and latterly have even made possible serious inroads on its international power position.

In many areas of the earth the American eagle's feathers are being ruffled and his wings clipped both by those who are worthy of the designation of greatness and by those who are not. In retrospect this state of affairs has come about rather quickly. A scant decade and a half ago the US was hailed nearly everywhere outside the Communist bloc as a bulwark against tyranny and oppression. One is hard put these days to recall the anxious cooperation of Western Europe in its economic reconstruction and political stabilization, the solid voting majorities in the United Nations, and the hopeful eyes turned to Washington by newly independent states assailed by overwhelming woes inherited from their colonial past.

In part the changed role of the US has been the natural result of the steadily progressing post-war atomization of international life, making it impossible in the very nature of things for the American state, constituted as it is, to retain the position of preponderant authority it enjoyed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The nations of Europe, both East and West, have regained much of their former strength and the Soviet Union especially has unfolded its muscles beyond anything that was either known previously or anticipated by the West. The creation of many new states has helped to diffuse international power. Social change throughout the world has been rapid and its turbulent manifestations have often dismayed the representatives of an order whose views are rooted in the well-reasoned concepts of Anglo-Saxon constitutional practices.

It might be answered, however, that, considering the condition of the world in 1945, such things were bound to happen and the United States should not be surprised that they did. The key question would seem to be not what American policy should have done more adequately to foresee and control these developments, but how it has been adjusting to the new realities of the 1960s. A not unwarranted answer might be, I think, that while the US has registered certain continuing successes, it is on the whole not turning out an overly creditable performance, considering the great politico-economic resources of the American nation and the unusual reservoir of intellectual talents possessed by its citizenry.

It would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that the period of American supremacy which began in the latter stages of World War II and is now passing has been one lacking in serious threat to the US position except by the armed might of the Soviet Union. Starting in the late 1950s, however, the United States has come under challenge in areas hitherto considered secure preserves of its influence, and is now having difficulty in assessing and coping with the problems presented not only by its opponents but by what must often seem ungrateful and shortsighted friends and associates.

Insofar as the developments of recent years relate to the Soviet challenge, it appears that the Russians have successfully outflanked the *cordon sanitaire* which was drawn around their world by American military and diplomatic power. They have accomplished this both through the perfection of their atomic weaponry and by establishing a presence in other regions of the globe hitherto regarded as exclusively Western spheres of interest. Although Cuba is what comes most immediately to mind, there are others such as Indonesia and Somalia where the progress of events combined with Soviet skill in taking advantage of various opportunities has resulted in a comparative weakening of American influence. This is especially true in respect to Africa where the Russians have drawn the lessons from their humiliating experience in the Congo in 1960 and have since been working assiduously to restore and expand their position on the Dark Continent.

Even in the case of the most significant US cold war success in recent years, the Cuban crisis of 1962, the Soviet Union has gained certain important advantages. Although the immediacy of a nuclear threat to American territory was removed, Russian presence on the island has been firmly established with the serious implications that this raises for the future of the existing order in other

Latin American states. Furthermore, if it is true that the greatest value of the Cuban episode was the realization by both sides of the dangers of a nuclear confrontation, the global effectiveness of the US military deterrent would appear to have been correspondingly weakened.

Aside from its continuing difficulties with the Communist world, the US has been subjected to some unpleasant surprises by its Western neighbors and colleagues. The British, French and others have successfully challenged the American stand on the issues of trading with Communist China and Cuba. The system of alliances against the Communist states which was fashioned with such skill in the early 1950s has become, in part, creaky and fragmented. The Baghdad and Southeast Asia Pacts have suffered serious reverses and recently the keystone of Western defense, the NATO grouping of powers, has developed significant strains. Greek-Turkish troubles in the Eastern Mediterannean have upset politico-military stability in that area and in the West, the challenge by de Gaulle of US views considered by him as cold war shibboleths has introduced new elements of instability into the defense posture of the alliance.

The reasons for the difficult state of affairs in which the United States now finds itself are complex and do not admit of any single precise answer. If one were to attempt a somewhat simplified overall assessment, a likely diagnosis would be, I think, that current American foreign policy techniques were elaborated in an earlier, substantively quite different period, and, although they were successfully implemented at that time, they are no longer adequate to the task of coping with an increasingly atomized and diversified world scene. In particular, the great and continuing emphasis on military security can no longer be justified in the same terms as previously. US tactics appear still to be based on holding to a frontal position at a time when its first line of defense has been outflanked by the opposing side. The US now too often seems to place itself in the position of resisting the inevitable, as a result of which it loses with ill grace, thereby antagonizing its friends and giving its enemies comfort they need not have.

BEFORE examining the possible reasons for US foreign policy deficiencies, it would be well to tally up the positive points in American relations with the rest of the world. One of the most important of these is that, despite some lapses, the US has on the whole used its great power with restraint. This is an achievement all the more remarkable when one considers that forbearance in the face of provocative conduct by others by no means suits the taste of many influential elements in the American state. There have in fact been times when the temptation to "go all the way" has been strong. It is a credit to the political leadership of the country, regardless of party affiliation, that it has on the whole successfully withstood the pressures to seek radical solutions of international problems.

Perhaps the greatest strength of US foreign policy has been the consistent enunciation of the principle that force not be used to settle international disputes. When US leaders have insisted on this line of conduct and implemented it to the best of their ability, the reactions and attitudes of other states have shown respect if not understanding. When the US has failed to abide by its own commandment, as in sponsoring an abortive invasion of Cuba, its foreign policy has been correspondingly unsuccessful.

Another important asset in the conduct of international relations by the American government, in actuality a corollary of the above principle, has been a well-developed sense of responsibility for keeping the peace. The United States has generally not been content to preach negotiation and compromise. It has been active in attempting to bring hostile factions and nations together and has tirelessly sought ways to compose festering and dangerous disputes. The post-war period provides many examples of such disinterested statesmanship—Kashmir, New Guinea, Trieste, to mention a few of the more important. This active participation in the affairs of others has, however, certain disadvantages. As a result of its frequent interventions in crisis areas, the US lays itself open to charges of excessive meddling and lack of impartiality by those who are disposed to misunderstand its motivations.

Along with a sense of duty for avoiding open conflicts, there has been in American foreign policy a good deal of altruism, to be sure not always unanimously supported by the electorate, in dispensing assistance to other peoples. The record of missions motivated solely by humanitarian considerations is long—famine aid, Hoover relief operations, post-World War II feeding programs and others. Devices such as the Marshall Plan, economic assistance, the Peace Corps, and post-war loans, while tied more closely to the concept of self-interest, strongly reflect the idea of a helping hand which has been so prominent a feature in the development of American society. One of the most effective instrumentalities of this approach to international relations, in my opinion, has been the much misunderstood and oft-maligned AID program.

A further consideration which helps build strength into US foreign policy is that its diplomatic apparatus is staffed by extremely thorough, hard-working and serious-minded people. For the most part, those who do this work spare neither themselves nor their colleagues in respect to hours and performance. As a result, the foreign policy segment of the vast American bureaucracy is unusually well-informed and highly competent in an operational sense. If it were allowed to develop the capacity for imaginative thinking of which it is capable, it would indeed be a formidable instrument.

I have not mentioned such important factors as military capabilities and the existence of an atomic arsenal in this picture of basic US strengths. The tools of power may be taken for granted as an essential ingredient of any active foreign policy but only as assets if they are wisely used. In fact, as history has so amply demonstrated, great concentrations of power tend more often to be weaknesses rather than strengths, leading their possessors to undertake improvident and unjustifiable adventures. A similar case can be stated for the traits of firmness and perseverance. These are advantages to a country's posture only so long as they remain that, and do not degenerate into imperiousness and intransigence.

LET us now examine the weaknesses of the US foreign policy picture. The root cause of these, I would venture to say, is a sense of national insecurity. The average American would stoutly deny that there is any such thing in his country, but it is nevertheless a fact, and for very understandable reasons. It began with the great shock

of surprise attack at Pearl Harbor, was nurtured by the post-war behavior of the Soviet Union and reached a climax in the unannounced invasion in Korea and a subsequent bitter undeclared Sino-American war. The United States, like the USSR after Hitler's fury fell on it without warning, has been in a state of trauma from these events, wanting to believe and trust, but not daring to do so. In a sense, the Cuban crisis of 1962 may be considered as renewed confirmation to the American people of the unfortunate compulsion it feels to be diligent.

There are many manifestations of this national attitude of wariness—the elaborate alert precautions of the SAC bomber command, the extensive and costly devices to warn of atomic attack, the U-2 program, the network of foreign bases and protective alliances, and the concern of so much of the public at various times with questions of atomic survival. The emotional anti-Communism which has taken hold of such a large part of the citizenry reflects an unfortunate national preoccupation with the necessity to be constantly on guard against potential and active enemies.

It would, however, be incorrect to label US security worries as false or unjustified. Clearly the defense of the country under the unsettled conditions of the past 25 years has been deserving of the priority importance it has been accorded. But there has been an overconcentration on self-protection with all the unwelcome phenomena such a development entails including the creation of a far-flung military bureauracy. One of the reasons the position of the United States in the world is now being challenged is that the role of its military establishment has become unjustifiably large in comparison with the other instrumentalities of a successful foreign policy. Instead of forming a full orchestra of carefully tuned instruments, each playing its part at the proper time as called for by the score, the US has been placing an overreliance on the bass violin of deterrent military power. This tactic has been distorting its performance and in consequence the audience is now turning its attention to other orchestras which have been learning to play more subtly.

Since 1941 the United States has been living in a world where the actions of most states in the field of foreign policy have frequently been dominated by military considerations. It is therefore probably not an exaggeration to say that much of American thinking on world issues, particularly on our relationship with the Communist states, is unduly influenced by the soldier's inclination to see everything in terms of friend or enemy. The American people have been taught to view contemporary affairs as a contest of the Free World against the Communist World, and this oversimplification has been strongly reflected in the conduct of our international relations.

The fallacy of such an approach is, however, apparent to anyone who examines it closely. In the first place, not all of the countries blanketed in under the designation "Free World" may be properly regarded as deserving of this title, and even in the more enlightened of them there continue to be some stubborn pockets of unfreedom. Secondly, the implication of this terminology that the Communist part of the globe is a slave world is not true. The Soviet Union and the European states dominated by it have evolved considerably since the days of Stalin and are no longer either despotically totalitarian or monolithically threatening. There have been many changes in the pattern of life of the peoples living under Communism. As a result of lack of knowledge and perspective, the developments in these countries do not seem as yet to have been fully appreciated by the populations of the western world.

In the matter of relations with the Communist states, there seems to be a great unresolved contradiction in the American attitude. On the one hand the US welcomes and encourages the reintegration of the Communist states into the society of nations. At the same time it feels bound, in the interests of maintaining its anti-Communist posture, to resist any extension of influence anywhere in the world by the countries of the East. US policy has so far failed to face up to this dichotomy and spends much time and effort resisting developments that in retrospect may be seen to have been inevitable. This is especially applicable in endeavors such as foreign trade and civil aviation where the US viewpoint clashes frontally with that of other non-Communist states committed for various reasons to a policy of broad international contacts. The pressures and maneuvers used to achieve US goals in these fields naturally create resentments and narrow the area of agreement beyond that which might be attainable were other methods employed in pursuing common objectives.

The attitudes the US displays towards other powers in the world betray a strong streak of righteous fundamentalism. The American state has an instinctive dislike for systems which it considers incompatible with its own brand of rule. This is especially true of Communists in power and military dictatorships. In dealing with such phenomena, the US displays a morality and idealism which are theoretically admirable, but are often inconsistent with the realities of international politics. The natural consequence of this American craving for perfection is that its foreign policy frequently has a high degree of inflexibility in adjusting to the facts of life. One can give many examples—the refusal to recognize Soviet Russia for over a decade and a half, the 16-year-old dispute with Communist China, the long ostracism of Franco Spain, and more recently, the highly emotional quarrel with Castro's Cuba.

One may object that the abandonment of ethics in international relations would in the long run undermine the strength of a great power. I am not, however, advocating that US foreign policy should be unprincipled, only that it should find more effective ways of implementing the fundamental beliefs of the nation it serves. History has proved dogmatically-inspired hostility and anathema to be generally barren of positive results in controlling human behavior. This is as true of the Soviet quarrel with Albania as it is of the United States' cold and on occasion hot war against Cuba. Towards Communist China, the US displays a contradictory behavior pattern, demanding in Biblical fashion that the prodigal child behave himself, but offering him little incentive to do so. This attitude may be justifiable on moralistic grounds, but is hardly good practical politics and is in any case inconsistent with the expediency and opportunism which are characteristic of so much of American internal political life.

So far we have been speaking essentially of ideological convictions or personality characteristics which represent either strengths or weaknesses or sometimes combinations of both. There are also institutional handicaps.

Quite often it happens that there may be very clear thinking about foreign policy issues in individual parts of the government, but the end result turns out to be poor because of an overstress on bureaucratic coordination and compromise. While governmental officials should clearly not be allowed to make important decisions in a vacuum, the right to participate is too often extended to those who have either no legitimate or only marginal interest.

American foreign policy is also afflicted, for understandable reasons, by a constant state of anxiety before the public and Congress. In this issue it is not easy to draw a line between the justified and unjustified prerogatives claimed by either side. The public and its representatives in the legislative branch are quite legitimately concerned over the conduct of affairs in a field where misjudgment and faulty calculations can lead to an unsuccessful war or other disasters. Their present attitudes reflect the uneasiness of people who do not quite understand what is going on, are aware they are not fully informed, and have a tendency to consider that foreign policy manipulators in a distant and inaccessible fortress are somehow at the root of all the country's evils. Post-war history has tended to confirm these suspicions, with its revelations of President Roosevelt's secret arrangements with Stalin and the whole sorry record of security investigations and dismissals in the Department of State. Not understanding leads to distrust, and there seems to be much popular conviction that the people in the apparatus should be watched as not necessarily having the best interests of the nation at heart.

The Department of State for its part has contributed to this atmosphere by failing to explain its policies adequately to the Congress and public and by neglecting to disarm its critics in proper time by effective presentations of facts. As a consequence, there is too much interference from too many sources and a great deal of ill-advised meddling. Congress, reflecting the temper of the electorate and the narrow interests of some highly articulate minority groups, often displays a regrettable lack of patience and sophistication, thereby hampering the conduct of foreign relations in not a few sensitive situations. A good recent example was the interference with the Department's carefully-considered Eastern European policy through efforts to eliminate most favored nation treatment for Poland and Yugoslavia. In the case of the latter country, the absurdity of this attempt was apparent from the fact that it would have involved abrogation of a treaty concluded in the last century with Serbia which has so far survived far worse crises of American-Yugoslav relations than those of recent origin.

In its relationship with Congress, the Department of State has been handicapped by the doctrine of separation of powers which denies an active role to the legislature, thereby enabling it to sit back and criticize irresponsibly. Much has been done in recent years to overcome this constitutional obstacle through greater participation of individual members of the legislative branch in the consideration of important foreign policy issues. Congress is, however, a large body where many different interests are represented and it is neither possible nor advisable to bring all of them into a more intimate relationship with the Executive. Many Senators and Representatives still have a tendency to speak extemporaneously on certain key issues, an aspect of our national life which will probably continue to be true since it is rooted in constitutional practices.

WHETHER valid lessons for the future can be deduced from an essay on current American foreign policy is open to some questions. One thing which can be said with certainty is that in dealing with other countries the US will continue to make mistakes, since that is in the nature of things. As long as competitive nationalism is the order of the day, however, it is important that the United States make fewer and less costly errors than its opponents.

In the conduct of the nation's foreign policy, it is essential first of all that the US remain true to the moral and humanitarian principles which underlie its strength as a major power. But that is not enough. It must develop greater flexibility and more skill in responding to the challenges of a world in much of which idealism plays a minor role. US policy makers must become more aware of the fact that other states are not necessarily impressed by the legalistic concepts which constitute so strong a component of the American system. This applies especially to the practice of holding others to the letter of treaties and agreements outdated by events. Many examples could be given; the two which come most readily to mind are those which involved the Panama Canal and the COCOM embargo on trade with Communist China. In both these instances, the United States could have spared itself much trouble and disillusionment by taking steps at the proper time to readjust its relationship with the other parties concerned.

Along these lines, American foreign policy would, I think, be generally more successful if its planners placed greater emphasis on foreseeing potential crisis situations rather than on improvising responses to developments as they occur. The US Government has over the past decade shown admirable skill in handling some potentially very dangerous clashes on the international scene, but a careful analysis might, I believe, establish that a number of our involvements could have been avoided at least in part if not entirely by greater attention to preventive diplomacy. In the last few years good progress has been made in contingency planning on a world-wide scale, but much remains to be done before this concept becomes a fully effective arm of US foreign policy.

Those who are in charge of America's international relations might also be well advised to develop a greater sense of detachment. While no major power in the twentieth century can maintain a dispassionate aloofness in the face of so many recurrent threats to the peace, US officials would do well to eschew too close involvement in disputes which seem to offer little prospect for easy and concise solutions. Although it is impossible to lay down a general line of approach to such situations, I have found that the most productive attitude is usually to minimize active participation while portraying oneself as a friend who is always available for consultation and advice. This line of conduct has the advantage of inducing greater respect by the quarreling parties for one's judgments and enhances the effectiveness of one's role as a mediator.

No essay on US foreign policy these days may be considered complete without the inclusion of some design

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ADLAI STEVENSON AT THE UN

by CHARLES W. YOST

I

A FEW hours after Adlai Stevenson died, President Johnson, speaking from the White House, said of him: "For an entire generation of Americans he imparted a nobility to public life and a grandeur to American purpose which has already reshaped the life of the nation and which will endure for many generations . . . He believed in us, perhaps more than we deserved. And so we came to believe in ourselves much more than we had."

Others had before his death pointed out that perhaps his greatest service was to raise the "tone" of American public life. They meant that, out of the depths of McCarthyism, out of post-war slackness and disillusion and materialism, out of a tired national conscience and a distracted national will, he restored us to greatness, to the dedications our forefathers laid upon us, to the promises our children ask us to keep, to the new generation of credible dreams to which all men aspire.

As Archibald MacLeish reminded the Assembly of the United Nations' members meeting in Stevenson's honor, "When he said, years afterward, that he would like to be remembered for those unsuccessful ventures, for those two defeats, he meant that there are some things in the life of a democracy more important than to come to power—more important ultimately than the possession of power."

This was not sour grapes. Stevenson did not despise or disrespect power, though he realized it creates more compelling and more perilous temptations to men and nations than any other prize. He would have liked to be President. He would have liked to be Secretary of State. But he did not want these offices merely for honor and glory. He wanted them in order to do what he knew and said should be done. And not having them, he went on saying, as only he could say, what *should* be done. He wanted power for people and for peace.

Perhaps he was greatest as a tribune of the people. Perhaps he had more honor and more power this way than he would have had any other, no matter what office he held. Dean Rusk said at that same United Nations commemorative gathering: "His universality did not rest upon his being a prince among plain men, but upon his being a plain man even among princes."

IN MEMORY OF A.E.S.

by KATIE LOUCHHEIM

He was always vulnerable,
so incandescently human,
seduced by reason and delight.
Awed by history's harsh commands
to be keeper of our conscience,
he made temples of his prose
where the discomforted might hope.
He held humility as high
as most hold pride; he could not hide
his hurt, his doubts, his loneliness
and yet he leaves a legacy
of larger loneliness for all
who waited in the heat brimmed noon
or on cold corners for his voice,
the quick smile in surprised blue eyes.
Gathered into his grand design
were all their little dread days doom,
his heart was bigger than his time.

In the landscape of tomorrow's lives,
portals of peace open at his words.

He knew his worth but he never had any pretensions. He was at home everywhere with everyone because he did not feel himself intrinsically *above* anyone. And seeing so many people, despite the ups and downs of his own life, in so much more desperate straits than he ever was, he was moved to a profound and a continuous compassion. That is what he was most of all—a compassionate man. Like his hero, Lincoln.

II

This brief memoir must concern itself mostly with the last chapter, with Adlai Stevenson at the United Nations, because that is where this colleague knew him best.

A great many journalists seem to have talked with Stevenson in his final days and to have hastened to report his last words, in some cases out of context. "Instant history," as someone has called it. Of course he was used to that and would have shrugged it off if he had lived to know about it. Several of them said he was about to resign because he was fed up with his job or because he disagreed with this or that policy he was obliged to advocate at the United Nations.

Of course those who worked with him knew that a week rarely passed during those four years that he did not grumble about the crosses he bore or speak of resigning to go back to Libertyville, to practice law or write in peace and quiet. Those are the honest but incidental temptations every man of action has but rarely succumbs to unless required.

Stevenson found some aspects of the United Nations job very irksome. The interminable stale speeches on shopworn issues he had to sit through, the arguments about procedure or about the exact wording of an unimportant or face-saving resolution, these bored him to extinction and sometimes made him feel he was frittering his life away. Even more exasperating to him were the vicious but drearily repetitive cold war diatribes, denouncing himself and his country, which he was loath to dignify with a reply but which usually goaded and infuriated him until he did reply. And of course when he had to he replied magnificently, as to Zorin in the Cuban missile crisis. But that definitely was not a game he enjoyed. He felt we and the Russians had too many serious things to talk to each other about—such as sparing mankind nuclear annihilation—to waste our time or risk our tempers in verbal gamesmanship. To him an exchange that lacked a spark of good will was either petty or disgusting. In the speeches he wrote himself the only cold war he waged was against, wherever he found them, cruelty and callousness and terror.

He also felt uneasy and frustrated at times when he had occasionally at the United Nations to represent a policy which he felt misrepresented him, particularly one in the formulation of which he had played little or no part. The Bay of Pigs left a scar. But most of the time he recognized that this is inevitably the duty and the burden not only of every ambassador but of every public servant. Policies are the product of intractable circumstances, of loosely coordinated interests and wills, of half reconciled consciences. Even presidents are rarely able to do just what they want to do or what they feel needs be done. Neither audacity nor prudence can guarantee success.

Stevenson knew that. His preference was for audacity of conception tempered by prudence of application. This was what was sometimes called his "indecision." He understood very well, as had Jefferson and Lincoln, that audacity without prudence is disembodied and chimerical, and prudence without audacity is spiritless and dead.

III

On the whole he had great satisfaction in his work at the United Nations, though his satisfaction, like that of any man of his stature, was rarely unalloyed. He believed profoundly in the United Nations; he believed, as the Charter said, that succeeding generations must be saved from the scourge of war; he believed, in the language of the United Nations' founding fathers, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, in the self-determination of peoples, in treaties and law, in social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, in uniting our strength to maintain international peace and security, in ensuring that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest, and in living together in peace with one another as good neighbors. These were not just sonorous or empty phrases to him, slogans to help win an election or a debate, base coinage to delude and subvert a class or nation or generation. They were a passion, an anguish, an invincible determination, a City of God to which all men and women of honor should repair.

Despite all the lost battles and all the inconclusive victories, Adlai Stevenson never lost heart. Often, he had to whistle up his spirits with a quip or a story, but as soon

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EDITORIAL

THE AMENDED HAYS BILL

SINCE the publication of our June editorial on the Hays Bill, we have received many comments from our readers which demonstrate the interest in this measure around the world and prompt us to further analysis and comment on the revised bill reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on August 19. The consideration of the bill proceeded without fanfare, The House has now adopted the bill, but we understand the Senate will not consider it this year. There is thus time for reflection and constructive comment and criticism by our readers, which we welcome and will publish. Our own preliminary analysis of the effect of the 75 amendments introduced by the House, including those suggested by the Executive Branch, follows.

Amalgamation

The basic issue, is of course, the authority given to the President to effect a wholesale transfer, "without examination," of "all officers and employees" in the Department of State, USIA, and AID, except for those few paid under the Federal Executive Salary schedule. No time limit is established, however, and no employee can be transferred without his written consent. If transferred, the employee will receive at least his present pay and cannot be assigned outside the United States without his written consent. These provisions contrast with the earlier version in which the President was authorized, without regard to any other provision of the Hays Bill or other legislation, to transfer within three years all personnel in the State Department, USIA, and AID "and such personnel as he may designate of other Government agencies who are engaged in foreign affairs functions." The House Committee report specifically notes that the revised language is designed purposely to include only State, USIA, and AID employees and to exclude employees of ACDA and the Peace Corps. The original concept behind the transfer provision was the creation of a uniform foreign affairs service. Mr. Crockett announced in his AFSA speech on April 29 that this was his "central purpose." A three-year period was, however, to be provided in which those presently employed in the domestic services of various agencies who were reluctant to join the new service could find other employment. As we pointed out in our June editorial, however, the original concept had been so modified by the Executive Branch's suggested changes that the effect was not uniformity, but rather greater disparity.

The version of the bill adopted by the House vastly increases the amount of disparity in the future personnel system, which will be indefinitely perpetuated by the absence of a time limit on transfers to the new amalgamated service. In addition to the present FSOs, FSRs, FSSs, ADs (in AID), and GSs there will in the future also be: 1) FAOs available for world-wide service who enter by transfer under section 29 and without examination; 2) such FAOs who are not available for world-wide service; 3) FAOs who come in under section 522 after comprehensive mental and physical examinations and who have passed through the probationary period envisaged by the House Committee ("The Secretary may establish appropriate probationary periods for such officers."); 4) such FAOs still on probationary status (the new version incidentally makes no provision, as in the case of FSO-8s and some -7s and -6s for termination of unsatisfactory FAO probationers); 5) Foreign Service Reserve Officers for temporary or limited service who have passed comprehensive mental examinations under section 522 (as present FSRs have not). And these are only the minimum number of distinctions. There could well be FAOs in groups three and four above appointed by the President by and wtih the advice and consent of the Senate, others appointed by the President alone, or by the Secretary of State.

Director General's Position

Turning to subsidiary provisions, we welcome the renewed legislative endorsement of the existence of a Director General of the Foreign Service, who will henceforth be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This amendment reverses, in some measure, the derogation of the functions of this officer. The erosion of his role was accelerated by Public Law 81-73 of 1949, which stripped him of virtually all of his statutory authority. Much is and will be made of the fact that the Director General is now a Presidential appointee, but the House Committee makes clear that "the amendment does not specify the duties the Director General shall perform." Rather the Committee is relying on testimony given to them. The framers of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 were far wiser, and history has borne them out. They knew the ease with which the position

of Director General could be shorn of its powers, once the incumbent took a courageous stand on any matter of principle, and sought to vest the authority in statutory provisions. Public Law 81-73 of 1949 shows that even the Congress was willing to bow readily to the changing whims of the Executive and undo what it had created just three years before. We would have preferred that the Bill specify the functions of the Director General so that he would in fact be able over the years to play the role envisaged by the Committee.

Re-establishment of Foreign Service Boards

Similarly, we welcome the re-establishment in the revised Hays Bill of the Board of the Foreign Service and the Board of Foreign Service Examiners which were recently abolished as a result of a Reorganization Plan, to which the Congress expressed no objection. The argument advanced primarily by the Budget Bureau that these and other interagency committees established by the Congress infringed upon the executive powers of the President has evidently not persuaded the House. It is unfortunate that instead of its former statutory authority to make recommendations to the Secretary of State concerning virtually all matters relating to the Foreign Service and its members, the Board of the Foreign Service has only been given a statutory role with regard to separation for cause and such other functions as the President may prescribe.

In the same way, in re-establishing the Board of Examiners, the House has regrettably not retained the language that it "provide for and supervise the conduct of examinations." Rather the Board is to make recommendations to the Secretary about recruitment procedures, "standards for the examination and appointment" of members of the Foreign Service and procedures for establishing their loyalty. On the face of it, this would appear to convert the Board of Examiners from an operating to an advisory role. We sincerely hope that this will not be the case. We note: that the Secretary of State may assign it other duties and functions; that the Board's role in prescribing examinations under sections 516 and 517 has been left unimpaired; and that it has been given new authority to prescribe examinations for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Service Reserve Officers. We would therefore only underline the importance of precision on the part of the drafters and a clear understanding by the Executive of what the Congress intended.

Competitive Entry into the Foreign Service

We do not see the necessity for the amendment to section 517 which will permit the appointment of officers to Class 6 or 7 after only one year of Government service. The revised Hays Bill would permit the appointment of officers to Class 6 under section 516 (b), as well as to Class 7 as at present, after passing such "written, oral, physical and other examinations as the Board of Examiners may prescribe." The liberalization of this latter provision should be able to take care of admittance on advanced standing of such able and qualified officers as may have embarked on some other Government careers. The House Committee has taken great pains to point out in its report that it expects the authority under section 516 (b) "to be used sparingly and only for those candidates for appointment who have a record of graduate training or previous employment which demonstrates ability or special skill and who have a competence in at least one modern foreign language." The Committee has also, by a proposed amendment of section 635, retained probationary status until an officer's first promotion for those who enter under section 516 (b). Why the unexplained loophole under section 517 by which an officer with only one year's service may pass "comprehensive mental and physical examinations prescribed by the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service to determine his fitness and aptitude for the work of the Service" and then enter on full rather than probationary status as a Class 6 or 7 officer? The Committee does not explain the discrepancies in examination and entry procedures or in status. We believe all candidates for Classes 6 and 7 should be admitted by the same procedures and to the same status, reserving section 517 for lateral entrants in classes above Class 6.

We applaud the House's introduction of section 522 (c) which specifies that no Foreign Affairs Officer or Foreign Service Reserve Officer, other than a person regularly employed in any Government agency, shall be appointed without passing "such comprehensive mental and physical examinations as the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service may prescribe to determine his fitness and aptitude for the work of the Service." The language is thus the same as for lateral entrants under 517. At present, there is no statutory examination requirement for Foreign Service Reserve Officers, and the original language in both the Hays Bill and the Executive Branch's suggested changes would have merely made the criteria for appointment as a Foreign Affairs or Foreign Service Reserve Officer, "merit and fitness," not otherwise defined.

We take pleasure that the House has now proposed to correct the anomaly by which the Secretary was empowered under section 533 to commission a staff officer or employee as vice-consul. As pointed out in an article in the JOURNAL several years ago, no distinction was made from the earliest days of our country between a consul and a vice-consul, and both should be appointed by the President by and with

the advice of the Senate. The proposed revision of section 533 corrects the error in the 1946 act and is consistent with established Constitutional interpretations.

Selection-Out

The JOURNAL endorses the House's wise retention of the two criteria of selection out: time in class and the standard of performance. It also endorses the extension of these criteria to all officers and employees in numerically designated classes, whether they be Foreign Service officers, Foreign Affairs officers, Foreign Service Reserve officers, Foreign Service Staff officers or other employees. We note that the House Committee concluded that the language was broad enough to include Foreign Service Staff personnel in classes 7 through 10, and, in fact, there is nothing in the bill's language which would indicate otherwise. The Department of State advised the Committee that it does not plan to use this authority for the junior nonprofessional personnel. If this is really the Department's long-term intention, we think it would be better specifically to exclude such personnel from the application of section 633, or to clarify that the Department does not *now* intend to use the authority it has been given. If one thing is certain from the history of personnel administration in the Department over the last twenty years, it is change, making yesterday's declaration of intent invalid tomorrow.

We are not convinced of the validity of extending selection-out to the class of Career Minister, which we believe is being advocated by the Executive Branch because of alleged difficulties in placing certain incumbent Career Ministers. We note that over the last nine years, the number of Career Ministers has not grown appreciably (from 53 to 58, while the Service has expanded from 2,700 to 3,600), has in fact shrunk from 65 on July 1, 1960 as a result of stringent promotion policies, and will be reduced over the next few years by the maintenance of present promotion policies, combined with voluntary and mandatory retirements. Fashions in Career Ministers change, as in so many things, and if there are a few who cannot see the merits of retirement, surely some highly useful work can be found in the last few years for these distinguished men who have fought their way up through a competitive career with a selection-out process, without the final ignominy of separation at the very top. Does the Department intend, once it receives selection-out authority for Career Ministers, to make more frequent promotions to that class? If so, there is nothing in the Committee report or the public record we have seen to indicate it.

We do believe that it is far more important that the current regulations governing maximum time in class before selection-out be altered to reduce the present maximums of 15 years in Class 1, 12 years in Classes 2 and 3 and 10 years in Classes 4 through 7.

We regret, however, that officers will no longer be "selected-out," a term introduced by the Act of 1946, but simply "separated" under section 633, as amended, and authorized to receive benefits under section 634. In fact, the original language in sections 633 and 634, if not the headings, was far more elegant; these sections referred only to retirement. The invidious word "separation" was introduced only in section 637, "separation for cause." Any amendment which tends to blur the distinction between retirement for failure to keep up with the best of an elite service and separation for cause will do irreparable damage to those who are selected-out, in their efforts to find other suitable employment. The officers selected-out are not being given a dishonorable discharge, and the system should not be so administered that it appears that they are. They are merely making way for more able officers. As Mr. Crockett said to the AFSA luncheon on April 29, "They (those selected-out) are good officers, but by relative standing among their class they are not quite as good, not quite as qualified. This is the basis of selection-out of the Foreign Service." We urge that the Congress substitute "retirement" for "separation" throughout sections 633 and 634.

Retirement Benefits

In our June editorial, we endorsed the extension of retirement benefits currently available to Foreign Service officers and, since 1960 to Foreign Service Staff officers and employees with over ten years continuous service, to Foreign Affairs and Foreign Service Staff officers who would become liable to selection out under the Executive Branch's suggested changes to the Hays Bill. We do not believe that the justification for benefits under section 634 is really service abroad and the hazards of foreign life, as has been argued in a letter to the editor. The benefits of section 634 are inherently linked to the selection-out or separation procedure in section 633. You can not have one without the other, and there is much merit, if you are going to have Foreign Affairs officers, to having them subject to selection-out. Now, we agree that Foreign Service benefits should not be frozen at 2% and should be fully comparable with those of the armed forces, but this is a different issue.

It should be noted that under the proposed revision of section 803, the more liberal Foreign Service retirement provisions apply to those who are transferred to the Foreign Service under the major provision of the new act, section 29. The additional benefits accrue after ten years of continuous service to all persons employed by the Department of State, AID, or USIA before the new act comes into force, or anyone who *thereafter* is appointed for *world-wide service* in State, AID, or USIA. The latter provision meets some of the thrust of the arguments in the letter to the editor while recognizing the impossibility, as a practical matter, in discriminating among those presently employed, many of whom will, in fact, be available for world-wide service and more of whom, it is hoped, will wish to do so in the future. On the other hand, there is an important feature which might be overlooked. All of these persons, not just those who elect to become Foreign Affairs officers, "shall" come under the system after ten years of continuous service, "shall" make a special contribution to the retirement fund and *each person* then "shall be mandatorily retired for age during the first year after he becomes a participant, if he attains age sixty-four or if he is over age sixty-four" and thereafter progressively year by year down to sixty.

The proposed language concerning mandatory retirement should be instrumental in promoting retirements among older USIA, State and particularly AID employees. In addition, section 25 (d) (3) of the new act would permit any State, USIA, or AID employee, who becomes a participant of the Foreign Service retirement system, to retire at age 57, without necessarily having 10 years service. Finally, those new participants who are age fifty with twenty years of service will be allowed to retire voluntarily with the benefits presently available under section 636. We believe that these retirement provisions will strengthen the Foreign Service. We only hope that the Congress will vote the funds, without increasing the present rate of employee contributions, to correct the present parlous financial status of the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund and place it on a sound actuarial basis. We would, of course, oppose any wholesale expansion of eligibility to receive benefits under the Foreign Service retirement fund which further impaired the fund's status or which resulted in increased employee contributions.

We concur with the introduction in section 637 (a) of a prompt system of hearings and decisions on separation for cause, which should do much to mitigate the concern of those who will transfer to Foreign Service about the loss of their rights under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

EVERY mention in the "Washington Letter" of HR 8207, the hill designed to raise the pay of all federal employees, has been accompanied by stern warnings—not to take the pay rise for granted, not to anticipate money in the fist by committing indiscretions. If, despite the warnings, you rushed out and bought a pair of camels or a fleet of Malayan *proas* or even a howl of guppies, you have only yourself to blame.

For, sad to relate, HR 8207 has been traveling a rocky road ever since we last mentioned it. No more had the House Civil Service Committee agreed to a flat rise of four per cent to take effect October 1 and another four and a half per cent for October 1, 1966, than President Johnson denounced the measure which would add $1.6 billion to the federal payroll as "destructive and disastrous." The President had originally proposed an increase of three per cent to take effect next January 1.

The most vociferous advocates of a substantial rise, such as seven per cent, are the various post office unions.

There is danger now that the haranguing will delay the bill until it is too late for this season. Indeed, Senator Randolph told the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee that many of his colleagues were "concerned" over getting approval for a "fair hill" that could be enacted into law before Congress adjourns.

Thus the outlook is uncertain and the *mot d'ordre* is keep the exchequer under tight control.

Renaissance Palace Filled with Books

If you are anywhere near the Library of Congress, you ought to drop in and see how elegantly they have refurbished the Main Reading Room. The marble colonnades glisten, the great dome is resplendent with buff ornamental plaster adorned with gold medallions. All lamps on the reading desks are fluorescent—very effective. In the the old days, working in the room during the heat of the summer could be hideous drudgery. Now new air conditioning makes it a pleasure. The whole job took more than a year and cost $309,215.

Taken as a whole, the Library of Congress is an awesome place. Many of the passages and rooms are cluttered as perhaps befits a stupendous medieval palace. Stupendous in the sense that this is the kind of vastness and grandeur the Strozzi and Davanzati strove for and never attained.

And Love It You Must!

The "Washington Letter" has never, of course, counseled anyone in the devious ways of snobbery, but duty compels us to report that you cannot build up or maintain a reputation for expertise in music unless you invest in a brand new recording of Schönberg's opera "Moses und Aron." This is *avant garde*. It is *le dernier cri*. It is way out. In fact, having got the records (three, six sides) you must flaunt them on your library table and perhaps play a side to guests (even the balky). You must express fervent admiration for the work. Whereas you may despise Haydn's symphonies, Beethoven's last quartets, everything that Schumann ever wrote, Fauré's "Pélléas et Mélisande," and you may dote on "Pagliacci," "Tosca," and Debussy's 'L'Enfant Prodigue," you may not permit yourself the same liberty or license in the case of "Moses und Aron." The most you can get away with is, "Well, I admit that I didn't grasp it perfectly in the first playing."

It must be said that the Columbia recording is a superb production. The conductor, Hans Rosbaud, deserves tremendous credit, because the work, written in twelve-tone idiom, involves the use of a vast chorus, many soloists and a declaimer; on top of this it is a work of suddenly shifting moods and unexpected climaxes.

The "Moses und Aron" tizzy blew up to a climax because Covent Garden in London staged a spectacular version of it earlier this year. Critics applauded the settings, singing, stage sets, and all the rest, but some conservative thinkers attacked the thing because the stage action included "orgies." And the English are, of course, opposed to orgies, whether on the stage or in private. Anyway, the opera, orgies and all, will be eventually mounted in this country and then when people are paying scalpers $100 or more for a pair of first performance tickets, you will be in a position, if you have followed the advice above, to give them all a frosty look and say in a frosty voice, "Why bother? I bought the recording when it first came out and I played it a great deal. But I must say that it doesn't stand up after close acquaintance."

Harder to Get In

Until a few weeks ago, anyone could walk into the Department of State and roam all over the place without being asked where he was going or what he wanted. It was perhaps the only foreign office in the world that didn't put up barriers at the entrance.

But all that is changed now. To get in, you must produce identification or give a satisfactory explanation of your mission.

Why? Because a hoodlum skulking in a staircase seized a woman secretary and tried to molest her. A second hoodlum tried to snatch a woman's handbag.

In addition to setting up a security control at the entrances, the Department has instituted a roving patrol of six guards.

October Award

Lieut. Col. L. Gordon Cooper gets the October Award not because he has spent more time in space than any other astronaut but because of an appropriate answer to a question lobbed up to him during his flight. On the ground in Houston the astronaut's chief medical advisor asked:

"Gordo, what are you doing for exercise up there? Have you increased it any in the last day or so?"

Compressed in his capsule, Cooper replied smoothly:

"I hold Pete's hand once in a while, and once in a while I use a skin cleaning towel and then a couple of days we chewed gum."

This is the first time an astronaut has got the Award.

Toppling the Lion

What iconoclasts we have become! To think that we dare utter impious words about Johann Wolfgang von Goëthe! Until now, every time his name was mentioned we were required to stand and face the East while we contemplated all the glories of the Olympian personality. He had a "universal mind." "No aspect of human knowledge evaded him." He was supreme as a poet, a dramatist, a novelist. In science he was reckoned Dar-

win's prcdeeessor. He liberated eritieism. And with all this he was sueh a superior human being. He had sueh a dazzling personality. And now comes a book, "Goethe: His Life and Timcs," by Riehard Friedcnthal, that drags the demi-god from the pedestal, then hacks him to bits. The man is mean, lascivious, deeeitful, disloyal, quarrelsome, envious, smug, snohbish, eallous. And with this his literary reputation fades. He eould ncver put anything into final form. Reviewing this ieonoelastie blast in the New York TIMES, Paul West says, "Goethe was the grandiose chameleon of repeated puberties." Who will be next? Shakespeare? Dante? Caldéron?

Is this pig . . . hip?

A reeent edition listed some of the eurrent vogue words favored by adults. This follow-up aims to keep you informed on the kind of voeabulary favored by youths between 12 and perhaps 17. Typical samples:

square, zero-eool = old fashioned

fink, seuzz, nerd = an erratie foolish person

hip = chie

milk wagon = elumsy looking car

pig = ordinary ear

hairy beast, hot rod = "souped up" ear

tough, gross, brutal, savage = pleasing

ape ("I go ape over that . . .") = "I'm keen on that."

a ehill = an obnoxious person

Out of the Frying Pan

A group of little girls, ten or eleven or thereabouts, formed a "secret elub" and deeided to give it a French name. Someone told them that "Les Heureux Fils" would be niee. Someone else told them it meant "The Happy Boys." They thereupon went to the publie library where a librarian reeommended "Les Filles Joyeuses." That's what they now eall themselves.

The Pleasure of Not Going to the Theatre

In Magoula, Missouri, they sit on the front porehes, rocking, roeking, rocking, and as they sip their sarsaparilla or dandelion wine, they lament their stark fate. "Why must we be stuck in this baekwater? It's stultifying. No theatre. No eoneerts. No art shows." In Magoula not going to the theatre is misery.

In Washington, D. C. the deprivation is more easily borne. Why? Because there are plays galore, eoncerts galore, art exhibits galore. And for those who ean stand the "little theatre" and amateur produetions thcre are not enough days in the week. A little *enquête* at a rccent Foreign Serviee Assoeiation lunch indicatcd that vcry few of those thinkers set foot in theatre, eoneert hall or gallery. There wasn't a trace, however, of the Magoula grief.

This reflection was brought on by the announcement of an open air production of Mozart's "The Magie Flute." A hundred other attractions are offered during the eourse of the year. In faet for amusing oneself or improving oneself (if anyone is interested) Washington eomes after only New York.

Expensive Jubilation

Statement made by a meditativc eustomer at a BBC orchestra eoneert:

"When my old man died, I said to myself, 'What the hell, it can only happen once! So I spent $5,000 revving it up in a month.'"

"How's Ruth . . . I mean . . . Jane?

Every time we eonsult the Biographie REGISTER we wonder why married men are only identifiecl by an "m" after place and date of birth. If we had our way we would not only give the wife's name hut the names of ehildren. These little details sometimes eseapc one, eausing awkward little pauses in the eonversation. Of eourse, if a Foreign Serviee offieer is senior enough, the faets about his family status may be found in "Who's Who." (Most FSOs seem to make the gradc at elass III.) But if "Who's Who" ean supply us with faets about the older boys, why ean't the Biographie REGISTER do the same for the younger boys? In no other line of endeavor do wives play a bigger role.

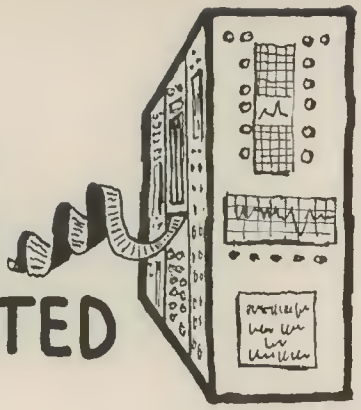
Malign Attributes of Chevy Chase

Old lady on Conneetieut Avenue bus to another old lady with whom she had just drummed up an aequaintanee: "Well, what I always say is if you stay in Chevy Chase all the time you don't know ANYTHING. That's why I'm on my way to Woody's right now." ■

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

"Conceptual originality, cost consciousness, career minister potential—but, darling, you do have me."

WHEN THE CIRCUIT BECOMES INTEGRATED



by CONSTANCE V. STUCK

Dear Jane,

I felt that Euphoria was going to be different the moment I walked off the plane. First of all, it smelled good, like a new post should (Cointreau cut with a splash of brandy). Second, I was met by the Ambassador and the DCM, faces florid and breath shallow from rolling out the carpet. The uniformed Military, Treasury and Commercial attaches stood in rank order on either side of the carpet, trying to maintain rigid attention even though the public affairs, economic and political counsellors were jockeying among themselves for the first position ahead of them. A huddled mass of poor and ragged (the staff), hands clasped at their chests, bobbed downcast heads as I got into the Cadillac.

"I do hope, Win," I said to the Ambassador, "that Col. Biffey and his crew will be well taken care of."

He hastily assured me that they would be. Rooms had been booked at the Euphoria Hilton (beach side) and would be paid for by voluntary contributions from the staff. The "Cloud Eight" Bar in the Hilton would be available for their exclusive use, and a special floor show had been flown in from Paris. The crew would be excused, without prejudice, from attending any diplomatic receptions.

I was happy to hear of these arrangements, because after all, DOD had furnished the plane free of charge to State, and the crew certainly couldn't have been nicer.

Following the assurances he gave me about them, the Ambassador said:

"Miss Grunch, I do hope you'll be able to have dinner at the residence tonight with Louise and me. The prime minister is coming, and a few other people you might find amusing.

"Of course," he added hastily, "this is merely a suggestion. If you're too tired after the trip, we can certainly make it another night."

"What a nice surprise, Win," I said. "It sounds simply lovely."

The Cadillac drove up to a columned ante-bellum style house at the end of a long row of magnolia trees. Gardeners in neat white coveralls were removing yesterday's jonquils and replacing them with fresh ones.

The DCM, with practiced dexterity, had the door opened and his jumpseat folded seconds after the car stopped.

"Here's your home away from home, Euphoria style," he beamed as he helped me out of the car.

Reppard, the English butler, took us on a tour of the house—just the upstairs and downstairs—which was fortunately broken by a spot of tea in the upstairs orangery. I *was* beginning to tire.

After the Ambassador and the DCM left, my bath was drawn and my bags unpacked. My maid told me that my 1,000 pound air freight shipment had arrived, and pulled back the sliding door of the cedar-lined wardrobe for my inspection. Freshly pressed and neatly arranged on ermine-trimmed, Chanel-scented hangers was my new wardrobe, bought with my $5,000 transfer allowance.

I thoroughly enjoyed the dinner. "Totsy" (the prime minister) was an absolute doll and Louise, I happily discovered, sets a damn good table. She was most affable and I know we'll find we have many things in common.

My assigned chauffeur was waiting to take me to the office the next morning after I'd gotten myself pulled together around eleven-ish. (The car was a dreadful *black* Buick, but that's been changed. Win is going to take the Buick and I'll take the Cadillac—after it's been painted a less depressing color, of course.)

You probably think I'm writing this "in my Maidenform bra," especially after the shabby treatment we used to get as code clerks in Upper Washout; but everything I've written is absolutely true. It just goes to show that you'd better get into electronics as I did.

The school really isn't too bad, and since State is putting in the machines faster than they can get programers, you'll practically have your choice of posts.

Incidentally, the machines are truly remarkable. With the new printers, records retrieval is mere child's play. It takes data from the computer (or computer generated tapes) and can either produce 35 mm film cards or 16 mm film (for cartridge storage systems). But this will be Zilchville in a year or so when they perfect the new computers which will proceed heuristically. From a complex of stimuli, possible inputs can be classifiable, thus obtaining abstract patterns. It's quite exciting!

I don't know if the Ambassador understands this or not because his eyes seem to glass over when I begin talking about it. He does know what the machine does, though—drafts and sends telegrams, writes the airgrams and clears them, routes the mail, analyzes the motor pool trip records, keeps the time and attendance reports, cooks the daily special at the snack bar, and well—just about everything. Of course, the programer must keep her wits about her or the Department gets the snack bar menus and chauffeur overtime gets processed as eyes only. The responsibility is terrific, gives one a heady sense of power.

In posts that have the new equipment, "staff" really doesn't have much to do. Of course, under Civil Service and Foreign Service, it's beastly to fire them, so they come to the office and sit all day. The Marines are quite sweet to them—let them go on shakedown with them after hours and let them turn over the wastebaskets. This seems to help them feel they're contributing *something*.

The Department has just begun a program of job rehabilitation for these persons which concentrates mostly on teaching reporting officers how to get their own coffee, make their own home leave travel reservations, how to fill out quarters allowance application forms, and otherwise make them self-reliant in a hostile world. I hear that a program is under consideration to teach building maintenance techniques to a carefully screened group of the more digitally adept junior officers; however, I feel this is doomed to failure. If one assumes there will be careful screening, one may further assume that the number of trainee candidates will scarcely be large enough to merit the expense of such a program.

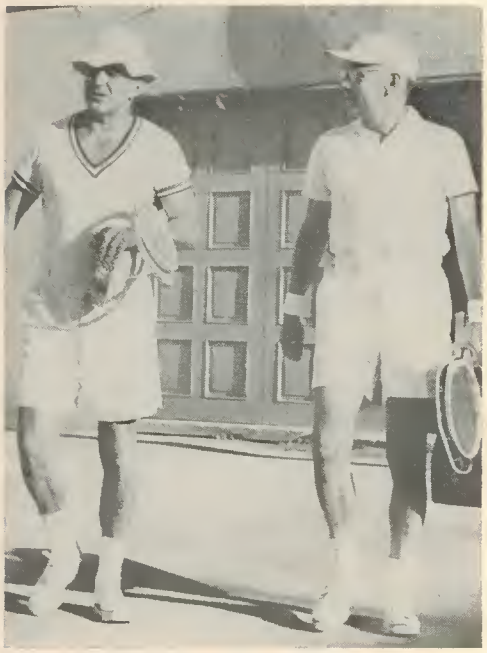
I must stop now. I've got to run the tapes through for the Thursday night dinner at the residence. Louise wants to be sure that none of her guests ever get the same menu twice.

Love,

Gwendolyn

SERVICE GLIMPSES

Djakarta. Ambassador and Mrs. Marshall Green with President Sukarno at Dwikora Palace following the presentation of eredentials by Ambassador Green.

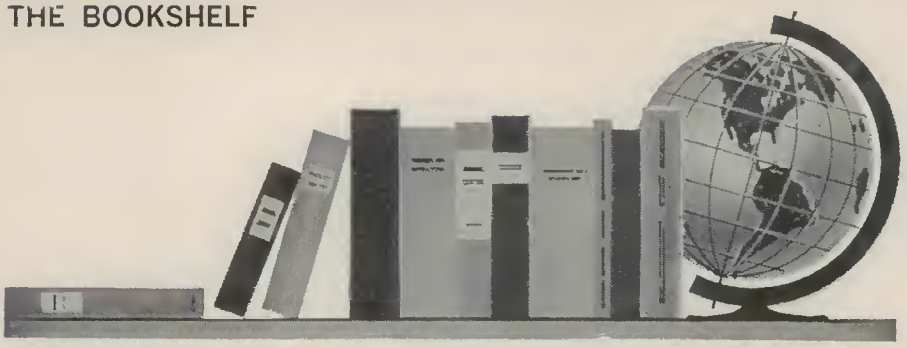


Beirut. State Department Speeialist Bill Moyle and US Ambassador to Lebanon Dwight Porter after a set of tennis. Mr. Moyle has been working with Middle East swimming and tennis tcams for the third year in a row.

San Salvador. Ambassador Raul Castro (seeond from left) and Mrs. Castro with Salvadoran artists Julia Diaz (right) and Salvador Salazar, discuss the colleetion of eontemporary Salvadoran paintings whieh were hung for four months in the Embassy Residenee. Cultural leaders in all fields praised the Castros' reception for the artists at the end of the exhibit.

Madagascar. NASA Station Direetor Chester B. Cunningham and Ambassador C. Vaughan Ferguson, Jr., with two Girl Seouts, Deborah Suzanne Fink, Akron, Ohio, and Gail Ann Burrington, Windsor Lake, Conn., being elevated to the station's deep spaee antenna by a "eherry pieker" at a NASA satellite traeking station twenty miles west of Tananarive. The Girl Seouts were in Madagascar for the Malagasy National Girl Seout Encampment.

Colombo. US Ambassador Ceeil B. Lyon (left) warms up for a round of baseball in a reeent game held between the US Embassy, Colombo, and the Canadian High Commission. At right is G. K. Grande, Canadian High Commissioner to Ceylon. The Canadians won the match held near Colombo at the Royal Ceylon Air Foree Grounds.



MAO TSE-TUNG

. . . the world that made him and the world he made

SYNDROME means, according to the "Shorter Oxford English Dictionary" (2494 pages), a concurrence of several symptoms in a disease. Speed reading is given no definition, but few will hesitate to identify symptoms in our Sixth and Seventh Floor speed reading syndrome. At worst, the disease is not reading at all. At best, the disease is negative reading, or the acquired talent of turning very quickly pages seen not to be of likely present or future interest to high priests in Washington's Establishment. Just as a speed reader is a little ashamed to be found reading a newspaper at his State Department desk—for God's sake do it at home!—it is highly questionable for him to admit that he has read a book—why the hell does he take that briefcase home with him every night?

Books make speed readers uncomfortable and here are seven of them. What is worse, in one way or another all these deal with an acceptable Seventh Floor concern—Mao Tse-tung; to what world he has belonged; and what he is doing to try to shape it and ours. The titles and authors of these books appear for our speed readers at the end of this road map.

In the 1943 edition of "Webster's Biographical Dictionary" six lines were devoted to Mao Tse-tung. "1893 - ; A leader of the Chinese Communists; began revolutionary career (1927); took part in the 'Long March' (1934-1936); closely associated with Chu Teh (q.v) in the Eighth Route Army; a scholar and intellectual leader; active in war against Japan (1937 ff.)." Forty-seven lines were devoted to Chiang Kai-shek.

To have been born in 1893 meant that Mao was 18 when Sun Yat-sen fathered the Republic. He was 22 when Japan, reassured by war's immobilization of both ally and foe in Western Europe, presented China with its humiliating Twenty-One Demands on paper earmarked with dreadnaughts and machine guns. At 33, Mao was editor of the POLITICAL WEEKLY—a publication of the Political Department of the Kuomintang—when Chiang Kai-shek, alumnus of military academies in Japan and the USSR, was in charge of the celebrated Whampoa Cadet School in Canton. For every major heading in the history of Chiang's China from 1927 through 1949, there will be in all history books hereafter a minor heading on Mao's China. From 1949 until the day these two monumental personalities pass from the scene, there should be a minor heading, at least, on Chiang's China for every major heading on Mao's. For just as there have been, over millennia, Taoist and Confucianist strains in the prodigally rich literary and political tradition of China, so there have been, in China's modern era, strains flowing from the personal influence of these two men, more diverse and dynamic than can be subsumed within the total of either man's personal inspiration, but all marked by the potency of their character—as Chinese.

It is good that the University of Chicago has seen fit to re-publish "The Book of Lord Shang," translated by Dr. J. J. L. Duyvendak, of Leiden and later Columbia University. Joseph Alsop, among others, has given vogue to a fragment of military writing by the pre-Christian Chinese strategist Sun Tsu, but Lord Shang offers fare even richer. As Duyvendak points out, it was Ssu-ma Tan (circa 110 B.C.) who classified Chinese philosophy in Six Schools: (1) the Taoist School: (2) that of Yin and Yang, or the Philosophy of Nature; (3) that of the Ju, or the Confucian School; (4) that of Mo-tsu, i.e., the philosopher Mo Ti; (5) that of Names or Terminology; and —of special concern to us now—(6) the School of Law. With memory fresh of China's First Empire (221-206 B.C.), its unification of the country, its imperial conquests, its burning of books, its slaughter of scholars, and the cutting edge of Emperor Chin Shih Huang-ti's brilliant intellectual entourage, Ssu-ma Tan wrote of the Legalists:

> "They do not distinguish between relations and strangers, and make no difference between noble and low. All were in the same manner judged by the law, so that the virtue of loving one's relatives and honoring the honorable disappeared. Their doctrines might be practised for a certain time and for a definite purpose, but they should not be put in practice forever. Therefore, I say that they are severe and wanting in virtue."

Ssu-ma Tan, his celebrated son Ssu-ma Tsien and almost all the authors of China's dynastic histories for two thousand years piously condemned followers of the School of Law, the Legalists. However, there were many of them, and often in the saddle.

"The Book of Lord Shang," a prime inspiration of the tradition of the Legalists, is worthy of position, as literature and as philosophy, beside Machiavelli's "Prince" and Hobbes' "Leviathan." Its influence upon public policy has perhaps been greater than either. It is, today, superlatively readable, both because of its unmistakable relevance to what we know Mao is doing to his country and because of its aphoristic brilliance. Lord Shang is quoted as saying:

"Pleasing words are adorned, direct words are real; bitter words are medicine, sweet words cause disease." And we are told in Shang's bitter book:

> "Sophistry and cleverness are an aid to lawlessness; rites and music are symptoms of dissipations and license; kindness and benevolence are the foster-mother of transgressions; employment and promotion are opportunities for the rapacity of the wicked. If lawlessness is aided, it becomes current; if there are symptoms of dissipation and license, they will become the practice; if there is a foster-mother for transgressions, they will arise; if there are opportunities for the rapacity of the wicked, they will never cease . . ."

We are told:

> ". . . an intelligent ruler studies the law and thus understands how to bring it about that the people within his borders have no perverse and depraved hearts, that idly-living scholars are pressed into battle, and that the ten thousand subjects are alert in ploughing and warfare."

We are told:

> "Law is the authoritative principle for the people and is the basis of government; it is what shapes the people; trying to govern while eliminating the law is like a desire not to be hungry while eliminating food, or a desire not to be cold while eliminating clothes, or a desire to go east while one moves west."

Read everywhere above *communism* for *law* and Shang's advice to his Chinese compatriots becomes much like Mao's.

China's tradition, it is well to recall, has infinite cross-currents: there has been for many centuries one of tyranny and another humane, permissive though hieratical. Two books which reveal the play of creative response to the West in the intellectual Chinese environment of Mao's youth are Benjamin Schwartz' "In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West"; and Chun-jo Liu's "Controversies in Chinese Intellectual History." By the turn of the century Yen Fu had made a sustained study of modern Western thought. Schwartz tells us about this man who labored on Spencer's "A Study of Sociology," Darwin's "Origin of Species," Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics," Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Mill's "On Liberty" and his "Logic," Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," hoping, perhaps, to salvage national pride by asserting that "we had these things before you." Schwartz writes, however, that

> "while he is undoubtedly delighted by the equivalences which he believes he finds between the insights of Lao Tzu and the sages of the West, there is ample evidence that the ultimate ground of his attraction to Lao Tzu lies elsewhere. Indeed, the effort to find equivalences, we shall see, actually breaks down at certain crucial points, and when this occurs, Yen Fu candidly deserts the ancient Chinese sage."

Schwartz, author of the classic "Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao," performs a service few have had the intellectual sophistication or linguistic talent to attempt—penetration of both Chinese and Western traditions deeply enough to permit the reader to share in experiencing both at once. Schwartz tells us, in concluding his study, that soon after the turn of the century Yen Fu and China had already entered

> "the uncharted sea of the modern world in which we are all afloat. The problem of the relations between the Faustian religion of the limitless pursuit of wealth and power and the achievement of social-political values —and even more fundamental, human values—remains a problem for us as much as for them."

Yen Fu helped to give the Chinese intellectual community a part of its modern vocabulary, and many were using it during the May Fourth Period (1915-1927) which was the time of Mao Tse-Tung's schoolboy and college experience. Few who read Edgar Snow's "Red Star Over China" can fail to be struck by the bookishness of Mao's early years. His father was a Hunanese peasant but Mao began his schooling at eight and had five years of such stern grooming in the Chinese Classics that he ran away from home to escape it. On his return, he became the family's accountant, but in the time he could call his own he read and re-read most of China's vast, richly peopled, picaresque novels. He also read "Words of Warning," a collection of self-flagellating essays about a China weak in the face of the West. He left home at 16 to study law, more of the Chinese Classics, and to widen his acquaintance with the world of ideas. He completed his education in 1918, became an assistant librarian in Peking in 1919, and a school teacher in Changsha in 1920. That year, at 27, he began the life of political action which he pursues to this day.

Dr. Chun-jo Liu performs for us invaluable service in having compiled an analytic bibliography of selected periodical articles which appeared in that period when Mao was in college and when the Kuomintang and Communists were moving to their great schism in 1927.

Dr. Liu completed her B.S. in West China as World War II was ending. She did her M.A. work at Occidental, her Ph.D. work at Wisconsin, and completed this analytic bibliography at Harvard, working with Benjamin Schwartz and the acknowledged Dean of American Sinological studies, Professor Fairbank. Mao is too often looked at head on, with too little notice of Maoism's penumbra. Professor Liu permits us to know of what Mao himself must have been hearing of the burning literary, social, political, and intellectual controversies, during the years 1915-1927. For instance, Hu Shih, China's Ambassador in Washington from 1938-1942, detonated in 1917 an explosion of earthquake proportions in advocating the use of the vernacular for artistic and serious writing. He called for a reform of literature saying: (1) have something to say; (2) avoid complete imitation of the ancients; (3) pay attention to the grammar of speech; (4) avoid artificial epithets in the classical style; (5) avoid classical allusions; (6) avoid the style of parallel structures; (7) make use of colloquialisms; and (8) avoid cliches. Chieng Hsuan-t'ung joined in Hu's exhortations and called for: a national language with adoption of the commonest meanings of words; clear syntax in sentence structure; avoidance of unnecessary terms; avoidance of allusions; adoption of a phonetic alphabet; adoption of a standard pronunciation; standardization of typed script and writing script; adoption of Arabic numerals; adoption of the Christian calendar; writing to run from left to right; adoption of definite types of print. Still others called for romanization of Chinese, or for use of Esperanto. All were concerned with language as a vehicle for absorbing ideas from the West, and many hoped that with development of that vehicle the humanistic traditions of China would be enriched. Theirs was, and is, an unfinished literary revolution.

Meanwhile, the periodical literature of this part of Mao's youth showed lively interest in the Russian novel, English drama, Indian philosophy, that of Tagore and others, the symbolist movement in literature, Aristotle, Horace, Sidney, Temple, Stevenson, Montaigne, Keats, Shakespeare. Many called for reassessment of China's own classics, and Hu Shih engaged in dispute with his contemporaries over whether China's classical scholars were equipped to engage in scientific research of their own classics. In a period of anxious introspection, a period of weighing ancient values in the light of new demands and possibilities brought in by the winds from the West, the "Communist Manifesto" and numerous biographical sketches of Marx began to appear in China's periodicals. But by 1919, John Dewey also had gained interested audience as had Bergson, James, Russell. The philosophers of the West were studied for parallels with Buddhism, Confucianism, and other Chinese philosophical systems. The ideological ferment within the Communist party and the Kuomintang grew in this intellectual frame. When Shu Chih in 1925 wrote about the conflict between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang, he said that the left wing included Wang Ching-wei, Chiang Kai-shek, and Yu Yu-jen.

Professor Liu's monograph lists over one hundred Chinese periodicals in which appeared the essays and articles she has selected for precis. To each selected article she devotes from four to twelve lines or so of summary. For the scholar, she provides a compass for future exploration. For the gen-

eral reader she provides an over-view of what was bothering the Chinese intellectual during Mao's formative years.

In Arthur Cohen's "The Communism of Mao Tse-tung," we find an industrious and often subtle attempt to identify what basis there is for Mao's claim to philosophical originality. For those uninterested in the central purpose of this investigation, the book nevertheless offers a useful accumulation of fragments of Mao's thought—original or not. Cohen considers the most striking thing Mao ever wrote to be:

> "The main force in the countryside which has always put up the bitterest fight is the poor peasants. From the period of underground organization to that of open organization, the poor peasants have fought militantly all along. They accept most willingly the leadership of the Communist party. They are the deadliest enemies of the local bullies and bad gentry and attack their strongholds without the slightest hesitation . . . They are the backbone of the Peasant Association, the vanguard in overthrowing the feudal forces, and the foremost heroes who have accomplished a great revolutionary undertaking left unaccomplished for many years. Without the poor peasants (the "riff-raff" as the gentry call them) it would never have been possible to bring about in the countryside the present state of revolution, to overthrow the local bullies and the bad gentry, or to complete the democratic revolution. Being the most revolutionary, the poor peasants have won the leadership in the Peasant Association . . . This leadership of the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there can be no revolution. To reject them is to reject the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. The general direction they have taken in the revolution has never been wrong."

Upon the question of whether Mao is more the pragmatist or the philosopher—more the Chinese or the revolutionary, Cohen concludes:

> "We have shown that what is novel pertains primarily to the pragmatic policies Mao devised for attaining power and consolidating that power. To enumerate, the departures from 'classical' doctrine are: describing anew the process of qualitative change in things, formulating the strategy for revolution as being protracted guerrilla warfare waged from self-sustaining rural base areas, including the small capitalists in the post-revolutionary political structure, devising the detailed method for 'buying out' small capitalists, postulating a 'non-antagonistic contradiction,' between worker and capitalist, openly rejecting the myth that no conflicts between leaders and led exist under a Communist regime, encouraging non-Communists to criticize the Communist party, professing toleration of small strikes, organizing people's communes as a new socio-economic formation, and collectivizing agriculture in advance of rural mechanization. With the exception of Mao's view of qualitative change, these 'contributions' are departures from traditional doctrine and Soviet views on *practical matters*. We conclude, therefore, that the 'thought of Mao Tse-tung' appears in the final analysis to draw its uniqueness from revisions, improvements, or even complete abandonment of various aspects of the foundation tenets and Soviet practices. And the view of Mao as an intellectual, whose erudition in philosophy surpasses that of any living Communist, is more picturesque than true."

Guy Wint, member of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, has written on Far Eastern matters the past thirty years. "Communist China's Crusade: Mao's Road to Power and the New Campaign for World Revolution" should be read for Wint's broad judgments on past and future. They are often trenchant. Asking the question: Who is Mao? Wint answers: "Mao always remained Chinese. He never deluded himself that they (the Chinese) could act like a western people." And he quotes Dr. Stuart Schram with approval:

> "Is he, as was Lenin, a revolutionary who merely uses nationalism for his own ends? Or is he above all a nationalist for whom Marxism-Leninism is merely a convenient slogan? Most certainly he is neither . . . he certainly does not see in nationalism merely a necessary evil, as did Lenin. The 'Glory of the Hans,' to quote the title of the first chapter of this anthology, is clearly a living thing to him, a value no less precious than revolution . . . it could be argued that, if the categories in which he reasons are basically Marxist, his deepest emotional tie is still to the Chinese nation: And if he is bent on transforming China's society and economy in the shortest possible time in order to turn her into a powerful modern nation, he does so in order that she may once more resume her rightful place in the world."

Having described for us the China which has become an authentic source of new world system, he has interesting comment on spread of its contagion:

> "A communist Japan would set itself aims which would be private to Japan rather than public to all communism. In this respect, it would be very different from any country in southeast Asia. No nation in this area, not even Indonesia with its immense population, would be qualified to set up as an independent communist power, evolve its own policy, or have the temerity to produce its own profits. This difference between Japan and the countries of southeast Asia may be highly important in the next fifty years."
>
> "The communist campaign to expand will probably continue during our generation. Certainly we have not seen the end of the diverse patterns it takes. There is so much to watch, and the scene is so diverse and quick-changing, that the simple outline of what is happening is not always apparent. But beneath the turmoil and complicated interaction of events, the old divisions, the old basic interests which are a fundamental part of international politics, exercise their steady, unremitting pull. This is the explanation of the dramatic and assertive role of China in recent years."

Whereas Wint's little book is urbane, intellectual tourism, "China Triumphs" by a celebrated Spanish statesman and journalist is an intellectual's travelogue. It is an up-dated, European version of Edgar Snow's monumental "The Other Side of the River." It is impossible not to enjoy the worldly elegance of del Vayo's style of travel and of comment. He dwells, as do also Wint and Cohen, upon the place of past in the present of Mao's China. He had come away from China in 1957 believing that here was "one of the most daring and imaginative revolutionary undertakings of our time combined with constant homage to the past. . . . The revolutionary and the classical are joined." At the end of his 1964 visit, he concluded that China "still has a great many problems to solve. But for me, there is no doubt; China is winning its revolutionary struggle. On many levels, in fundamental aspects of its gigantic, self-appointed task, it has already triumphed."

For the reader who must agree in all that an author writes, del Vayo's book will bring many disappointments. There are many explicit and more implicit criticisms of United States policy, but he devotes only half a page—out of 202 pages—to the Taiwan question, having this thought to offer: "I have never personally believed that the People's Republic would go to war over Taiwan (Formosa). For one thing, China's leaders are convinced that the island must inevitably return to its homeland in the natural course of events."

"Asia: Awakening of a World" by Francois D'Harcourt is a prize-winning French journalist's account of observations made during travels through the Near and Far East. D'Harcourt is not for the speed reader who scorns a writer who has not researched his subject thoroughly. Here is a Frenchman who delights merely in the fact of being there, hearing them, seeing them and telling about it. He writes with grace and sensitivity, but it is hard to imagine this book offering useful data for strategists in the Foreign Offices of the Free World. In this picnic basket are personal impression and reported hearsay. There is, however, an impression left that Mao Tse-

tung has indeed already made of his China Asia's Middle Kingdom.

Stewart Fraser's "Chinese Communist Edueation" eomes, after a reading of Wint, del Vayo and D'Hareourt, as reminder that to be able to go to Mao's China does not necessarily mean that those who do ean be more helpful to us in understanding it than those who haven't. Fraser, an Australian who is now Direetor of the International Center at George Peabody College for Teaehers in Nashville, has made diseriminating use of published materials available to the Ameriean in his libraries and researeh eenters. For readers of the Foreign Serviee JOURNAL, Fraser's eeho of Riehard Walker's tribute is of interest:

> "I am deeply indebted :o the pioneering work of the United States Consul General in Hong Kong . . . Their English-language productions of important Chinese Communist documents constitute a basic collection for any study of the Mao regime, and in many cases first-rate scholarly analysis is added."

Readers should listen well to Fraser's injunetion:

> "This collection is a preliminary attempt to place within the reach of non-Sinologists and non-linguists, among whom this compiler places himself, certain educational material which may assist in a better understanding of the problems and state of education in Communist China. It is perhaps necessary, however, to utter a note of caution with regard to documentary and statistical material emanating from the People's Republic of China: namely, *caveat lector.*"

However, a reading of Mao Tse-tung on "The Question of Intelleetuals"; of Chou En-lai on the "Chinese Communist Party Session on the Question of Intelleetuals"; of Lu Ting-yi on "Let All the Flowers Bloom Together, Let Diverse Sehools of Thought Contend"; will—let alone some 300 pages of other selections—offer flavor of the 1965 version of the Chinese intellectual elimate Dr. Li has sketehed for us to eover a period some fifty years earlier.

Until the newspapers told us that China's seeond atomie detonation took plaee in the air and was a deviee fabricated from enriehed uranium, Morton Halperin's "China and the Bomh" had the eontemporaneity of a Washington POST headline. Peking's seeond "bomb" brings eloser Chinese mastery of the hydrogen bomb, and of this possibility Halperin has said:

> "A fundamental change will occur when the Chinese acquire the hydrogen bomb capability, for this means that any single bomber or missile which reaches its target will do much greater damage than one with atomic weapons only."

Cha Ling River, Chungking — *by Paul Child*

Halperin also observes that the United States tends to underestimate the ability of her opponents, both politieally and teehnologieally, but goes on to say:

> "Nevertheless, it would seem that the development of any serious Chinese *intercontinental* nuclear capability is unlikely before the 1980's. This does not mean that it is too soon to begin thinking about it: If steps are going to be taken to offset Chinese power, they should be taken now. Political decisions concerning relations with countries in Asia, as well as military decisions on the development of defensive and offensive strategic forces, should, in fact, be made with the future possibility of a Chinese intercontinental capability in mind . . .
>
> "In trying, then, to come to grips with the difference the development of a Chinese intercontinental capability could make for international politics in the Pacific area, it is necessary to consider, first, the direct threat posed to the United States, and, second, the implications it would have for the problems of direct defense against Chinese aggression. What the Chinese are likely to have is a force that in either a first or a second strike could kill millions of Americans. A Chinese first strike is improbable, however, for even 'major' capability will not give China nuclear parity with the United States in the twentieth century. Since the Chinese force will be too small for a first strike against the United States, there will he no pressure to pre-empt such an attack at any cost. Conversely, China's capacity to cause millions of American deaths, even though herself obliterated, would be an incentive for the United States *not* to pre-empt gratuitously. One cannot rule out the possibility of the emergence within China of a ruler who attempts on the basis of a modest nuclear force to employ nuclear blackmail against the United States. But the coming to power of such a ruler seems unlikely, and it is difficult to say in advance how one would deal with someone so unbalanced.
>
> "The real problem for American foreign policy will he how to maintain the Asian nations' morale and their willingness to oppose Chinese expansion."

For those who have the nerve for sustained analysis of the implieations for human survival of China's entry into the nuelear elub, Halperin's earefully reasoned little book and Aliee Langley Hsieh's "Communist China's Strategy in the Nuelear Era" are—together with Thomas C. Sehelling's "Strategy of Confliet" and (with Morton H. Halperin) his "Strategy and Arms Control," a good starting point for gaining the working voeabulary needed for sensible model huilding for future safety. Mao's brooding presenee will throw shadow on all ealeulations we feed into the matriees of the ghoulish games there are to be played in the years ahead.

—ROBERT W. BARNETT

ASIA: AWAKENING OF A WORLD, *by Francois D'Harcourt. Harcourt, Brace & World, $6.95.*

CHINA AND THE BOMB, *by Morton H. Halperin. Praeger, $4.95.*

CHINA TRIUMPHS, *by Julio Alvarez del Vayo. Monthly Review Press, $5.00.*

CHINESE COMMUNIST EDUCATION, *by Stewart Fraser. Vanderbilt University Press, $10.00.*

COMMUNIST CHINA'S CRUSADE, *by Guy Wint. Praeger, $4.50.*

THE COMMUNISM OF MAO TSE-TUNG, *by Arthur A. Cohen. University of Chicago Press, $5.00.*

THE BOOK OF LORD SHANG, *by Kung-san Yang, Translation: J. J. L. Duyvendak. University of Chicago Press, $6.50.*

IN SEARCH OF WEALTH AND POWER, *by Benjamin Schwartz.*

Federal Government Service

THIS is a revision of the Ameriean Assembly symposium on the Federal Government Service, first published in 1954. The fact that the book required mcrely faetual updating is evidence of how firmly aeademic views about this field are still dominated by the two Hoover Commission reports.

The editor and five contributors fire broadsides against the obvious targets, the great feudal lords in Congress and at the head of semi-independent agencies, eommissions and bureaus. All this may bc fair enough, hut the suggestion that we can eliminate these bottleneeks in the democratic process and effective government only through further strengthening the Exeeutive Branch vis-a-vis the Congress, and the White Housc within the Executive Branch appears sounder in academic than in political terms.

The ahove qualifieation aside, this is a uscful volume. It sets forth problems lucidly even though implied solutions might be harder to live with than the problems. In addition, it mentions in casual fashion some rather fundamental personnel axioms whieh an institution should not disregard, such as that an agency cannot use a eareer personnel system like the officer corps of the military services or the Foreign Service for all its positions.

The most rewarding contribution in the symposium is the final ehapter whieh considers how new concepts of personnel administration now in an early stage of evolution might affect a future Federal serviee.

—C.S.W.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE, *edited by Wallace S. Sayre. Prentice-Hall,* $5.95.

Berding on Dulles on Diplomacy

ANDREW H. BERDING, who was successively Deputy Director of USIA and Assistant Secretary of State for Publie Affairs from 1953 to 1960, gives us here a small volume of upwards of 150 pages of transcribed and edited shorthand notes of private conversations which he had with John Foster Dulles during the latter's service as Secretary of Statc. As Robert Murphy says in a foreword to the book, Mr. Berding's "congenial and confidential relationship" to Mr. Dullcs has thus made it possible for us to read what is prohahly the only sueh extended verbatim aeeount of the personal observations of any Secretary of State in the whole history of the Department.

In the nature of things, the book eontains few surprises. Mr. Dulles' private opinions do not seem to have differed much from his publie ones, and so it is that his charaeterizations of such world figures as dc Gaulle, Adenauer, Chiang Kai-shek, and Khrushehev read pretty much as one would expeet them to. The same may be said for his explanatory disquisitions on the now possihly somewhat outdated themes of agonizing reappraisal, massive retaliation, and brinkmanship. For current tastes, some of Mr. Dulles' observations may sound sententious, excessively self-assured, and even oldfashioned, but they convey well the flavor of his earnest and serious purposes.

Mr. Berding's book will be of much interest to those who worked with and for him in the Department, but its valuc for historians is weakened by the lack of sufficient indication as to when most of the conversations took place. The reader who looks to it for a systematie exposition of Mr. Dulles' coneeptions of the principles and practices of diplomaey may also be disappointed. We read a great deal of what Mr. Dulles told Mr. Berding about partieular persons and countries, and about specific foreign and domestic problems. We read mueh less of what Mr. Dulles thought ahout the organization and administration of the Foreign Serviee and related topies of permanent professional interest. But this is to find fault with the inclusive title of the book rather than with its contents, and we must still be grateful to Mr. Berding for having rendered such a faithful service to Mr. Dulles' memory.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

DULLES ON DIPLOMACY, *by Andrew H. Berding. Van Nostrand, $4.95.*

The Castro Era

THEODORE DRAPER has again earned the hearty applause of non-Marxist students of contemporary Cuba. His fertile interest in the subjeet sinee Castro's advent, the fact that he has read and digested the staggering mass of what has been said by the Máximo Líder and his henchmen and that he has a gift for concise and effective expression—all these are reasons why his book should he read not only by those Foreign Servicc officers who follow Cuhan developments but indeed by all those sensitive to the importanee of competent, mature and henee durable politieo-economie analysis and reporting.

In three eomprehensive chapters and an appendix, Mr. Draper has reviewed the announced policies, the usually contrasting actions, the rationalizations and the self-justifications of those who have misruled Cuha for the past six years. In his first chapter he traees the eonvolutions of Castroism from its beginnings as a part of Cuhan democratic reformism through the moderate, eonstitutional phases of the 26th of July movement and the brief "neither communism nor capitalism hut humanism" gamhit of 1959 to the kaleidoscopic variants of Marxism-Leninism with which Castro currently bewilders the high priests of that dogma.

The next chapter deseribes the Castro era in terms of Cuban society and identifies the strata of that society appealed to at various times hy the regime or credited by the regime with signifieant achievement. High level deceit, as well as self-deeeption and the fabrication of myths are key ingredients here.

The final chapter is a masterful analysis of the eostly and incredihly ineompetent experimentation through which the regime destroyed the preexisting Cuban eeonomy, failed to create a substitute and is now attempting to restore that eeonomy to a semblance of its former shape and direction although not to its former orientation. Five years whieh might have brought the Cuban people to a new peak of prosperity have been instead lamentably wasted and have subjected the inhahitants of the island to major privations and hardships deriving from an amazing series of errors and abuses, many of them admitted.

The relative stability for the time heing of such a regime rests upon two equally important factors: an effieient system of political repression on Stalinist lines and the exceptional personality of Castro. His truly Hitlerian ability to eommunicate emotionally with his followers in a manner wholly unpreeedented in Cuba, an ability having no relation to the merits of the subjeet being eommunicated, has created a hard core of unconditional fanatics, particularly in the armed forces, to whom eonsistency, logic, the welfare of the nation are repugnant when used as arguments against their idol. Both factors mentioned are wasting assets.

Mr. Draper also examines and rejects some of the myths which have grown up inside and outside Cuba regarding events there. There is room for only two of these here. Enunciated as early as 1958 in the United States and embraced by Castro himself late in 1961 is the notion that practically from his political beginnings Castro was a dedicated Communist. Draper's examination of all the evidence should

destroy this myth and make it impossible for Castro in the light of history to palliate, because of an alleged prior loyalty to the doctrine he later adopted, the cynicism of his betrayal of the revolution the goals of which he defined in 1958 and 1959.

And then there is the legend which found favor in certain circles here to the effect that the policies of the Eisenhower Administration gave the Castro regime no choice other than the alliance with Communism and the USSR because the refusal of the United States to buy Cuban sugar, the trade embargo, the denial of any sort of economic assistance and so forth confronted Cuba with imminent disaster. Mr. Draper makes it perfectly plain that by early 1960 Castro and Guevara had determined on the full Communist commitment and were doing their best to speed up progress in that direction. The system of mutually advantageous economic relations with the United States which had prevailed in various forms since the origin of the Cuban Republic was a real obstacle to such a consummation. The Cuban leaders welcomed the measures which we took under their provocation in the summer and fall of 1960 to destroy that system although they used those measures to strengthen anti-Americanism in Cuba. A delay in our measures would have thwarted the Cuban leaders. We did not drive the regime into the arms of the communists; we did, unwisely in Mr. Draper's judgment, remove some of the obstacles in its chosen course.

—PHILIP W. BONSAL

CASTROISM—THEORY AND PRACTICE, *by Theodore Draper. Praeger, $5.95.*

Diplomatic Tragedy

IN "Viet-Nam: A Diplomatic Tragedy," Bator discusses the origins of US involvement in Viet-Nam, concentrating on US policy and diplomacy vis-a-vis Indochina during the 1953-1956 period, when French power was collapsing and US policy was crystallizing. Bator contends that the US was led into the Viet-Nam morass by the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of militancy rather than diplomacy: " . . . at no time after Geneva, between 1954 and 1959-60, was the slightest endeavor made to use diplomacy in order to turn the confrontation of the Free World with the Communist Powers in Indochina into a state of tolerable coexistence. The processes of diplomacy were not only ignored but explicitly rejected."

The first half of the book concerns the diplomatic history of the Indochina crisis leading to the Geneva Conference of July 1954, special attention being given to Anglo-American differences over Indochina policy. The rest of the book deals with the Geneva Conference, the political events of 1954-56, "which ultimately landed the United States in the second Indochina war," and the political motives and factors responsible for our present Viet-Nam commitment.

A Hungarian-born international lawyer and former diplomatist, Bator has based his study on published materials; he has not done original research but his statements are meticulously documented by citations from official documents, memoirs, newspaper dispatches and magazine articles. His book is a useful compendium of data on the events he treats, though his interpretations of events and judgments of persons—Mr. Dulles' actions at Geneva were seen as the "most bizarre performance of his Secretaryship"—are controversial. (Only slightly over 200 pages, the book seems fully priced, at $7.50.)

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM: A DIPLOMATIC TRAGEDY, *by Victor Bator. Oceana, $7.50.*

A Necessary Book

THE 1965 edition of the "Political Handbook and Atlas of the World" has just made its appearance. Like its thirty seven predecessors it is an indispensable book for every reference shelf. The hand reaches out for it as instinctively as for its companions on the shelf, "Who's Who," "The World Almanac," and "The Statesman's Yearbook." This year's "Handbook" contains twenty-two pages more than last year's. Countries are listed alphabetically and the information under each country includes names of the chief of state and chief of government, the makeup of the cabinet, a rundown on the political parties in parliament, a summary of recent political events and a list of the leading newspapers. With new nations crowding into each successive edition, the maps at the end of the book are particularly valuable.

—PHILIP PURDOM

POLITICAL HANDBOOK AND ATLAS OF THE WORLD, *edited by Walter H. Mallory. Harper & Row for Council on Foreign Relations, $7.50.*

Guatemala: Remembrance of Things Past

GUATEMALA, THE LAND OF THE QUETZAL by William Brigham is another of the Latin America Gateway Series facsimile reproductions of neglected classics. Written in 1887, this old-fashioned leisurely travel book will be fascinating to those interested in Central America and a pleasant pastime for any curious vacation reader. Apart from the physical descriptions of the countryside towns and cities, the crude transportation and the simple people, the book contains remarkably informative chapters on the pre-Spanish history of the area: its Indian society and its rulers and of the formation of the Repuhlic of Guatemala. This type of chatty lore and contemporary history is seldom reflected in current NIE and similar studies but is most useful for present day understanding of problems still facing Guatemala. It is interesting the author places this trouble-plagued nation in the forefront of Central American countries, surpassing even Mexico. There is food for thought in this traditional presentation for Guatemaltecos today as they ponder the present comparative situation of their country. In short, not vital but fun.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

GUATEMALA, THE LAND OF THE QUETZAL, *by William T. Brigham, University of Florida Press, $10.00.*

The King-Crane Commission

DR. Howard, a well-known former colleague of ours and a prolific writer, has produced a highly readahle book on an American commission of inquiry into the problems of the Near East in connection with the Paris Peace Conference after World War I.

It is scholarly, thorough and carefully documented—the copious footnotes at times being somewhat distracting from the main thought of the writing.

The center of Dr. Howard's attention is a report which was ordered by President Wilson, but probahly never read by him, and which languished ignored for years. It was prepared hy the American segment of what was to be an Inter-Allied Commission to study the fate of the Ottoman Empire, but which never materialized. The conclusions of the Commission, particularly as they related to Syria and Palestine, were far from what the Paris Peace negotiators worked out for that area. Thus, while Dr. Howard's painstaking study is certainly a contribution to historical research, it is more particularly a biography of an American governmental exercise in futility.

—JAMES M. LUDLOW

THE KING-CRANE COMMISSION, *An American Inquiry into the Middle East by Harry N. Howard. Khayats, Beirut, $7.50.*

SUMO- The Sport of Giants

by HARRISON M. HOLLAND

THE traditional Japanese wrestling called Sumo, a sport dearly loved by all walks of life in Japan, has retained much of the pageantry and pomp that Japanese associate with their past. It also embodies elements of Japanese character which are greatly admired: masking one's feelings, cleanliness, manliness and good sportsmanship. Because Sumo preserves these qualities in a changing Japan, the Japanese tend to regard it with nostalgia.

Sumo was said to have originated in the sixteenth century; it had deep roots in religious and imperial ways. Sumo wrestling was first performed at the Imperial Court and before the great feudal lords which accounts for the rich pageantry and ceremony that are so much a part of the sport.

The first official tournament, which lasted for five days, was held in the precincts of a temple in ancient Kyoto. It was not until 1868 that the tournament's duration was extended to ten days and held twice rather than once annually as before. As interest mounted, the number of tournaments increased; today there are six yearly, three in Tokyo and one each in Nagoya, Osaka and Fukuoka. They now last fifteen days and are nationally televised.

Sumo's spiritual home is the *Kokugikan* of Tokyo, the great hall where the tournaments are held. On entering the *Kokugikan,* one is overwhelmed by the giant pictures of past Sumo tournament winners hanging from the rafters, by the Emperor's box which is covered by canvas when not used by the Imperial Family and which stands in lonely vigil over the proceedings, and by the center of attraction: the ring itself. The Sumo ring is laid out with a special kind of soil known as *rakida,* brought in from neighboring Chiba Prefecture. The ring is two feet high and eighteen feet square at the base. It is circled by a thick coil of straw and is fifteen feet in diameter. The Sumoists wrestle within this circle and the bout is won by ejecting one's opponent from the ring or by downing him inside it. A wrestler loses in the ring if so much as his toe is over the edge of the coil of straw or if any part of his body above (and including) the knee hits the dirt. A wrestler wins by using any one of 68 recognized techniques—he may throw, push, flip, or trap his opponent either down or out. But there are some things he cannot do. He can't, for instance, strike with his fists or use a karate chop with the side of his hand. He and his opponent fight with concentration and fury; the average time for a bout is about ten seconds and very few last over a minute.

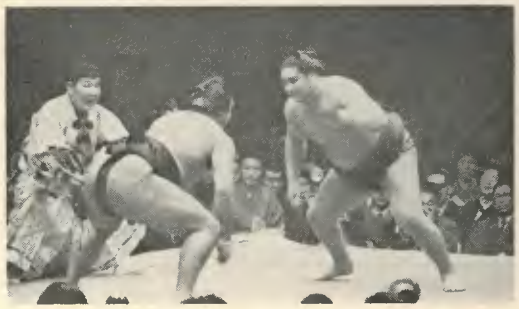
A grand Sumo tournament is a unique sight, like a drama which opens quietly but builds up suspense until the final climax. It begins early in the morning with matches between the very young wrestlers who square off and charge at each other with verve and energy. As the day wears on, higher and higher ranking Sumoists appear until finally the grand champions take the stage.

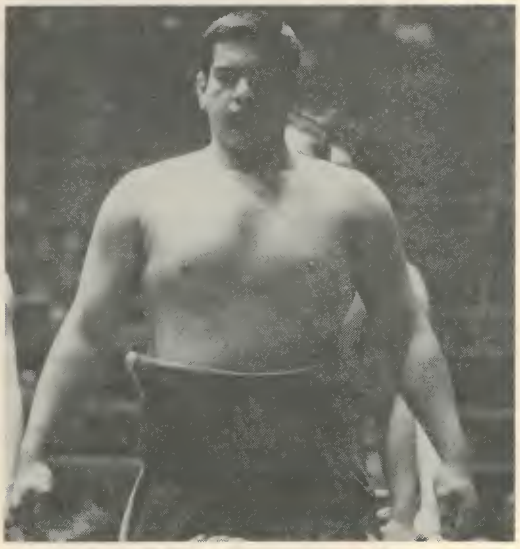
Sport knows no more brilliant spectacle than that of the triumphal entry into the ring of the senior division wrestlers and the grand champions. First, attendants thoroughly clean the ring. When this is completed, the first group of upper division wrestlers, about twenty in all, march down the aisle and step up into the ring. They form a circle facing outward, clap their hands in unison, lift their "aprons" an inch or two (a good quality "apron" costs about $1000) and then file out of both the ring and the hall. The second group of senior wrestlers then appears, marching down the opposite aisle, and repeats the ceremony. After they depart, the Grand Champion enters, attended by several junior wrestlers. All march down the aisle and are led by the referee into the ring. The Grand Champion faces the Emperor's box, bows, and begins a ceremonial act which consists of stamping his feet, clapping his hands, and moving forward a few inches in a crouched position. Throughout the ceremony his face is expressionless. When he finishes, he again bows to the Emperor's box and takes leave of the ring.

Jesse during a pause in his Sumo training.

Special ceremony by a grand champion at the time of his elevation to Sumo's highest rank. This particular event took place at Meiji Shrine, Tokyo.

Two grand champions about to charge at each other in an important match. Note facial expression of wrestlers, style of ring and attentiveness of referee.





Jesse wearing traditional Sumo "apron."

One of the unusual features of Sumo is the way in which the wrestlers wear their hair. It is done up in a queue, the elaborateness or simplicity of which denotes a man's approximate rank. Beginners wear their hair in a plain topknot, but champions and senior wrestlers have much more elaborate hair-dos. The topknot is not a mere affectation, for during a match it serves as a buffer between the wrestler's head and the floor of the ring.

The wrestler wears only a belt and loin cloth. This tends to focus attention on his tremendous body (usually a wrestler weighs about 275 pounds and is over six feet tall) and large stomach, the Sumoist's trademarks.

The winner of a tournament—the man with the best win/loss record on the final day—receives the huge Emperor's Cup together with many other prizes given by fan clubs, companies and other interested parties. The victor returns the Cup at a ceremony which takes place on opening day of the following tournament and is given a smaller replica for his own. Three other prizes are conferred on the last day, in the form of shields. There is a prize for outstanding achievement given to the wrestler who upsets the most grand champions and champions, one for skill, and a third for fighting spirit. During the tournament, before the bout starts, announcers may walk around the ring carrying the names of companies which, for the sake of advertisement or out of pure sentiment, wish to announce that they are awarding a prize to the winner. The winner receives a prize envelope from the referee after the bout but before taking it passes his hand three times over the gift, first to the left, and then to the right and finally to the center, symbolically thanking heaven, earth, and man. The envelope does not contain money but is simply a catalog from which the winner may select whatever he desires.

Now a word about how Sumo is organized. There are over 800 active wrestlers divided into six classes. About a hundred of these are in the senior class, but less than half of these make the upper division. Sub-classes in this division denote regular wrestlers, apprentice champions, junior champions, champions, and grand champions. Wrestlers belong to various clubs or "stables," as they are known in Japanese, with the club master in charge, usually a retired champion or grand champion. Many clubs are jointly affiliated and all belong to the Sumo Association. This Association is the arbiter of all that goes on in Sumo-dom and exercises complete control. It is currently headed by the most famous grand champion of the modern era, a retired wrestler known as Futabayama.

A wrestler is promoted or demoted according to achievement. A man who has a win/loss record of 12-3 (each day of the tournament he wrestles a different man and thus meets 15 different opponents during a tournament) in the spring tournament may be promoted three or four steps up the ladder for the summer tournament. But if his record is the opposite, he'll probably be dropped seven or eight rungs. An 8-7 record may lift a man a single rung or assure the retention of his junior champion or apprentice champion rank, whereas a 7-8 mark may cause him to drop a rung or lose rank. Ascending the Sumo ladder is, as may be imagined, somewhat like climbing the Himalayas. Progress is fairly rapid on the lower slopes, but the higher one gets the rarer the air becomes and the slower the advance. That is, if one is not actually driven back.

The Sumo family includes referees and judges. The referees are given the special family names of Kimura and Shikimori; this represents a tradition observed for centuries. They start their careers in their early teens by officiating at early morning bouts between competing teen-agers. Then they go to school like everyone else. The referees, like the wrestlers, have ranks. They dress accordingly, very simply in the lower grades and more grandly as they move up.

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There are also five judges who sit at intervals around the ring and who act as the final arbiters in case of difficult decisions. These judges are alternated during the tournament. They are ex-wrestlers, but not necessarily grand champions, since the best wrestlers do not always make the best judges.

This is the world that captured the imagination of one young American of Hawaiian ancestry, Jesse Kuhaulua. Jesse came to Japan a year and a half ago to seek his fortune as a Sumo wrestler. The writer, an avid Sumo enthusiast, has been interested in Jesse's progress (he goes by the Sumo name of Takamiyama) and was very pleased when a Japanese friend arranged a meeting. We had lunch at my home; Jesse was accompanied by the head of the gym to which he belongs, Takasago San, who was formerly the 39th grand champion, Maedayama. It was a memorable day, not only for the writer but also for his youngest daughter, an avid Sumo fan. Jesse is a big, strapping lad of twenty, over six feet five and weighing about 275 pounds. He and his mother, three sisters, and a brother live on Maui Island, Hawaii.

When Jesse came into the writer's home, his topknot nearly touched the ceiling. Alongside Jesse and his mentor, one had the impression that everything in the room had suddenly grown smaller. There was also the question of food. I had been afraid that there would not be enough food to satisfy the guests, as a Sumoist has a reputation of being an enormous eater, and this fear took on substance when the large plate of sandwiches suddenly disappeared. Out went a call of help to the neighbors for more bread and ham and when these arrived, the day was saved. When the sandwich plate was replenished and the coffee served, everyone settled back to talk about Sumo, in a conversation lasting several hours.

Jesse said that he was wrestling professionally in Maui when a friend told him that a group of Japanese Sumo wrestlers soon to visit Hawaii for exhibitions were looking for "sparring partners." Jesse at once volunteered and had the good luck to work out with several of the grand champions. Takasago San took an immediate interest in him and offered him a contract to wrestle for his gym. Jesse accepted and at the end of the Sumoists' Hawaiian tour accompanied them back to Japan.

He was greeted with interest, some awe, and a little curiosity by Sumo fans in Japan. Wrestlers in the Takasago Gym did what they could, given the limitations of language, to encourage Jesse and make him feel at home. Takasago San even had special western dishes prepared for Jesse during the first six months to give him time to get used to Japanese food.

Training in a Sumo gym is tough. The young aspirant has to lead a Spartan life, work hard, and accept his position in the Sumo hierarchy without complaint. Jesse has to get up at 4:30 a.m., clean up the gym and begin training. This includes exercises to strengthen the legs, arms and shoulders, special drills to sharpen timing, and special instruction in Sumo techniques. He then has actual training matches with other wrestlers in the gym to perfect the techniques learned. Jesse said that Takasago's speciality is the pushing technique and that he had to work long and hard to learn it from him.

Training usually ends by 10:30 a.m., after which the junior wrestlers wait on their superiors, serving them food and drink. When the seniors finish eating, Jesse and other juniors take a hot bath to soothe the bruises received during the morning's training; then they sit down to their first meal of the day. Junior wrestlers, explained Jesse, have nothing to eat from the time they get up in the morning until noon. After the noon meal, the young Sumoist is generally free for the rest of the day but with little money and with energy spent, he is usually content to rest in the gym. Jesse usually rests for about an hour after lunch and then takes a daily Japanese lesson. He said that the youngest wrestlers in the gym who have not completed compulsory schooling take

classes every day to fulfill the education requirement.

Takasago San was asked how young Sumo wrestlers were recruited. He said the scouts from the various gyms (much like our baseball scouts) visit various areas where local Sumo Associations have been formed and select the more promising young men. Those under sixteen must remain in their localities until they finish middle school; those over sixteen can live in Tokyo and continue their schooling at the gym.

Jesse explained that feudal customs still are prevalent in the world of Sumo, but that there is considerable opposition to these customs. For example, he said, the younger wrestlers must perform various services for the older wrestlers such as cleaning the gym, washing clothes, serving meals, and running errands. Jesse said that he was attendant to a wrestler in the second highest division but that this didn't entail unpleasant work. According to him, as one moves up the ladder he can shed some of the irksome duties and in turn can expect the more junior wrestlers to serve him. He also gets more money as he progresses upward. Jesse is now in a division just below the second highest division and is confident that he will earn early promotion. He said that it was important to train hard and do one's best in order to get conditioned physically and mentally for the rigors of Sumo. Otherwise there was little hope of promotion and much subjection to severe criticism by the chief of the gym and senior wrestlers. He said that Sumo had become a way of life for him and that this was the only attitude to take if one hoped to succeed. He said that if he didn't get promoted to the next division within five years, he would return to Hawaii. This would not be a disgrace, as many wrestlers in his present division had remained in that division for ten years or more; still they were respected by other Sumoists.

Sumo is truly a sport of giants, with the average wrestler weighing 275 pounds, being over six feet tall, and possessing a huge stomach which can be used to good advantage during bouts. These young giants usually came from rural rather than urban areas, because rural life is more conducive to developing those qualities of mind and body so essential to a good wrestler. For example, it was no mere coincidence that so many of Japan's grand champions hailed from Hokkaido or from the northeast, where the winters were long, cold and harsh. The same could be said of boys from the mountains and the seashore. A number of grand champions have been the sons of fishermen (rowing strengthens the hips) and of rural mountain folk. The greatest Sumo wrestler of modern times, Futabayama, is the son of a fisherman from Kyushu. The hardy childhood experienced by these Japanese boys prepares them well for the Spartan life they must endure as aspiring Sumoists. It is a hard, demanding life; only a small percentage reach the senior division.

After talking a little longer, Jesse suddenly looked at his watch and said that it was time for his Japanese lesson and he asked to be excused. Before departing he invited the writer and his daughter to watch him wrestle during the summer tournament at Nagoya.

This then is the new life and the new land that Jesse has chosen to tackle. His progress is being watched with keen interest by Japanese and foreigners alike. It is the writer's impression that Jesse will make the grade because he not only has the physical size and stamina to do the job but, more importantly, the will to see the thing through. It will be difficult and there will be many disappointments along the way but the rewards will he considerable—recognition as a good Sumo wrestler, the admiration and respect of Japanese fans, and the knowledge that in making the attempt, in showing good sportsmanship and determination, he will, in his own way, be helping to bring about better understanding between the countries of Takasago San and Jesse Kuhaulua.

(*Continued from page* 25)

for the disposition of the Communist problem. I would submit that there is no ready-made answer to this question. There are only certain guide lines which experience has indicated to have a general usefulness in dealing with those states. Leaving all wishful thinking aside, it is, I believe, obvious at this stage of history that Communism as a political force cannot be eliminated by any means short of war. If this assumption is correct, the preoccupation of US policy should be with devising the most practicable form of coexistence while making clear the limits beyond which Communist states cannot go in challenging American interests.

In a sense this is the current policy of the United States. There is, however, a difference of emphasis on the two aspects of its line of action. At the present time the US is placing greater stress on attempts to contain Communism than on an effort to coexist with it. This perhaps arises from a tendency to define the term "American interests" in rather broad terms. Whether such an approach is correct under any given set of circumstances is a matter that could be argued from more than one point of view. One might note, however, that the experience of our relationship with the Soviet Union during the past decade indicates that the rulers of that state have become more approachable as their presence on the world scene has come to be accepted by other nations.

The emergence of the USSR as a genuine world power with all the possibilities for maneuver such a development offers to other states has enormously complicated life for the United States. The latter is now finding that it must take its place in an order where it will be permitted neither the preponderant position of authority it enjoyed in the immediate post-World War II era nor the luxury of a return to traditional isolationism. If American policy is to operate successfully in this changing climate, its spokesmen must learn to stop talking about the "duties of world leadership" and adopt more subtle methods of maintaining and extending their influence. They should also be more alert to shifts in attitudes of other peoples and must make greater attempts to understand the motivations of those with whom they do not agree.

A final word might be appropriate on what the US diplomatic establishment can do to improve its domestic image. Most importantly, the Department of State, under the guidance of the White House, should exercise greater initiative and competence in explaining to the American people the issues of which it has the best understanding and is most capable of offering a convincing and effective presentation. The Department is far too responsive to the demands of special interest groups and ill-informed segments of other governmental and private organizations. It should, respecting the demands of security and the necessities of diplomatic discretion, present the facts to the nation in full realization that not everything it has to say will find agreement or understanding. After having served the establishment for over a decade and a half, it is my conviction that so long as the foreign affairs component of the American government gives too little credit to the common sense of the people it serves, there will continue to be a limited and questioning acceptance of its policies and activities. ■

(*Continued from page* 27)

as he saw the smiles on the other faces his old grin came back. As Dean Rusk noted, he was "obviously worried about the behavior of nations but deeply confident about the nature of man."

Most of the major issues which came up at the United Nations during his incumbency he considered worthy of his concern and involvement. Of course, most of them, like the Congo, the Cuban missile crisis and Cyprus, required United Nations peacekeeping, which, rudimentary as it still is, he felt in the long run would prove indispensable to the security of mankind.

In the same rubric he placed disarmament, which came at least annually to the General Assembly for debate and recommendation. He thought there was no international business in or out of the United Nations which was more vital and urgent, and he was often angry and desperately anxious at the snail's pace at which the negotiations inched along. Of course, he was the father, or perhaps the grandfather, of the test ban, and it was the gravest of disappointments to him that this achievement was not swiftly followed by others in this field, that the world's attention thereafter was distracted to the crises of this year and next, away from what he feared would be the ultimate crisis of survival. Yet he had no doubt that we were fundamentally right in Viet-Nam and that, while we should negotiate whenever we could, principle and interest demanded we stand and fight whenever we could not.

His belief in the United Nations by no means ended with peacekeeping. He believed profoundly in freedom, in human rights, in the self-determination of peoples, and in what the United Nations could do to develop human and material resources in the two-thirds of the world where both were grossly underdeveloped. He was acutely aware of the danger of a new scission of the world into rich and poor nations which in hatred and horror could easily outstrip all previous scissions. He saw the United Nations as an instrument—still a feeble instrument, by no means the only instrument, but in the long run the most impartial, universal and effective instrument—for dealing with all these problems of man's individual and collective destiny.

For his last two or three years, Stevenson was, of course, harassed and torn by the United Nations constitutional and financial crisis which arose over the Soviet and French refusal to pay their assessments for certain peacekeeping operations. On the one hand, he was an ardent believer in the rule of law and to him the law of the Charter in this respect, buttressed by the World Court decision and the Assembly's acceptance of it, was clear and conclusive. Moreover, he was keenly aware that United Nations peacekeeping, to succeed, had to be financed and he strongly suspected that binding assessments on all the members might be the only means of doing so adequately. On the other hand, as the crisis deepened and the 19th General Assembly was reduced to impotence, he became acutely aware that the whole United Nations might founder and fall apart over this issue, that it would not be worth sacrificing all its other indispensable capacities in order to save this one desirable capacity, that Great Powers cannot and perhaps should not be coerced into paying for operations which they disapprove, and that in this case as in so many others law must keep flexible in order to keep alive. It was the last conclusion to which he was tending in the final months of his life.

IV

Indeed, in his last few months he had arrived at certain conclusions about the state of the world which he disclosed in a remarkable series of speeches in April, May and June of this year. They reflect the essence of his ripe wisdom. Peculiarly in his case, his own words are far more important than anything one can say about him. This memoir may appropriately end with a summary of what those last conclusions were after sixty-five years in the twentieth century, two presidential campaigns, and four and a half years at the United Nations.

As he explained at some length in these speeches, at Harvard, in Toronto, in Boston, New York, Chicago and San Francisco, he thought that the security, the freedom and welfare, the very existence of mankind were being threatened by three great interneeine struggles, three aspects of the tragic civil war of a mankind that in this age should be one and indivisible. These struggles are, first, the seemingly inveterate struggle for power among nations, large and small; second, the struggle among rich and poor states and regions for fair shares in the new bounty of science and technology; third, the struggle between revolutionary and evolutionary ideologies for the minds and hearts of men.

As to the second, which in all his trips around the world and through all his vision into the nature of the world seemed to him fundamental, he said at the University of Toronto in May: "We are most unlikely, in a narrow planetary society made one by science and technology, to preserve—even if we wished to—the coexistence of so much wealth and so much misery, or to do so without violence, without struggle, without revolt." And at this point he quoted U Thant, who had said shortly before: "In any but the shortest term it is not resources that limit imagination but imagination that limits resources."

As to the struggle of ideologies, he had come to believe in recent months, largely because of the experience in Viet-Nam, that the greatest danger to peace and freedom lay in so-called "wars of national liberation." He was inclined to think, as he explained in many of these speeches, that the Communist powers had come to realize, of course the Soviets more keenly than the Chinese, that open old-style aggression across frontiers was too risky in the nuclear age to indulge in any more, but that they still cherished the belief, once again the Chinese more brazenly and recklessly than the Soviets, that they could achieve the same ends by the use of violence from within, by inciting a small minority to subversion or armed revolt against an established government, by supporting this minority through arms, money, men and propaganda and, worst of all, by stealing and perverting the cherished watchwords of the West, freedom, democracy, self-determination, national liberation, to persuade the rest of the world that black is white and that the imposition of Stalinist or Maoist tyranny on a freedom-loving people by violence and terror is analogous to the genuine national liberation of India or Algeria or the United States of America.

Again and again in his last speeches Stevenson denounced this fraud and exposed this critical danger. It was because he was so keenly aware of it that, passionate man of peace that he was, he so firmly supported President Johnson in their common determination that the people of South Vietnam must not be terrorized, overwhelmed and swallowed up. He was the last man to have imperial ambitions for

his country or lightly to risk the nuclear holocaust he so often warned against, but in Viet-Nam he believed we must fight to parley, fight for a decent settlement, fight with restraint and with prayerful regard for the frightful risks of escalation, but fight under these restrictions to help make Southeast Asia, as we had helped make the rest of Asia and Africa, safe for freedom. For otherwise, he clearly saw, the whole magnificent process of self-determination and true liberation could be reversed and a new imperialism imposed on great segments of the human race. He had become acutely aware that, until the Communist powers are disabused of the illusion that "wars of liberation" are a "safe" form of aggression and are compatible with peaceful coexistence, neither peace nor indeed existence will be secure.

To this point he said in Toronto: "It seems to me—and I speak for myself alone—that the only solution to Southeast Asia compatible with the post-colonial world we are trying to build is to give these states between the Chinese and the Indian colossi international security guarantees, impartially policed frontiers, long-term development and a broad framework of social and economic cooperation. And if you ask me why Peking is using all its pressure to prevent negotiations, it is precisely because its leaders have vast ambitions and therefore reject the idea that domination or spheres of predominant influence are just as unacceptable in the modern world of self-determination as in the old imperial heyday."

Stevenson profoundly believed that these three great struggles, of power, of ideology, of rich and poor, could be resolved in time, but what kept him awake nights was whether we *had* the time. In Chicago just three weeks before he died he said: "I deposited a prophecy in the Pioneer Court's cornerstone box today that thirty-five years hence, in the year 2000, we would either have achieved coexistence or co-extinction."

A month before in Toronto he had declared: "Always below the surface lurks the terrifying possibility that human society, stricken by so many divisions, may see them all coalesce in a single devastating war of anger and destruction—poverty, ideology and the power struggle combining in one vast nuclear holocaust."

But he did feel deeply, for he was a congenital optimist, that we *had* turned the corner, come over the crest of the hill, looked across Jordan into the Promised Land—if we would only give ourselves time to take the next few crucial steps. "My faith in the future," he said, again in Toronto, "lies in the conviction that fundamental changes are taking place. The game has changed. The old rules do not apply. Each of the profound causes of war—the unsolved boundaries of Great Power pressure, the disproportion of resources, the fierce clash of faith—is undergoing a change that is the equivalent of a political mutation. Once such a mutation occurs, we shall have not of course the millenium, but a new kind of world in which the old kind of fatalities no longer operate."

What was needed, he saw more and more clearly and particularly after the détente following the test ban had withered away, was a pause of polemics, a breathing spell in hot and cold wars, what he described in his Hammarskjold lecture at Princeton in March 1964 as "a policy of cease-fire and peaceful change," what he called in his address in San Francisco at the 20th anniversary of the United Nations, after the world crisis had sharpened, "a

truce to terror."

Expanding on this theme on the latter occasion, he declared: "The enemy is not change but violence. To induce needed change without needless murder, what we require above all is a truce to terror. We need a moratorium, a breathing spell free from acts of international violence . . . If we could somehow bring about a truce to terror we would soon discover that world order will come, not through the purity of the human heart nor the purge of the human soul, but will be wrought from a thousand common ventures that are at once possible and imperative."

But he did not believe that the performance of these essential tasks, the need to capitalize on the emerging mutations in the struggles of power, ideology and development, could be met by the United States alone. In his speech at the Harvard Commencement on June 17, he noted that the United States had necessarily exercised almost a monopoly of leadership in the West during the first ten years after the war, and had done so brilliantly and successfully, but that in the subsequent ten years new and assertive centers of power had emerged in the West, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. What was needed in this new context, he argued, was neither a futile effort to prolong our monopoly of leadership nor a petulant retreat into a new isolationism, but rather a "genuine partnership."

What he mentioned specifically in this connection was: (1) to keep our ties with Europe "unequivocal" but to transfer greater responsibility to our allies "by our readiness to consider any pattern of cooperation the Europeans care to suggest"; (2) "to seek all possible ways, together with our European allies, to increase peaceful and profitable contacts with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union"; (3) to continue to promote self-determination and close regional cooperation in Asia, Africa and Latin America ("the old, old principle that powerful neighbors, for reasons of power alone, must prevail never gave peace in the past. I question whether it will do so even in the nuclear age"); (4) to defend and enlarge the institutions of collective security and multilateral economic development embodied in the United Nations.

Stevenson concluded at Harvard: "What we attempt today is to extend to the whole society of man the techniques, the methods, the habits—if you will, the courtesies—upon which our own sense of citizenship is based. In our free society we ask that citizens participate as equals. We accept their views and interests as significant. We struggle for unforced consensus. We tolerate conflict and accept dissent . . . Our founders had the audacity to proclaim their ideals 'self-evident' for all mankind. We can hardly be less bold when 'all mankind' is no longer an abstraction but a political fact in the United Nations."

Such are some of the more significant last words which Adlai Stevenson addressed to his fellow-citizens. In them one finds unmistakably that lifting of "the tone of public discourse" for which he was famous. In them one finds the distillation of his experience, his insight, his wisdom and his compassion. Here is writ large his legacy to his generation and to his children's. If we and they take it to heart and build, in and out of the United Nations, the more perfect world, the peaceful, progressive, fraternal society for which he untiringly strove, he will be justified. He lit a candle, rather than curse the darkness. It is our responsibility to see to it that that candle becomes a torch that illuminates a world. ■

View of a 'Nice Neighbor'

by GALE HARGROVE

AS I TYPED Ambassador Yost's article about Governor Stevenson, I kept recalling things concerning him which had touched me personally—not the big, noble, outstanding things we've been reading so much about since he left us, but the small, everyday things that made him such a nice neighbor, that make him so missed here at the office now.

"Where's Charlie?" he'd ask—after he'd recovered from the start he got from the start I got from his suddenly appearing out of Ambassador Yost's office, which I had thought unoccupied. He'd have entered through their adjoining back door, found nobody in, walked silently across the Bigelow and appeared suddenly at my door to ask, "Where's Charlie?"—looking and sounding a mite surprised and hurt that he'd been deserted, then beginning to chuckle over our having so startled each other. It came to be a little game we played from time to time.

A little thing, a silly thing, but the very thing, oddly enough, that I instantly recalled and immediately began to miss when they told me about the Governor. Consoling friends and strangers phoned, and I heard wondrous things of him from them and through the news media, so much that I sensed an underlying feeling of guilt that they hadn't quite said and done enough for him while he was yet with us. And I listened and I read, but all the while I kept remembering the little things.

Like the Governor's running battle with the elevators here at the Mission. He was a well-disposed man, and lack of cooperation in man or machine always surprised and puzzled him. He'd come out of his office and start down the hall at his usual half-trot (I don't believe he could walk), heading for the elevators, only to have the doors close in his face as he sought to enter or, after this excessive efficiency was remedied by the engineers, to have the doors refuse to close as he stood within the elevator, a man in tremendous hurry, powerless to move an inch, obviously vexed and embarrassed.

And the times, the many times that he offered a ride to anyone who happened to be leaving the building as he, himself, was going out. No matter the lateness of the hour or how rushed he might be himself, the offer was charmingly made and, when accepted, as graciously carried out.

And the night of his reception for Dr. Martin Luther King when, in spite of the long line of diplomatic guests, he took time to quip as I arrived, "Dr. King, this is the lady who keeps Ambassador Yost in line. I think you will also be interested to learn that she is a unique guest—a Mississippi integrationist!" And he obviously enjoyed the expression of incredulity he had brought to Dr. King's face.

Then there was the day the Governor had labored long over a speech he was to make at the United Nations that afternoon. When at the last minute he found himself unable to go, Ambassador Yost went over instead and was in the process of reading the speech when the Governor hurried past my door, heard Ambassador Yost's voice coming in over the

intercom, and turned back to listen. Being in his usual hurry, he stood there fidgeting as his speech was read word for word as he had written it. With an impatient shrug and a little frown of annoyance he declared, "He's taking an awfully long time to get to the point!" And off he went, forgetting his briefcase.

And, oh, that day when I, thinking everyone had left for lunch, spread my own out on my desk and brought from its hiding place my big jar of smelly, sour pickles. Over came the Governor in search of "Charlie." I was able to cover the corned beef with a Secret telegram and the boiled eggs with voucher, but the pickle jar was simply too large to camouflage, and indeed its distinctive aroma would have given it away. The Governor's eyes went immediately to the jar, but my embarrassment was short-lived when he said, "Pickles!" in such a manner that I knew they were very old and very dear friends. I handed him a fork and he speared a large one and bore it off, declaring "I love pickles!"

An old writing, authorship unknown, which so intrigued the Governor that he had planned to use it on his Christmas cards this year, contained the admonition, ". . . and listen to others, even the dull and ignorant: they, too, have their story." I doubt that the Governor considered many persons really dull and ignorant, but listen he did. It is common knowledge that he spoke exceedingly well; what is not so generally known is that he listened even better. Of all his traits which made him as he was, I thought none more admirable than this. He gave the courtesy of his full attention to anyone who claimed his ear. He made the least of us, perhaps "even the dull and ignorant" of us, feel important—after all, we had something to say that the Governor himself was interested in hearing.

These are the things I remember and these are the things I miss—every day. I know that he was all of the splendid things which have been said about him in eulogy. But these are the things I remember. ■

The Surf

by JURGIS BALTRUSAITIS

The day's wild ocean sings and thunders,
And beats against the fatal shore,
This breaker with dumb sorrow sunders,
And these like laughing victors roar,
Their sheen—one joy of vernal wonders,
Their sheen—vast winter's shining hoar.

In wrath triumphant forward swinging,
The lifted billow calls and fails,
A joyous giant shouting, singing,
Its voice the voice of sounding gales,
Its glory in the sunlight flinging,
Whose noonday glow it holds and hails.

Across the sea, now lightly foaming,
Another rears, that stirs the deep,
And floods the shore with the silence gloaming;
Morose and slow it seems to creep
Like one who drops, worn out with roaming,
From his bent back a fatal heap.

Each moment new, with changing power,
The surf is thundering alone.
Now idle, now it seems to lower,
Hymning a silence all unknown,
Like a dark heart asleep,—for hour
On hour in restless monotone.

(*Translated from the Russian*)
—LITUANUS QUARTERLY
Fall-Winter, 1964

AFSA: MINUTES

August 20: Mr. Gardner Palmer, FSO-retired, reviewed for the Board his assignment in the Department to develop a program for better utilization of the talents and experience of the Retired Officer Corps. He is also developing plans for a "Foreign Service Day," presently scheduled for November 10, 1965, to commemorate the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Invitations to participate will be sent to retired officers.

The Board approved the nominations of Mrs. Robert Houghton and Mr. John H. Stutesman. Jr., for the Committee on Education, as well as the name of Mr. Richard C. Hagan as Chairman of the Legal Committee to succeed Mr. Frank Siscoe, who is now assigned to Copenhagen.

The annual Benton Scholarship, named for an outstanding Foreign Service officer, was designated the "Raymond A. Hare Scholarship" for 1965-66, on the recommendation of the Honorahle Loy W. Henderson.

A list of persons who had expressed a desire to serve on the Board of Directors or on some of its standing committees was prepared. This list will be made available to the Electoral College which will meet in September to elect new officers and Board members.

In connection with its plans for a "Foregn Service Day," the Department has issued the following statement:

> The Department will sponsor a "Foreign Service Day" on November 12, 1965, as the first of a series of annual conferences for retired Foreign Service Officers. Both DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired) and the American Foreign Service Association are cooperating with the Department in planning the program.
>
> It is expected that the morning session will be devoted principally to foreign policy briefings and discussions. In the afternoon there will be a review of how best retired officers can help the government in their own communities as a matter of public service and their professional interest in foreign affairs. Additionally, ways and means of developing a closer and continuing relationship between retired officers and the Department will be discussed, together with the type of tasks which they might from time to time be called upon to perform.
>
> Invitations will be extended to the entire retired Foreign Service Officer group, wherever they may be, and it is hoped that a large number will be able to come to Washington for this occasion. There will be a reception in the early evening for participants, their wives, and other invited guests.

ADDRESS CHANGE?

Our mailing list can only be as up to date as you make it by sending in changes of address promptly. When you change posts, please fill out and mail a change of address form. One is appended here for your convenience.

NAME .....

OLD ADDRESS .....

NEW ADDRESS .....

(*Continued from page* 21)

sixteen-week Spanish course. When I began, I knew no Spanish, at all; tested, at the end of the course, I was rated S-3, R-3+. If this article seems somewhat biased in favor of what FSI can and does do in the field of foreign language teaching, that is part of the explanation. Additionally, however, I have some basis of comparison, having studied French for five years in high school and college, under the then-traditional American system of memorizing vocabulary, learning grammatical rules, translating passages from old books, and—occasionally—saying a phrase or two out loud. When I entered the Army, French was listed as a language facility of mine. When, however, I was assigned at a later date to deal with some French-speaking residents of Shanghai, I soon found I had to settle for a system whereby they spoke French (I understood a little) and I spoke English (they understood a little). Knowing the rules of grammar and having mastery of some vocabulary did not add up to language proficiency. I felt not unlike the main character in one of Mrs. Edward Craster's "Pinafore Poems:"

The centipede was happy quite
Until a toad in fun
Said, "Pray, which leg goes after which?"
That worked her mind to such a pitch,
She lay distracted in a ditch,
Considering how to run.

The audio-lingual approach is not entirely without its pitfalls. The native speaker-instructor has here, for convenience, consistently been referred to as "he." Many of the instructors at FSI happen to be of the female gender. Some time ago, a language student, leaving the building after working in the language lab with tapes after class, met the attractive young woman who was his instructor. Using a basic sentence, with excellent accent, he asked, "What are you going to do?" She replied, and he, responding automatically, said, "Fine; let's do it together." He had not, unfortunately, quite understood her reply to his initial question. She had answered, accurately, if not according to one of the alternative phrases in the text, "As a matter of fact, I'm going home and going to bed." ■

"Just where did you get your S-4, R-4. In a Crackerjack box?"

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Dilly and Then Dally

REGARDING the remarks in "The Washington Letter" (August issue) about office parties and irate wives: I believe that what really annoys wives is to have their hushands come home at Christmas time all messed up after falling down elevator shafts. One husband, landing in the basement from the forty-ninth floor of the Empire State Building, rolled over and cautioned those around him: "Watch that first step, it's a dilly!"

J. B. S.

Denver

When Cocktails are Serious Business

YOU'RE walking down the street and this seedy character sidles up to you and says: "Hey, Mack, how about a dime for a cup of coffee?"

So you give him a dime for a cup of coffee; what-the-hell, you're in an expansive mood.

But then your glow of generosity starts to dim, your warmth of human kindness begins to cool, and a nasty suspicion rears its ugly head: *Will* that bum take my dime and buy a cup of coffee, or will he go out and get royally sozzled?

Well, Dear Editor, that's about the way it is with the Congress and the Foreign Service and the "Booze Fund." A telling way to reassure the men on Capitol Hill that the representation funds they so conscientiously vote are not lightly spent would be to send each of them a copy of Victoria Dennis' "Cocktail Party."

It would be better than 10,000 pictures.

ROBERT W. RINDEN

San Francisco

Foreign Service Scholarship

AFTER visiting some of the countries in Africa and becoming better acquainted with Americans in our Foreign Service, we are more convinced than ever that the help we can give children of people in the US Foreign Service is well-deserved, appreciated and needed.

We are only too glad to be of help with the education of children of our Foreign Service people at the secondary level.

We should like to give about $500 toward a scholarship for some deserving young person. We would like to know who might receive the award because we are interested in following the progress of the student. We take a personal interest in all of the young people to whom we have given scholarships.

J. E. HOLLINGSWORTH

Palm Beach

New Rating Form

I WONDER how many other rating officers now share my doubts about the degree of honesty and courage represented in "other people's reports." When I discussed my assistant's report with him I told him that:

1. The new rating form was obviously designed to secure objective and realistic reports rather than, as in the past, a combination of numbers calculated to add up to an average of 5 or better, and
2. I hoped he would consider his report in this light and would not reckon his score by the bad old system.

His reply was that he hoped but was not confident that most other raters viewed the new system as I did. He added that it would be easier to avoid an over-hasty generalization on a report if the degrees of quality were "mixed up," i.e., if the lowest blank were not always on the left and the superlatives on the right.

I hope that Personnel may be able soon to provide an assessment of the new system, and that my colleague's anonymous suggestion may be considered.

If you choose to print this letter, would you please withhold my name and post?

FSO

From an overseas post

Orchard and Barracks

THE JOURNAL is to be complimented on the fascinating story about the man who joined the migrant workers.* The workers' listlessness, their total lack of interest in anything beyond the horizon and even their belief that there couldn't possibly be anything of interest outside of sex, food, and the daily routine, were vivid reminders of army days and the buddies one made in the barracks. Evidently people never change, or if they do it takes more than one lifetime to detect the change. Maybe this is the hole in the reasoning of people who say that universal compulsory education has been tried and has failed. Could be that the truth is that several generations of UCE are needed before there are any spectacular results. The hillbilly music the migrants cherished was another reminder of army days. On dark winter mornings during the few minutes between reveille and breakfast the barracks would be hideous with radios blaring the twangy hillbilly music from southern stations.

EDWARD BARRY

Chicago

**"The View from the Apple Orchard," by Eric Kocher, July issue.*

The Hays Bill

YOUR editorial entitled "The Hays Bill" in the June issue raises an interesting question. It is, incidentally, a model of circumspection. It describes the new category of "Foreign Affairs Officer" who is to be primarily a professional who will serve in the United States; and then the editorial goes on gently to take issue with the Executive Branch for not having recommended "the extension of the slightly better retirement provisions currently applicable to Foreign Service officers to the personnel whom it is proposed to incorporate into the new Foreign Affairs Personnel system . . ."

The fact that the Foreign Service JOURNAL editorially takes a position independent from that of the Executive Branch is in itself encouraging, for the JOURNAL is the mouthpiece of our profession and the defender of the career principle and it is natural, and indeed laudable, that it should on occasion take a position which is not identical with that of the Administration. But we respectfully submit that in this particular case, the editorial courage that has been displayed is directed against a valuable principle which the American Foreign Service Association should uphold.

If the Executive Branch had done what the JOURNAL editorial would have liked to see it do, it would have undermined the principle that people who serve abroad are entitled to different treatment from people who serve only at home; for if the "slightly better retirement provisions currently applicable to Foreign Service officers" are extended to the new category of Foreign Affairs officers, what justification would there be left for saying that those of us who serve

abroad have duties and difficulties that are sufficiently different to entitle them to better retirement provisions? We may well need to plead that case sometime in Congress.

And we have a good case, let us not forget that. When the Foreign Service Act was drawn up, there was still a fairly large difference between the retirement provisions for Foreign Service officers and those applying to the Civil Service. The justification, no doubt, was that those who serve abroad have a number of handicaps and disabilities and penalties in the course of their careers which are not found in the domestic service.

A few of these are: The greater health hazards that we experience abroad; the relatively smaller security compared with people who can grow roots in their own local community, including the security of easier transfer from job to job; the separation of families; the financial handicaps of people who aren't building up equity investments in real estate and other opportunities available to sedentary employes; the unusual wear and tear and loss and heartbreak in connection with the movement of one's personal possessions from post to post; and, most important, the extraordinary stress of working in many overseas environments.

Of course, one can argue that our medical program and transfer and educational allowances and hardship differentials compensate for these hardships, disabilities and handicaps; but few persons who have served abroad in a sucession of relatively unattractive posts will be convinced by such arguments. The Congress—unless the current passion for uniformity is carried to extremes—should continue to be amenable to the argument that there is good justification for better retirement provisions for the Foreign Service; but if we include a category of personnel who by definition don't serve abroad, we foreclose the possibility of improved differential treatment in the future.

We in the Foreign Service can only rejoice that retirement provisions for the Civil Service have been progressively improved over the years until the difference is correctly described as "slight" in your June editorial. We don't envy the Civil Service its improvement. But if a more substantial difference was justified at one time, should it not be our purpose to urge that that difference be made more substantial again? It is not inconceivable, for instance, that the Foreign Service could be given more than 2% retirement credit per year at some future time. The military get 2½%. If service abroad in the first line of defense of our nation entitles one to special treatment, a good case can be made that the gap between Civil and Foreign Service retirement should be widened again to where it had been, say, twenty years ago.

Certainly the Foreign Service career has not become cushier since that time. We have more hardship posts today than we had twenty years ago; we work under more pressure and stress; we have greatly increased responsibilities; and, one may add, thanks to the present Administration there is an incomparably better understanding of the Foreign Service and its needs and what it is entitled to, both in Congress and among the general puhlic. This seems hardly the time to throw away the justification for even the "slight" differential treatment that we enjoy by right and for good reason.

We may add that this question was raised in the Board of Directors of the Foreign Service Association more than once in the past; but it was decided at those times that it would be unwise and also inequitable to move in favor of improved retirement provisions for those who have not yet retired, as long as serious inequities exist for those officers who have retired in the past. But when this moratorium was agreed upon, nobody thought that the day would come when the Foreign Service Association would editorially plead for the wiping-out of the difference between retirement provisions of Foreign Service officers and other personnel (even if called "Foreign Affairs officers") who do not serve abroad.

What is all this passion for uniformity? The creation of the new category of Foreign Affairs officer is, in a sense, an admission that even the Procrustean system of the Wriston program could not fit everybody into the Foreign Service. That this should have been admitted is a credit to the current team of managers. It is disappointing, however, to see the JOURNAL egging on the Executive Branch to even greater uniformity than the latter is prepared to advocate. We who are practitioners of the art of foreign affairs should, above all others, be aware of the importance of diversity and of the essential futility of trying for excessively "neat" solutions to the problems of human affairs.

THEODORE L. ELIOT, JR.
MARTIN F. HERZ

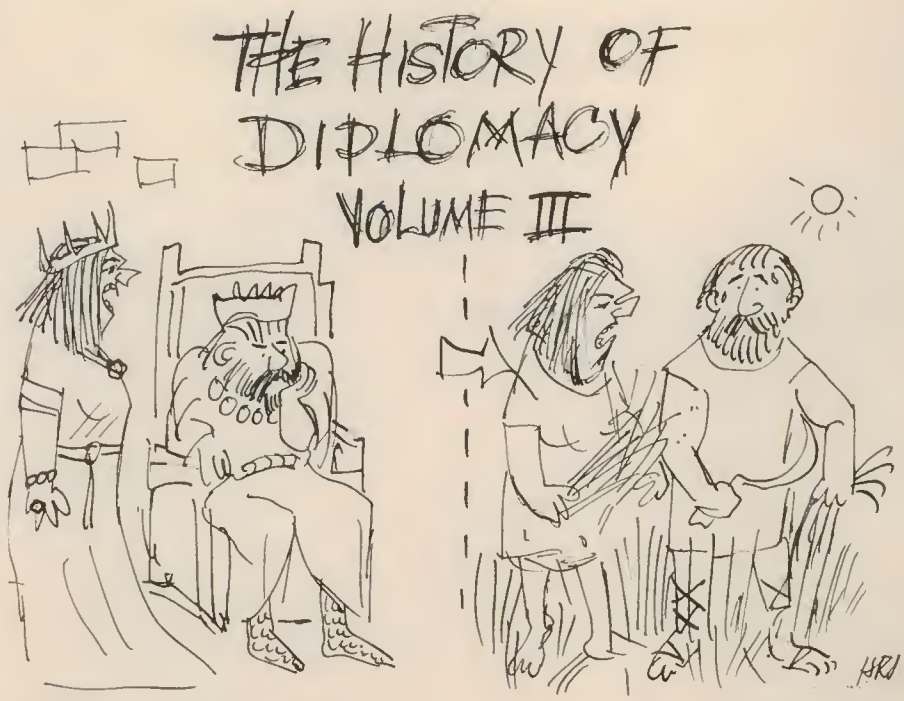
Tehran

Scholarship for Nizette

YOU will be interested to learn that Denise (Nizette) Brennan, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Edward T. Brenan, Central African Republic, will be a tenth grade boarding student at Kent Place in September as the first recipient of our Foreign Service officer program.

MACDONALD HALSEY
Headmaster

Summit, N.J.



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"Bungler . . . the minute I saw those Normans . . ."

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