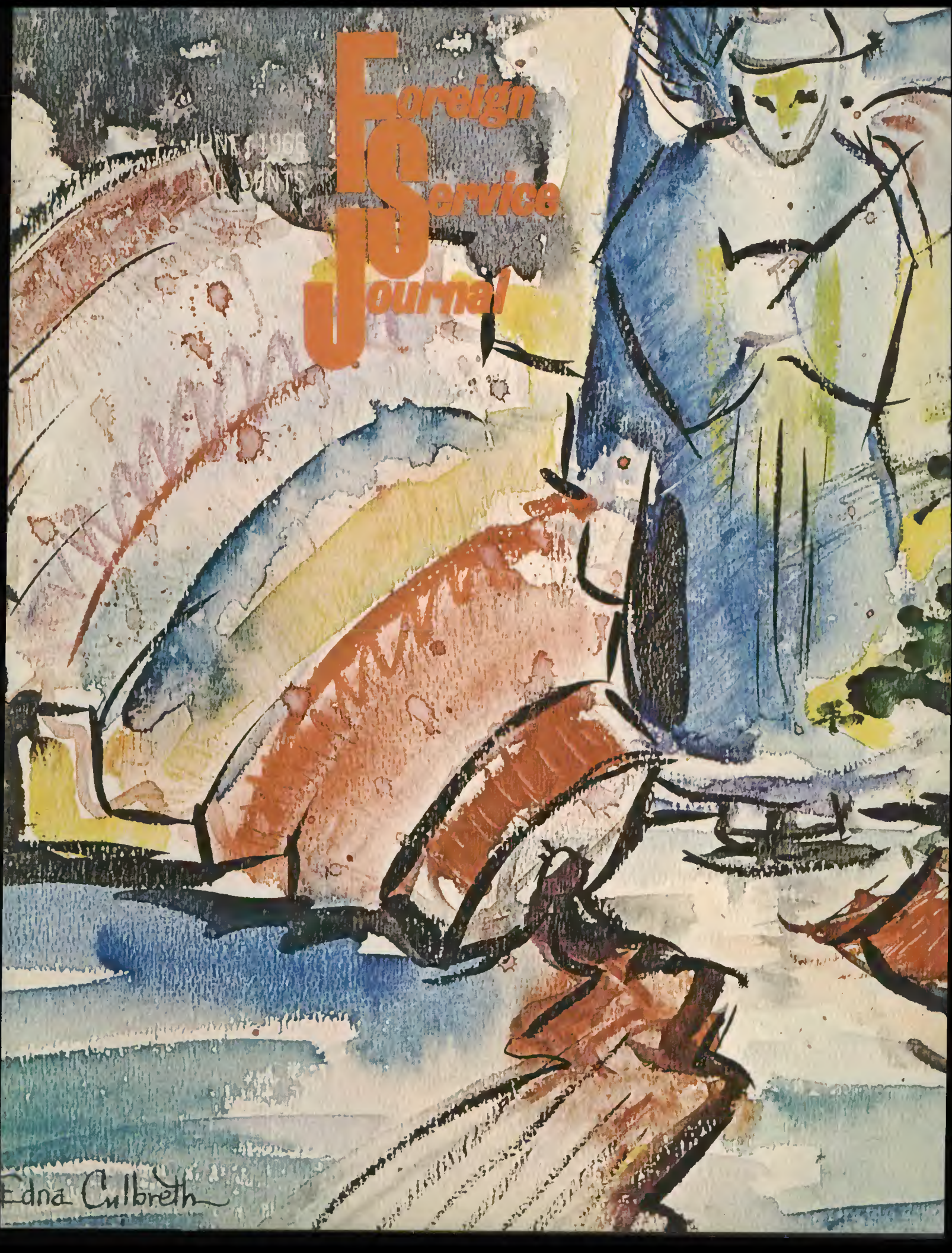


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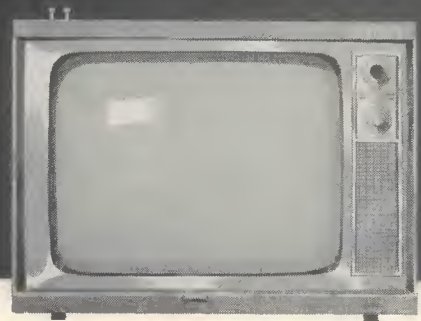
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The dues for Active and Associate Members are either \$15 or \$12; For FSO's in Class V and above the rate is \$15 and is the same for FSR's, Staff officers and Civil Service personnel in corresponding grades. For Active Members in lower grades the dues are \$12. The annual dues for retired members and others who are not Active Members are \$12. Each membership includes a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

For subscriptions to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues), \$6.00; two years, \$10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except countries in the Western hemisphere, add \$1.00 annually for overseas postage.

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The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Color transparencies (4 x 5) may be submitted for possible cover use.

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

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

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

Ambassador Nominations

JOHN W. TUTHILL, *Ambassador to Brazil*

Births

FERGUSON. A son, William Harvey, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Fergusson on February 23, in White Plains, New York. Mr. Fergusson is vice consul in Curacao.

Deaths

ADAMS. Robert Anthony Walpole Adams, special assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, died on May 9, at Fairfax County Hospital. Mr. Adams entered the Foreign Service in 1940 and served in Mexico City until he joined the US Army in 1941, serving as a major in Europe. He rejoined the Foreign Service in 1946, serving at Cali, the Department, Porto Alegre, Tokyo, New Delhi, National War College and Mexico City, before assuming his post in the Department in 1964.

BLAIR. Percy A. Blair, FSO-retired, died on May 3, in Santa Barbara, California. Mr. Blair served as a major in the US Army in World War I, entered the Foreign Service in the late 1920s and served in London, Madrid and Buenos Aires, retiring in 1940.

BRADFORD. Saxton Bradford died on April 23, in Washington, D. C. Mr. Bradford entered the Foreign Service after serving as a lieutenant commander, US Navy, in World War II. He served at Buenos Aires, the Department, National War College, Tokyo, Madrid and Mexico City. He was assigned to the United States Information Agency from 1953 to 1959 and had been serving as Educational Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs until his hospitalization in February.

CASTLEMAN. Reginald S. Castleman, FSO-retired, died on April 7, in Cascais, Portugal. Mr. Castleman entered the Foreign Service in 1919 and served at Madrid, Lisbon, London, Glasgow, Managua, Bahia and Malaga before his retirement in 1949.

COOKINGHAM. Harris N. Cookingham, FSO-retired, died on April 4, in Red Rock-on-Hudson, New York. Mr. Cookingham entered the Foreign Service in 1907 and served at Seville, Barcelona, Tunis, Tangier, Saigon, Tenerife, Vancouver and Singapore, before his retirement in 1939.

HARRIS. Martha Tellier Harris, wife of Reed Harris, director of the Information Center Service, USIA, died on April 22 in West Chevy Chase, Maryland.

HUDDLESTON. John F. Huddleston, FSO-retired, died on April 22, in Winter Park, Florida. Mr. Huddleston entered the Foreign Service in 1923 and served at Milan, Funchal, Dresden, Curacao, Aruba, the Department, Rome and Liverpool, before his retirement in 1952.

JOHNSON. Herschel V. Johnson, former Ambassador to Brazil, died on April 17, in Charlotte, North Carolina. Mr. Johnson entered the Foreign Service in 1920 and served at Berne, Sofia, the Department, Tegucigalpa, Mexico City, London, (as minister counselor), as minister counselor), as minister to Sweden, and at the United Nations, before going as Ambassador to Brazil in 1948. He retired from the Service in 1953.

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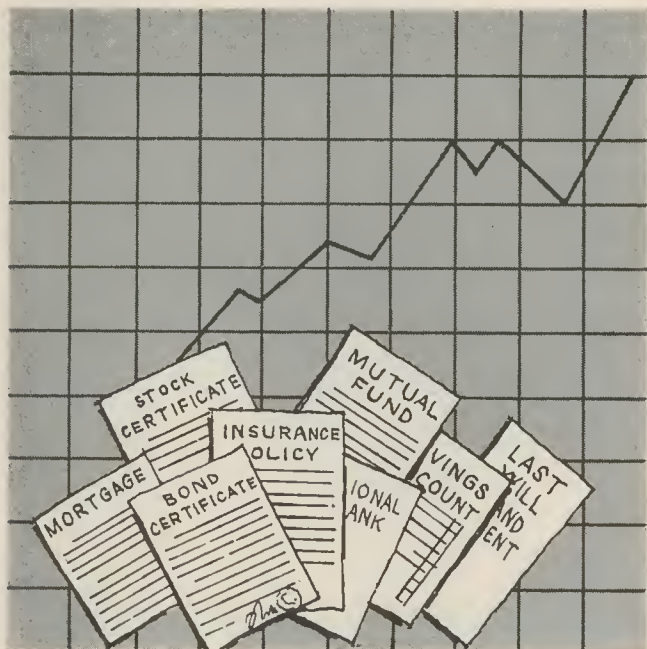
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INTRODUCTION

Because of an increasing interest in the world of finance, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is initiating a series of articles discussing the various facets of personal financial planning

in order to give its readers a greater insight into financial planning and the broad spectrum of assistance that is available to them. This series of articles, one of which will appear approximately every two months, is being prepared by Loomis, Sayles & Company, Investment Counselors. This firm is one of the oldest and largest in the investment counsel business, having been founded in 1926. Loomis, Sayles currently is managing the Scholarship Fund of the American Foreign Service Association, which provides scholarship assistance to worthy students, helping them further their college educations. In preparing this series of articles, Loomis, Sayles & Company will draw upon specialists within its organization who are especially familiar with the subject of each presentation.

Where to Seek Advice

by Jay Vawter, Investment Counselor
Loomis, Sayles & Company

IN October of 1776 Benjamin Franklin, newly-appointed Commissioner to France, sailed to represent the vital interests of the United States in that country upon which we were so dependent in our struggle against the British. Traveling with him were only his two grandsons, aged 17 and 7. He had been preceded by Silas Deane and was joined shortly thereafter by Arthur Lee of Virginia. This small group was responsible for the conduct of all our affairs—military, economic and political. This was quite a contrast to the situation as it is today in which specialization has come to play an increasingly important role in the conduct of our foreign affairs. Thus, our embassies abroad now have experts on each of the responsibilities which Mr. Franklin and his group handled by themselves and in addition, we now have specialists to deal with problems that did not even exist in Mr. Franklin's time.



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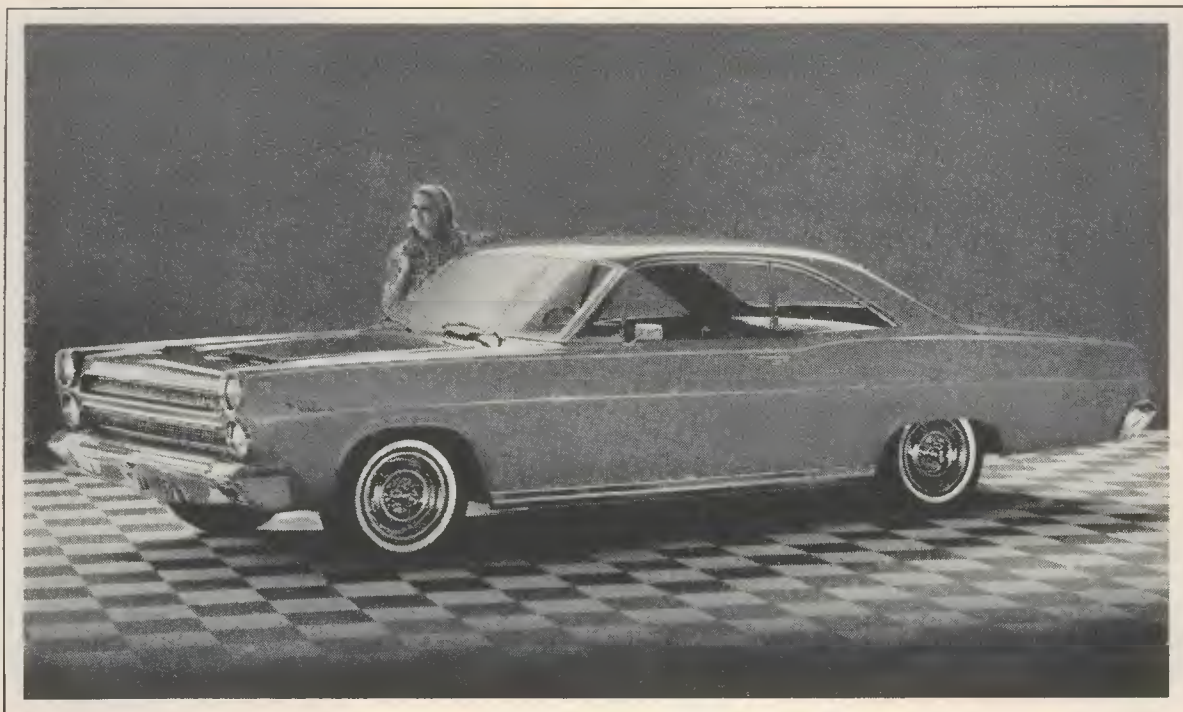
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Era of Specialists

This trend toward specialization has become equally evident in many of our day-to-day activities, including the investment field. An individual today, even with relatively modest financial resources, can draw upon a vast number of specialists to help him with the various aspects of his financial planning. There are experts to help him with his taxes, his investments, his insurance, his estate planning and in fact there are now companies whose sole function is to manage the entire family budget for those who find themselves unable to live within their means.

Even within these highly specialized fields, there is further specialization. Thus, insurance companies have on their staffs experts in all phases of insurance—ordinary life, group life, accident and health, automobile, fire and casualty. Investment advice can be obtained from banks, brokers, market letters and investment counsel organizations. Investment counsel firms and some of the larger banks and brokers in turn will have experts studying the various industries and companies within each industry. Thus, the growth and specialization in the financial field has closely paralleled that in the Foreign Service.

Financial Analysts Federation

Anticipating the increasing importance of specialization in the investment field, 20 years ago security analysts banded together and formed what is now called *The Financial Analysts Federation*. In recent years this organization has shown a rapid growth and now has over 10,000 members. Its purpose is to foster high standards in the investment profession. The Federation, with the University of Virginia, is sponsoring a series of rigorous examinations for security analysts leading to the designation of Chartered

Financial Analyst (CFA). It is expected that this designation will carry the same weight as similar designations in other professions such as accounting (CPA). There are already several hundred analysts with the CFA and it is expected that nearly half of the membership will achieve this distinction by 1970.

Need for Financial Planning

This growth and specialization in the financial world has come about to meet a specific need. As our economy has grown more and more prosperous, more families have sufficient financial resources and the problems that go with them to require professional advice on how to manage their funds. The table below shows the marked changes in income distribution in the United States since World War II and the figures for 1964-65 should show even more families in the higher income brackets:

	Percent Distribution of Families By Income Level				
	0 to \$5,000	\$ 5,000 to \$10,000	\$10,000 to \$15,000	\$15,000 and over	Median Income
1947	80.7	16.6	2.7	—	\$3,033
1950	76.8	20.0	3.2	—	3,319
1955	58.7	35.1	4.8	1.4	4,420
1960	42.1	43.6	10.6	3.7	5,625
1963	36.3	43.8	14.5	5.4	6,265

Although we hear much talk of inflation today, the fact remains that family incomes in the United States have risen sharply over the last twenty years even adjusting for a relatively small annual inflation factor. Since 1946, incomes after taxes and adjusted for rising prices have gone up 47%, a truly remarkable growth. More families find now that they can afford adequate insurance protection, both

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Scope of Articles

It is this great prosperity and its resultant need for careful planning and professional advice which has made this series of articles potentially useful to a broad readership. In the initial stages, perhaps for the first eight to ten articles, the series will have as a common thread the subject of personal financial planning. If saved and collected these articles will provide the reader with a handy reference that could help him with his own affairs and guide him to proper sources of competent advice.

Subjects to be covered in this initial series will begin in the August issue with a brief historical account of the economic trends in the United States over the past 50 years and how these trends have brought about the great prosperity which exists today. Subsequent articles will deal with the role of investments in financial planning, mutual funds, investment counsel, preparing for your child's education, estate planning and retirement programs. After the series on personal financial planning has been completed, the articles will deal with a variety of other subjects about finance, such as the inner workings of a good research department, economic analysis as a vital facet of investment decision-making and the role of computers and data processing in investment research and analysis. ■

Diplomat-Magician

JACK was determined to retrieve his camera, and wired Richard Harding Davis, still in Tokyo, who immediately interceded with the United States Minister to Japan, Lloyd Griscom, an old friend with a rather frisky disposition for a diplomat.

Griscom, as he related the story in his memoir "Diplomatically Speaking," solemnly marched over to the Foreign Office to place the majesty and power of the United States behind the project of recovering a correspondent's camera. Foreign Minister Komura listened to Griscom's recital, then called in his legal counselor, who affirmed that any weapons involved in a crime became the property of the state. London had been convicted of espionage and his "weapon" was forfeit.

"Does that apply to every crime?" Griscom asked

"Yes," replied the legal counselor, "to every crime of every description."

Griscom turned to Foreign Minister Komura and said, "If I can name a crime to which this does not apply, will you release the camera?"

"Yes, I will," said Baron Komura.

"Well," demanded Griscom with a straight face, "what about rape?"

The foreign minister's "Oriental stolidity dissolved in a shout of laughter," Griscom recalled, the legal counselor was dismissed, and the foreign ministry ordered that Jack's camera be returned to him.

—JACK LONDON, by Richard O'Connor (Little, Brown).



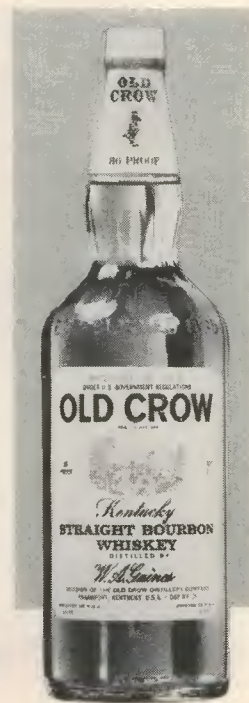
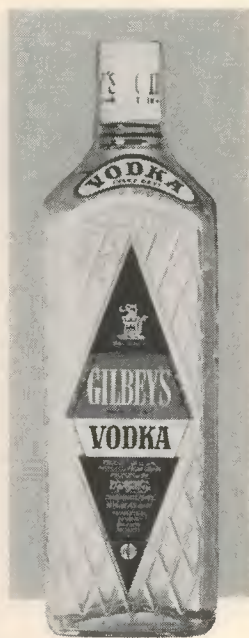
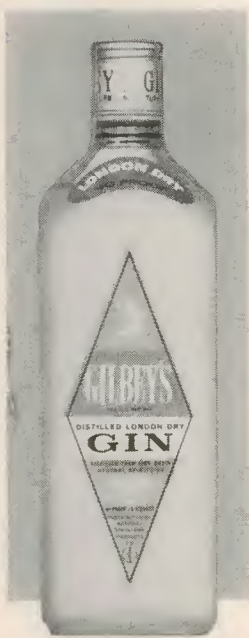
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WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS W. SIMONS, a former Foreign Service officer, retired in 1963 after spending almost six years as Consul General in Madras. He has been in and out of India since 1945 and is back as Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies at Poona. Mr. Simons is working on a history project and he and his wife, Mary Jo, now find time to browse through old records—and like it. One result of the Simons's browsing appears on page 28 of this issue.

MARY PETTIS SANFORD is the wife of Cecil L. Sanford, Jr., PAO, Istanbul. The Sanfords have been stationed in Athens, Bangkok and Caracas. The campus in her memoir, "The First Sit-In," is a composite of Goucher College and the University of North Carolina. Mrs. Sanford says, "The people are all composites, too, except me. I really did read Homer alone in that classroom while everybody else agitated for peace."

TED OLSON cites as his qualifications to discuss "The Dilemma of Dissent," page 20, a quarrelsome disposition and a capacity for survival. After nearly 18 years of boring from within, in OWI, State, USIA and State again, he lost the last battle, to old age, and now is just one more crackpot bombarding the newspapers with letters. (Editor's Note: Ted's friends disagree with parts of the foregoing statement, but defend his right to make it.)

EDNA V. CULBRETH, our cover artist, had a one-man show at the Arts Club this spring. Miss Culbreth is with the Bureau

of Far Eastern Affairs. Her paintings have been accepted in numerous juried exhibitions and she has won many awards.

DR. CHARLES FRANKEL, educator and author, was sworn in as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs in September, 1965. Dr. Frankel was a member of the department of philosophy, Columbia University, from 1939 until 1965 and served under the Fulbright program as a visiting professor at the University of Paris in 1953-54. Besides his Fulbright professorship, Dr. Frankel has held Guggenheim and Carnegie Corporation fellowships and endowed lecture-ships at the University of Dublin, New York School of Social Work, Bennington College, Ohio University and Bowdoin College. In addition to articles in national magazines and in scholarly journals, he is the author of "The Faith of Reason," "The Case for Modern Man," "The Democratic Prospect," and "The Love of Anxiety."

JUAN T. TRIPPE's entire working life has been dedicated to the development of aviation and Pan American World Airways. One of his activities not covered in his speech on "In the Air: Years of Progress" was the many hazardous survey flights he made with Colonel and Mrs. Charles A. Lindbergh to establish the company's over-ocean routes. Such early survey work by Mr. Trippe and other pilots covered the Caribbean, South America, Alaska and the Pacific areas and, later, Newfoundland and the Atlantic. As a result of his company's contributions to the war effort, Mr. Trippe was awarded the Medal for Merit by the President of the United States.

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AAFSW

THE March 15 meeting of the AAFSW in the State Department's Diplomatic Reception Rooms was devoted to honoring the wives of former Secretaries of State of the United States. Mrs. Dean Acheson, Mrs. John Foster Dulles and Mrs. Christian Herter stood in the receiving line with Mrs. Dean Rusk, AAFSW Honorary President, and Mrs. Samuel Berger, President, to receive over 350 members and their guests. Among the special guests were the wives of the members of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees. This group, escorted by Mrs. Douglas MacArthur II, included Mrs. Mike Mansfield, Mrs. J. W. Fulbright, Mrs. Wayne Morse, Mrs. Frank Church and Mrs. Wayne L. Hays.



Mrs. John Foster Dulles, Mrs. Christian Herter, Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss and Mrs. Dean Acheson.



Mrs. Jacques Reinstein, Mrs. Jacob D. Beam and Mrs. Dean Acheson at the March 15 meeting.

Another interesting group were women who have contributed to the handsome furnishings of the eighth floor.

Some of these gifts were particularly in evidence on the tea tables at which senior wives were pouring. These tables were adorned by beautiful vermeil candelabra and serving dishes, given by one of the guests, Mme. Draper Boncompagni, in honor of her grandfather, General William Preston, American Minister to Spain during the Buchanan administration. Some pieces were filled with beautiful fresh camellias. Music by members of the US Army Band contributed further to this pleasant ambiance.

Mrs. John M. Cabot was in charge of arrangements and working with her were Mrs. John F. Simmons, Mrs. Horace G. Torbert, Mrs. Robert Woodward, Mrs. William Shepherd, Mrs. Allan Lightner and Mrs. Keith Whcelock.

The original plan called for the presence of six wives of former Secretaries of State. However, Mrs. James Byrnes, Mrs. George Marshall and Mrs. O. Witcher Dudley (the former Mrs. Stettinius) were unable to attend.

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25 YEARS AGO

JUNE 1941

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

IN 1927 Percy R. Broemel, who served at the Consulate General in London from 1920 to 1938, prepared a history of that office. The JOURNAL published it 25 years ago. It opens with John Adams' account of his interview with King George III when he presented his credentials as our first Minister on June 1, 1785. Broemel wrote that the account was taken from a book by one Bernard published in 1822 of which he had the only copy he knew of. After John Adams had assured the king of his desire to cultivate friendly and liberal intercourse with British subjects and had wished him health and happiness, he went on to say—

The appointment of a minister from the United States to your Majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow citizens in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's royal benevolence and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or in better words "the old good nature and the old good humour" between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood.

As recalled by John Adams, the king's reply concluded as follows—

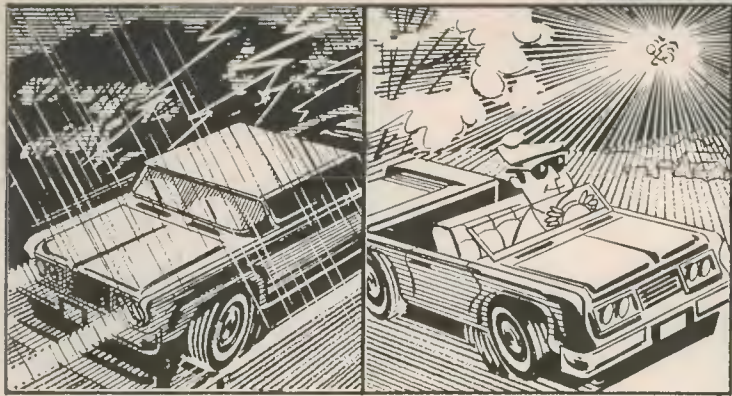
I wish you, Sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiment and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstance of language, religion and blood have their natural and full effect.

History records that the general attitude toward the United States in London at that time made it difficult to carry out his mission effectively.

Broemel found that in 1785 only the following other states had Ministers in London: Germany and Hungary; Russia; Sweden; Denmark; Poland; Prussia; Saxony; Hesse-Cassel; Hanover; Holland; Hansa Towns (agent and Consul); France; Spain; the Two Sicilies; Portugal; Sardinia; Venice and Genoa.

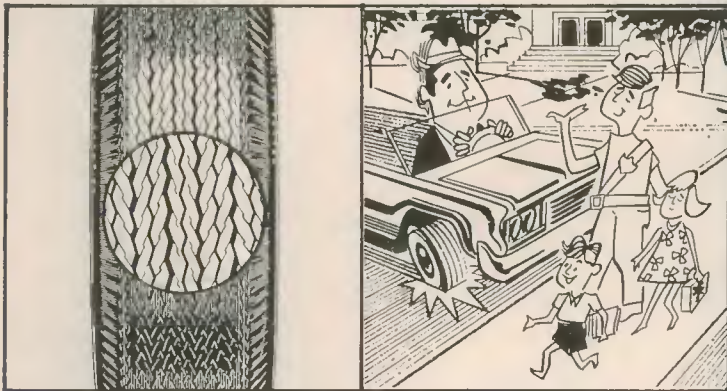
Couriers in Wartime

Mrs. John C. Pool, then Jane Wilson, Managing Editor of the JOURNAL, wrote an account of obstacles overcome by couriers. Henry E. Coleman held on to his pouch while he was tossed about in a lifeboat for nine hours after the *Western Prince* was torpedoed. Horton A. Telford was on a Bern, Venice, Belgrade, Salonika, Athens, Istanbul run and reached Rome just as Italy declared war on Greece. From October 28 to November 21, 1940, this was the sequence: a walk from Djevdjelya, Yugoslavia, to Quevali, Greece; bombing; another bombing 30 miles out of Salonika and ref-



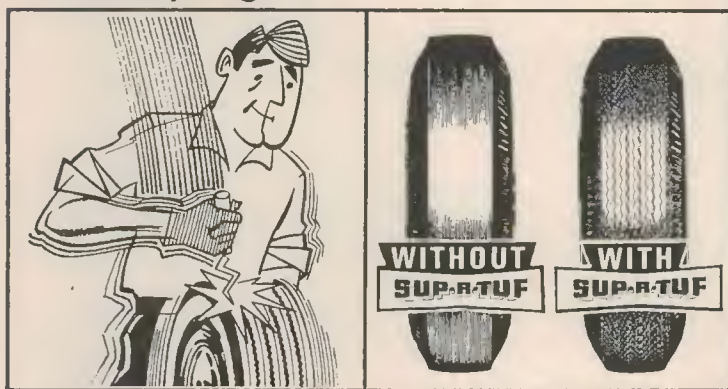
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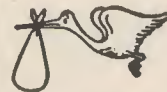
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uge in the fields; arrest on the train, along with a broadcaster and a countess, for spying and carrying a pistol although he was unarmed; apologies; arrest and detention next day on a charge of taking photographs; a call to Athens; apologies; recovery of pouches and baggage removed from the train; detention incommunicado at the Athens police station; apologies; a train ride to Alexandroupolis; an auto ride to Arthanio; a night in a two-room cottage with 11 children and parents; a mud hole from which six oxen could not pull the car; an oxcart ride to a railway station; a train to Istanbul; and a roundabout return to Lausanne and Geneva.



Miss Margaret Jones and Mr. Joseph Palmer 2d, were married on May 10, 1941, in Savannah, Georgia. The Assistant Secretary was at that time assigned to the Foreign Service Officers' Training School.



A daughter, Carolyn Anderson, was born on March 27, 1941, to Mr. and Mrs. Daniel M. Braddock in Porto Alegre. Carolyn has been serving as an editor-translator at the Organization of American States in Washington for the past three or four years. The Honorable Daniel M. Braddock has been inspecting for three years.



A son, James Sayle, III, was born on December 24, 1940, to Mr. and Mrs. James Sayle Moose, Jr., at Tehran. James is now a Foreign Service officer on leave to pursue studies in economics at Harvard. The Honorable James S. Moose, Jr., is living in Washington, Kentucky.

Changes of Post:

Ray L. Thurston from the Department to Bombay as Vice Consul.
John D. Jernegan and Lubert O. Sanderhoff from Cartagena and Vancouver to the Department.
Tyler Thompson from Paris to Zurich as Vice Consul
Forrest K. Geerken from Colon to Mexico City as Vice Consul From the Foreign Service Officers' Training School—
Wymberley de R. Coerr to La Ceiba
Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr. to Moscow
Julian L. Nugent, Jr., to Puerto Cortes
Joseph Palmer, 2nd, to Nairobi
Wallace W. Stuart to Colombo
Joseph J. Wagner to Bombay

Promotions: the June 1941 JOURNAL carried a good long promotion list which included the following:

Class VI to Class V: Charles E. Bohlen, John M. Cabot
Class VII to Class VI: Homer M. Byington, Jr. Elbridge Dur-
brow, Lewellyn E. Thompson, Jr.
Class VIII to Class VII: C. Burke Elbrick, Foy D. Kohler,
George W. Renchard, Arthur L. Richards, Henry E. Stebbins,
Clare H. Timberlake, Robert E. Woodward
Unclassified A to Class VIII: E. Tomlin Bailey, Douglas Mac-
Arthur 2d.
Unclassified B to Unclassified A: Aaron S. Brown, Gordon H.
Mattison, Roy M. Melbourne, G. Frederick Reinhardt, Milton
C. Rewinkel, Ray L. Thurston, Forrest K. Geerken, Elin
O'Shaughnessy, Evan M. Wilson, William H. Witman 2d

FORTY YEARS AGO

One of the subjects of the lectures at the Foreign Service School was "The Liquor Treaties and Prohibition Enforcement."

Mr. Allen Dulles completed a four-year assignment as Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs and was detailed temporarily to Geneva for disarmament talks. He was then to have taken up an assignment as Counselor of the Legation in Peking.

On May 7, 1926, President Coolidge signed the Porter bill appropriating \$10,000,000 for acquiring sites and buildings abroad for the diplomatic and consular service.

Parker W. Buhrman, Consul, assigned to the Passport Division, found a good paste for passport photographs but

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it had to be warmed up. He introduced flat irons into the Department and ironed on the photographs after affixing them.

A consular officer abroad received an answer to a letter on citizenship and sent the reply to the JOURNAL. Part of the reply was "... where I voted last was 17 Sycamore St., Brooklyn, N.Y., but my real home is at Detroit, Michigan. When my wife and I go to your office and give you full details about our addresses in the United States. Since I was civilized in Bay State in 1878, naturalized in California in 1883, generalized in Montana in 1900 and I intend to keep my American papers during my life. There is no place I have tried that I like better than United States."

AND THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

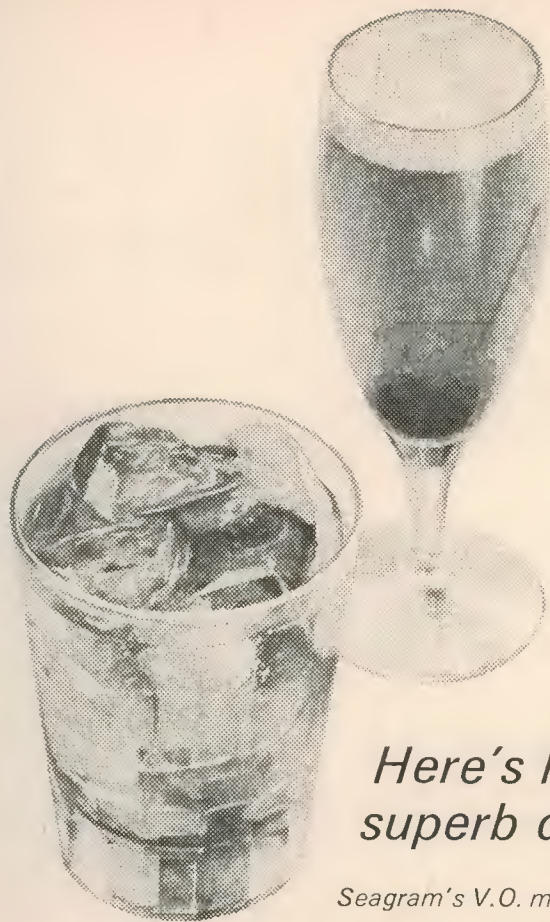
"But that which troubles me most is, that we have chosen a son of Secretary Morice, a boy never used to any business, to go . . . [as Secretary] to the Embassy, which shows how little we are sensible of the weight of the business upon us."

SAMUEL PEPYS, Diary, 1666 —as quoted in "The Diplomatic Corps Under Charles II and James II," by Phyllis S. Lachs.

New Editorial Board Member



Our newest addition to the Editorial Board is Louis Schwartz, Jr. Born in Chicago in 1934, he attended grammar and high school there. He graduated as class valedictorian from Mount Carmel High School in 1952. His higher education was totally funded by a scholarship from the Cardinal Stritch Youth Guidance Foundation of Chicago. Mr. Schwartz graduated in 1956 from the Georgetown Foreign Service School *magna cum laude* with a major in public administration. During his college days, he was class president twice and also the cadet colonel of the Army R.O.T.C.. In his senior year, he was selected by faculty and peers as the "Student of the Year." From 1956 to 1958, he served with the Army Counterintelligence Corps in Germany. From 1958 to 1959, he worked as an industrial engineer and junior executive with the Procter and Gamble Company in Cincinnati and Chicago. In 1959, he resigned his position to begin studies at Loyola University of Chicago in philosophy and political theory. He was awarded an M.A. in 1960. Later that year he entered the Foreign Service. After the usual initial training, he was assigned to SY for a brief stint in the Department before his assignment in October 1961 to Bonn as a Regional Security Officer. In January 1963, Mr. Schwartz was direct-transferred to Djakarta as Regional Security Officer for Indonesia and Malaysia. That assignment was memorable, among other things, because there he met Patricia Scanland, a secretary in the Political Section. In August 1963, they were married in Djakarta. They returned to the United States in the summer of 1964. After their one son, Christopher, was born. Mr. Schwartz joined S/S as an associate watch officer and editor. Since February 1965, he has been detailed to the White House staff.



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The Dilemma of Dissent

*"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die."*

Thus Tennyson's classic formulation of the plain duty of the soldier.

Foreign Service people with a vein of the romantic are prone to think of themselves as soldiers of a sort: members of an elite corps, committed to go anywhere and undertake any assignment, dedicating to their country their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. But there are significant differences. The FSO, FSRO, FSCRO or FSSO is under a discipline much less rigid than the military's. He retains options that were denied the members of the Light Brigade. "Doing" rarely (though sometimes, as the plaque in New State attests) involves dying.

Moreover, he expects to be told the "reason why," and if he thinks that "someone has blundered," or is about to blunder, he has a right, and an obligation, to say so—intramurally, of course, not publicly, but as vigorously as possible.

It would be hard to find a Foreign Service officer who has not at some time disagreed with his superiors on policy—its direction or the manner of its execution. Usually, if the decision goes against him, he shrugs his shoulders and does as he is told, solacing himself, perhaps, with some muttered comments on the obtuseness of the master minds back in Washington—or, if he happens to be in Washington, of those upstairs.

But there are occasions when an officer finds that he cannot shrug it off. He is still not persuaded that higher authority is right and he is wrong. What then is he to do?

His dilemma is as old as the nation he represents. Foreign policy decisions are rarely choices between black and white. By their very nature they are based on data likely to be incomplete and subject to diverse interpretations, projections that inevitably involve a good deal of guesswork. Throughout history honest and patriotic men have differed, sometimes violently, on the proper course.

Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson were honest and patriotic men, according to their own lights. But they disagreed on virtually every issue, domestic and international. Most particularly they disagreed on the attitude the fledgling republic should take toward England and France, just then warming up for another round in their centuries-long power struggle.

Jefferson was Secretary of State, and therefore responsible for foreign policy. But the first Secretary of the Treasury was a man arrogantly confident of his own rectitude, and no respecter of jurisdictional boundaries. As every reader of history knows, he deliberately set about

circumventing Jefferson's policy—which was also Washington's.

The method he chose still shocks us. He kept the British informed of the most secret deliberations of the Administration; he gave them advance notice of American moves, and he advised them how to respond. Even his admiring biographer, Nathan Schachner, finds his role "indeed extraordinary," to be "accounted for, if not justified, only by his passionate conviction that good relations must be maintained at any cost with England." A less charitable historian, J. P. Boyd of Princeton, calls Hamilton's conduct "almost the gravest offense of which a Cabinet officer can be guilty." In a recent book, "Number 7," Boyd charges that Hamilton not only carried on undercover dealings with a British agent, Major George Beckwith, but that he "grossly distorted" British communications to suit his own purposes when at last he reported some of them to Washington. (The title of Boyd's book comes from the code number Beckwith gave Hamilton in his list of informants. Any resemblance to that of James Bond is of course purely coincidental.)

This, of course, was in the first decade of the republic, when the sense of national identity had not yet crystallized, when the survival of the new nation sometimes appeared precarious, when the great powers of Europe could not bring themselves to treat this puny upstart as a sovereign state.

But a century and a quarter later another honest and patriotic American was taking it upon himself, very much as Hamilton had done, to conduct foreign policy the way he thought it should be conducted, not the way Washington ordered.

Walter Hines Page was our Ambassador in London during the First World War. He was a passionate Anglophile, and he could not understand Woodrow Wilson's neutrality policy. Unable to argue Wilson out of it—he tried hard enough—he conscientiously set about sabotaging it.

Sabotage is a harsh word. But how else should one describe the conduct of an Ambassador who, after delivering a note of protest, tells the Foreign Secretary, "I do not agree with it; let us consider how it should be answered"? (Sir Edward Grey relates the incident in "Twenty-Five Years"; Page's own memoirs do not confess his insubordination quite so openly.)

Poor Woodrow Wilson, with a pacifist Secretary of State trying to water down his protests to Germany and his Ambassador in London nullifying the impact of those addressed to Britain! William Jennings Bryan had the

grace finally to resign. (His successor, Robert Lansing, was not much more tractable.) But Page stayed on, righteously cooperating with the British, and felt himself vindicated on April 6, 1917, when the United States at last went to war.

Page was not a career diplomat, of course. He was a distinguished editor and publisher. He had been among the first to propose Wilson for President and had been rewarded with the appointment to St. James's. Non-career envoys have frequently assumed as their right a latitude that the disciplined career man would not venture to claim. Robert D. Murphy tells of his astonishment, while reading his newspaper one morning, to discover that the United States had voted "No" on a certain issue before the UN General Assembly despite the Department's decision to vote "Yes." When he telephoned to expostulate he was told coolly that the Ambassador was responsible to the President, not to the Department.

THIS excursion into history may appear to have led us away from our original question: What is a Foreign Service—or for that matter a Departmental or Agency—officer to do when he finds himself at odds with official policy? Actually it has not; we have been examining one of the options: ignoring instructions and doing what *you* think is right.

Unfortunately (for the individual; fortunately for the service), this option is one few career officers will wish to exercise, or would be able to get away with for any length of time.

Occasionally, though, when dissent involves tactics rather than strategy, one can get away with something that the high command might not have approved had it been consulted, but is constrained to accept as a *fait accompli*. There is a certain amount of stretch in even the most tightly-written instruction, and it cannot provide for every possible contingency.

Modern communications and the peripatetic habits of the top brass have tended to reduce the "plenipotentiary" in an Ambassador's title to a rueful irony. But there are still times when he can and must act without awaiting wisdom from on high. Events are moving too rapidly to permit his seeking instructions. He may be secretly grateful; he is not altogether confident that Washington's appraisal of the situation, from three to ten thousand miles away, is more accurate than his own close-up view.

I recall an occasion when the United States was caught in the middle between two bitterly feuding allies, each of whom expected and demanded our support. We had been trying to preserve a Delphic detachment, counseling patience and moderation, ladling out soothing syrup copiously but with no discernible effect.

One day the situation blew up in our faces. Ally A took a drastic, and in the Embassy's view, a shockingly unwise step. Ally B exploded with characteristic abandon. Newspapers shrieked for the denunciation of the alliance. Demonstrators marched chanting through the streets, now and then heaving a rock through a mission or USIS window. Troops appeared at strategic corners and trucks unloaded rolls of barbed wire.

The Embassy, reporting the temper of the government, the press and the populace, warned that not only the alliance but our own position were in jeopardy, and begged for some statement dissociating the United States from the action of Ally A.

The Department obliged with praiseworthy celerity. The statement was in next morning's Wireless File. It was not bad, but it had been worded with the utmost caution to avoid abrading the sensitivities of Ally A. Clearly it would not, by itself, mollify our emotional friends.

There was a huddle at the Embassy. A plan was evolved. The Ambassador would deliver a copy of the Department's statement to the Foreign Minister. USIS would issue a press release saying he had done so, and appending the text of the statement. The Embassy did not tamper with the text, but I shall confess that in the introductory paragraphs we did pick out and highlight certain sections that we thought deserved emphasis. Also, the Ambassador added an expression of sympathy for the government of Ally B and of admiration for the manner in which it had conducted itself.

Our hosts were delighted. The newspapers shifted effortlessly from invective to panegyric. Students who had been flinging pavingstones came in bearing verbal bouquets. The troops returned to the boredom of their barracks.

Ally A was not quite so happy. Neither, I suppose, were the Departmental officials who had to mollify him. For a couple of days we were not sure whether we would be supported or repudiated. I well remember watching the Ambassador editing the draft cable explaining what he had done, and why. Finally the DCM expostulated, "Let's not ruin it with any more revisions." The chief looked up with a wintry smile and said, "Every change we make may cut a year off my exile in Lourenco Marques."

I am happy to add that he did not go to Lourenco Marques.

In this instance the disagreement—if disagreement there was—concerned tactics and not principles or objectives. The objective was to preserve the alliance. Our Embassy felt, rightly or wrongly, that Departmental policy was somewhat weighted on the side of the more powerful and persuasive Ally A, and that Washington had no real appreciation of the suicidal lengths to which their congenial emotionalism might drive our friends in Ally B. We felt also that if either of the two must be affronted, Ally A, older, stronger and less choleric, could take it better than Ally B.

Events, I think, proved us right. But I grant that another time we might have been wrong. The perspective of the officer in the field is necessarily limited, though his focus is sharp. The view from the seventh floor is all-encompassing, though it cannot linger over detail. When the officer stationed in (let us say) Graustark finds himself at odds with a policy decision, he must recognize the possibility that the interests of Graustark have been deliberately, if regretfully, sacrificed for the sake of a broader objective.

One has to assume, therefore, that Papa usually knows best. Excuse me; I am being irreverent again. What I should say is that the composite wisdom of Washington is founded on intelligence far more comprehensive than that available to the man in the field. It represents a synthesis of appraisals from experts in every area, geographical and functional. Logically it ought to be superior to the worm's-eye view of our man in Graustark, a view quite possibly distorted by the astigmatism of "localitis."

But to go back to our original question: Suppose our man in Graustark—or for that matter in a lower echelon at New State—persists in believing that he is right and Washington wrong? Suppose that this belief is rooted not in obstinacy, or resentment at being overruled, but in profound conviction, arrived at rationally but felt deep down in his viscera? Suppose that he considers the issue so important that the wrong course may be dangerous?

He can, of course, resign. There are distinguished precedents: William Jennings Bryan, as mentioned above; Anthony Eden at the time of Munich; more recently—and more apposite to our discussion—George F. Kennan. There may be other dissenters hidden in the noncommittal listings of “Resignations” and “Retirements” in the Department’s NEWS LETTER.

After Adlai Stevenson’s death it was widely reported that he had confided to friends his intention to resign because he disagreed with some of the policies he was required to defend. These stories have been vigorously denied by associates in a position to know. There is little doubt, however, that Stevenson had some unhappy times as the nation’s spokesman at UN. It is not difficult to imagine the mortification a man of his integrity must have suffered when he learned that he had lied to the General Assembly, quite unwittingly, about the origin of the planes that bombed Cuban airfields on the eve of the Bay of Pigs landing.

The option of resignation is one that no one will seize lightly, without doubt and anguish. For obvious reasons it has been exercised more often by non-career officials than by career men. Theirs is a short-term commitment, not a life work. Usually they have well-paying jobs awaiting their return, or can readily step into better-paying ones. And they can always supplement their incomes, strike a blow for the policy line they advocated unsuccessfully, and pay off a few personal grudges by writing a book. It is unnecessary to cite examples.

The career officer, on the other hand, has a deeper commitment and a greater stake. By mid-career he has invested ten to twenty years in the Foreign Service. Diplomacy is the one profession he knows well; if he had another before joining up he has grown rusty in its disciplines and has lost touch with its milieu. If he resigns, how is he going to support his family and put the children through college?

Thus practical considerations reinforce his reluctance to leave the service that he entered with so much zeal and idealism. Moreover, a couple of decades have taught him that policy directives, country papers, even NSC documents, are not carved in obsidian, unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Is he not in a better position to work for a change in policy if he remains within the organization than if he leaves it and takes his case to the people—just one more crackpot bombarding the POST, the STAR and the TIMES with letters?

Provided this is not mere rationalization of timidity, the decision to stay on, even while dissenting, can be a perfectly honorable one. But it carries with it the obligation to go on fighting, to reiterate one’s dissent at every opportunity, as stoutly and persuasively as one can.

This will not make an officer popular with his superiors—though he may be surprised to find how many of his colleagues furtively applaud him. It may jeopardize or at least retard his advancement. It may, at worst,

wreck his career, if he happens to collide with powerful political interests.

Do I need to say that I am thinking of those good and brave men sacrificed to the China Lobby because they reported what they knew to be true; to other good and brave men meekly handed over to the Moloch embrace of McCarthy; to the Latin-American experts pilloried because they did not share a political Ambassador’s admiration for Batista?

It is asking much of a career officer to accept such risks. The temptation is strong to temporize, to equivocate, to conform. Critics of our Foreign Service have charged that for at least a decade our political reporting was diluted and emasculated by the memory of the McCarthy terror.

The temptation is strong, but it should be resisted. And there is a corollary obligation upon the high command to tolerate rather than to penalize dissent.

We should not want—we cannot afford—a corps of conformists. Recent history suggests that on more than one occasion our nation might have avoided grave blunders if those who doubted the wisdom of a proposed action had spoken up more loudly.

Yes—men are more comfortable to have around, but we need no-men also. We need mavericks. We need gadflies. We need devil’s advocates. We need people who will fight for their convictions. They may be nuisances, but only by giving them a hearing can the makers of policy be sure that the course they finally select is right, insofar as the limitations of human wisdom permit.

The horns of the dilemma of dissent have rarely been so cruelly sharp as they are today. There are so many questions on which honest and patriotic men differ. To list only a few:

How genuine, deep and unbridgeable are the chasms that appear to have opened in the “world Communism” that we continue to speak of as “the enemy,” as if it were indeed the monolith we once assumed it to be?

Is Asiatic Communism potentially as fissured and vulnerable to fragmentation as European Communism has proved to be?

How valid is the “domino theory?”

In a country with little or no experience of democracy, which should we encourage—a strong military dictatorship or a well-intentioned but feeble democratic regime?

What principles should govern the distribution of our aid, and what conditions should we require its recipients to meet?

Are we indeed, as Senator Fulbright argues, mired in “old myths” and blind to “new realities?”

These questions and many others are being publicly debated in Congress, in the press, on radio and television, in “teach-ins” and marches on the White House and the Capitol. It would be strange if they did not occasionally plague every thinking officer—and I trust we have no other kind.

There are no easy answers. There is rarely an easy answer to any question really worth asking. It is the obligation of every officer to contribute what he can to finding the right answer, or at any rate the best answer in the circumstances, even if it means taking an unpopular position.

Beyond that, what he does rests with the ultimate authority—conscience. ■

Lacing them all together

Editor's Note. *This article by Dr. Charles Frankel is composed primarily of excerpted portions of two chapters of The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs: American Educational and Cultural Policy Abroad, which he wrote before assuming his present post as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. As a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, long interested in international educational and cultural activities, Dr. Frankel undertook in 1963 for the Brookings Institution a study initially addressed to the role of cultural affairs officers. The book of broader scope which has eventuated was published by the Brookings Institution in January. The following pages compress two chapters approximately in half, necessitating the omission of considerable parts of the general discussion. Nonetheless, the excerpts, with some connective writing, provide a provocative view of the purposes of educational and cultural exchange programs.*

BROADLY speaking, four major purposes are conventionally assigned to the federal government's educational and cultural programs overseas: (1) the promotion of international good will and understanding; (2) the advancement of the objectives of United States foreign policy; (3) assistance in the economic and technical development of other nations; (4) the facilitation of scholarly and intellectual interchange, and the enhancement of educational opportunity for individuals. Around each of these purposes, pressure groups, constellations of interest, and official and semiofficial agencies have formed. In general, the sponsors of student-exchange activities have stressed the first of these objectives; officials of USIA have stressed the second; AID has had the third most in mind; scholarly organizations have been most interested in the last. Debates about the policies proper to the field of educational and cultural relations are basically debates about the relationship of these purposes to one another, and about which among them should have priority.

Is each one of these purposes, in itself, a defensible purpose? Does it rest on assumptions that are sound? Can it be translated into realistic action? And when these purposes are viewed together, are they mutually compatible? Which, if any, is the most important? If policy in the field of educational and cultural relations is to achieve coherence and self-awareness, the accumulated conventions and presumptions of two decades of activity ought to be reexamined.

What follows is offered as a first step in this process of analysis and clarification. It is a process that requires, at many points, restating the obvious. But it is necessary to look at the basic objectives carefully if the tangle of purposes with regard to educational and cultural affairs is to be unraveled. In what is said, it should be understood, I am taking existing ideas about the purposes of educational and cultural relations as points of departure. I am neither rejecting them nor endorsing them. I am seeking to determine what general principles emerge from looking at them closely, and what inferences follow for the way we should think and speak about the basic objectives of educational and cultural activities.

1. Promoting International Good Will and Understanding

The stated long-range objective of United States foreign policy, to which the nation is committed by a succession of public utterances from the highest level and to which an overwhelming majority of American citizens are undoubtedly devoted, is the creation of a peaceful world, respectful of diversity. To be sure, theoreticians and practitioners of international affairs sometimes dismiss such long-range goals as merely rhetorical, and as having little practical relation to the day-to-day pressures of foreign affairs. But the sentiments to which the long-range ideal of peace in diversity gives expression are undoubtedly sincere; and more to the point, the ideal expresses not only a distant goal of United States policy but one of its daily, practical, regulating conditions. From day to day, in the world as it now is, the United States cannot efficiently or peacefully protect its own national interests except by recognizing and respecting the different social conditions and cultural attitudes of other nations. Nor should the issue be put merely in terms of United States national interests. No civilized man loyal to humane ideals, or aware of the complexities and possibilities of the present century, can accept less than the goal of a peaceful world respectful of diversity. The ideal transcends national loyalties.

It may be taken for granted, then, that the promotion of "good will" and "understanding" among nations is a legitimate and necessary objective of United States foreign policy, and that its adoption is a matter of elementary prudence. It is also reasonable to assume, in general, that programs to promote personal contact and com-

munication among selected citizens of different nations are instruments that can further the achievement of this objective. Such personal contact and communication do not guarantee good relations between nations. Revolutions, wars, authoritarian governments and powerful ideologies can intervene and destroy what such contact and communication has created, as past relations with Germany or present relations with China illustrate. These examples, indeed, are often brought forward to refute the belief in cultural exchange as an instrument of peace. It is reasonably clear, however, that the breakdown of relations with Germany or China began with a breakdown of communication with people in those countries who had never, in fact, had close relations with Americans or close knowledge of the United States. Bad will and misunderstanding are often encouraged by the simple fact that relations between the members of different nations are not immediate and personal, but vicarious and impersonal. In such circumstances, powerful stereotypes take over. "You don't know: you haven't seen," says the Chaplain in Shaw's "Saint Joan." "You madden yourself with words." In its fundamental respects, the position of those who look upon educational and cultural exchange as an instrument for the promotion of international good will and understanding is a sound one.

But while this position is sound in its essentials, it is nevertheless useful to look at it with a hard and skeptical eye. For it is often surrounded by assumptions that reduce or destroy its validity. Thus, it is often assumed that "good will" and "understanding" are the same thing, or that they are as naturally related to each other as green grass and sunlight. But this is not the case. "Understanding" is an ambiguous term; when applied to relations between human beings, it sometimes stands for the growth of sympathy among them, but it also sometimes stands merely for their capacity accurately to describe and explain their fellows' attitudes and behavior. In this second sense, it is possible to understand another man without liking him. Indeed, it is possible to understand him and to recognize, precisely because you do understand him, that his interests and ideals are opposed to your own.

There is no ground for the common assumption, therefore, that the promotion of international understanding automatically promotes international good will. Many international animosities do have avoidable misunder-

standings at their source and could be reduced or removed by better understanding. But this proposition is not universally true. For it to be true, the additional proposition would also have to be true that nations never have any objective conflicts of interest with each other. Even when United States policies are right, and even when others understand them, they may still not like them because they find them opposed to their interests. In fact, the hard choice often has to be made between promoting good will toward the United States and promoting objective understanding of the country and its policies. The rhetoric that lumps "good will" and "understanding" so easily together is agreeable, and is also dangerous, largely because it tends to obscure the presence of this everyday dilemma.

A second assumption, closely connected emotionally to the one that has just been discussed, is equally misleading. It is the idea that face-to-face meetings and personal association between people from different countries are the most obvious ways to engender sympathy and mutual accord. Astonishingly, this idea survives in the face of all the stories of abrasive relations between American tourists and their hosts in foreign countries. Nor is there strong evidence for the proposition that when people become more accustomed to the presence of foreigners, they are likely to be friendlier to them. In many areas that have long been Meccas for foreign visitors, the foreigner is ignored or regarded as a nuisance. In areas that have not known foreigners, the foreigner is often lionized.

Equally doubtful is the belief, which some seem to entertain, that close contact and sympathy between people of different nations is enough to keep them at peace. Undoubtedly, such contact and sympathy can act as a brake against the development of tensions that make negotiation and agreement difficult. Equally important, the development of objective understanding of the conditions and attitudes really prevailing in another country can prevent major miscalculations. Such miscalculations were made in Japan and Germany before World War II by people who did not know the United States at first hand. Nevertheless, it is also unfortunately the case that nations that have been exposed to intensive face-to-face contacts with each other, for example, France and Germany, have also gone to war against each other.

These are homely truths, and one would hesitate to

repeat them were it not for the excessive statements that are frequently made about the relationship between educational and cultural exchange and the achievement of peaceful relations between nations. As in any other field, a certain folklore has grown up around educational and cultural affairs. The folklore is not entirely false; it is, in fact, more true than false. But it is imprecise and overly simple, and it can lead to disappointments unless the assumptions that constitute it are carefully qualified. Nothing that has been said is meant to imply that, on balance, the personal encounters promoted by intellectual and cultural exchange have not been useful in the cause of international understanding and good will. The evidence very strongly indicates the contrary. Nevertheless, the objections that have been made to some of the folklore that surrounds educational and cultural affairs calls attention to the fact that in the planning of exchange programs, a number of safeguards and guiding principles are desirable.

To begin with, the obvious cautionary note is required that the people involved in exchange programs should be carefully selected and appropriately prepared.

Secondly, the effort has to be made to avoid the scattering of limited resources. In general, exchange programs should be used to produce a *concentrated* and *continuing* effect with regard to *selected* educational, scholarly or cultural objectives.

Finally, the conditions under which participants make contacts with people in other countries cannot be left to chance, but have to be reasonably well arranged. On the whole, experience suggests that Americans abroad or foreigners in this country have the best time, and contribute most effectively to the cause of good will and understanding, when they are required by their work and their environment to immerse themselves thoroughly in the local scene.

In sum, the phrases, "good will" and "international understanding," although they refer to legitimate and noble ideals, are not sufficient to serve as guides to well-constructed programs of educational and cultural exchange. Aristotle warned in his "Ethics" that men should not consciously seek happiness even though it is the goal of human activity. International "good will" and "understanding" appear to have the same relationship to human effort that "happiness" does. They are rarely achieved by direct assault. They are more usually by-

products of activities in which men work together for other reasons that seem to them good and sufficient in themselves.

2. Advancing United States Foreign Policy Objectives

Government programs in educational and cultural affairs, however small they may be in comparison with military or technical assistance programs, involve large expenditures of public funds, and this money is spent in foreign countries or for the benefit of foreign nationals. Is there any justification for public expenditures for educational and cultural programs abroad if these programs do not make a positive contribution to the achievement of United States purposes vis-a-vis other countries?

At first blush, the answer to this question might well seem obvious. Leaving purely humanitarian considerations aside, there is no readily apparent reason, so long as the present system of sovereign states exists, why the United States Government should spend money or use the energies and talents of any of its citizens in programs that do the United States no definite good.

A particular conclusion is commonly drawn, however, from this general proposition. It is that educational and cultural programs abroad should be properly viewed as tools in the kit of the Secretary of State and the Director of the United States Information Agency. There can be arguments pro and con, it will be admitted by those who take this position, about the most efficient way to employ these tools. But there can be no argument with the proposition, it is also said, that educational and cultural programs should be judged primarily in terms of their contribution to foreign policy. At this point, ideas appear that are as much a part of the unexamined folklore of educational and cultural affairs as the ideas examined earlier under the rubric of "good will and understanding."

The first difficulty is that there is usually less precision than there should be in defining what is meant by "foreign policy." For if we follow most conventional definitions, we find considerable difficulty in fitting educational and cultural programs within their framework. The relationship between the visit of a prominent American scholar to Athens and the Greek Government's decisions about Cyprus is dim; it remains dim even if the scholar happens to be a leading specialist on the Middle East. The likelihood that a successful tour in the Congo by an American jazz band will alter the balance of forces there

is equally dim; when the claim is made that such a tour contributes to the purposes of the United States, those who make such a claim must have something other than immediate political purposes in mind. Advocates of educational and cultural relations as instruments in the building of international good will and understanding are not alone in holding some excessively optimistic views. Hard-nosed advocates of the position that educational and cultural affairs are merely a part of foreign policy also appear to hold such views.

In good part, to be sure, educational and cultural programs are ultimately intended to influence the behavior of other governments. But they are intended to influence not this year's government, or even next year's, but the next decade's. Precisely to the extent that this view is a sound one, it implies that educational and cultural programs cannot be judged by the same standards that apply to diplomatic activity or to the information programs attached to such activity. An effort to fit educational and cultural programs within the confines of an annual "country plan" is absurd and self-defeating.

We might distinguish between "short-term" and "long-term" foreign policy, or, perhaps better, between "foreign policy" and "national policy." The United States, as a nation and as a member of world civilization, has an unquestionable interest in educational and cultural relations abroad. It has this interest in part because such programs contribute to a more favorable American "image," and make it more likely that United States political policies will succeed. But it has this interest as well because United States educational, scholarly and cultural resources can make an important contribution to the well-being and enjoyment of life of people elsewhere, and to the stability and peacefulness of their societies. And it also has this interest because other people's intellectual and artistic achievements are sources from which the United States can draw strength and guidance. In this context, international educational and cultural programs are tools of United States national policy. And it is only in this context that it makes sound practical sense to say that these programs should be judged by their contribution to the national interests of the United States.

3. Contributing to Economic and Technical Assistance

Economic and technical assistance is commonly regarded as a principal object not only of the educational programs conducted by AID, but also of programs for which CU is responsible. Just as is the case with the objectives of educational and cultural activities that have already been examined, it is difficult to quarrel with the proposition that economic and technical assistance to developing nations is in the interest of the United States and of world peace, and that American international educational and cultural activities ought to contribute to this end.

Nevertheless, the relation of American educational institutions to programs for economic and technical assistance has in practice often been a difficult one. In theory, the role of the individual scholar, of learned societies, and of universities within the framework of such programs has not been clearly defined. Two types of confusion appear to be involved. The first has to do with the nature of the process known as "technical assistance" and of the broader process called "development." The

second has to do with the special needs of educational institutions, needs which have to be met if they are to make an appropriate contribution to United States aid programs abroad. Taken together, these two types of confusion suggest that it is a mistake to conceive of educational activities abroad as part of technical assistance unless, once again, careful qualifications are introduced.

In order to use scholars and universities to best advantage, a relationship should be constructed that emphasizes continuity over a reasonable period of time, and that gives scholars and universities an opportunity, within broad limits, to design the form of their activities. Indeed, if education is accepted as a major ingredient of "development," there is good reason to argue that planning for educational development should be conducted with some degree of independence from economic or technical planning. Obviously, such planning cannot be entirely independent. Disaster is courted if educational plans are made without regard to the capacity of an economy to absorb the products of an educational system. But it is not the case that educational plans should merely fit economic plans. Economic plans should also take account of educational requirements, and these cannot be determined without the active participation of teachers, scholars and educational institutions at the level where basic plans are made.

These considerations, which favor treating educational exchange as an instrument for educational development independently conceived, take on added force when the great demands now being made on American colleges and universities are taken into account. To return to a theme that bears repetition, a proper balance between service on the domestic and foreign fronts, the development of more adequate resources to meet the urgent needs that exist, and the economical use of the inevitably limited resources that will be available even if present resources are expanded, call for integrated planning in which scholarly organizations and universities themselves take a major part. This is required if there is not to be a limited view of the role of scholarly organizations and universities—which reduces them to the performance of *ad hoc* tasks and is probably a source of considerable wastage.

In sum, it appears reasonable to conclude that one chief purpose of educational and cultural activities is to contribute to the economic and social development of other countries, and, it should be added, of the United States. But it is also reasonable to conclude that it is misleading to formulate this purpose in such a way that educational exchange is force-fitted to the needs of "technical assistance" narrowly conceived.

4. Promoting Intellectual Exchange and Educational Opportunity

The fourth purpose commonly assigned to international educational and cultural programs has the great virtue of appearing to make these programs their own justification. The pursuit of peace and of political and economic objectives, with all the complications they represent, recede from view. Educational and cultural exchange is represented as a straightforward matter with its own obvious and unarguable objectives. Its justification is that it contributes to the progress of the sciences and the arts, and enhances the opportunities of students and scholars—both those who travel and those who stay at home—to

improve their minds and extend their imaginations.

To conduct a continuing and successful program in international educational and cultural relations requires that attention be given to more than the immediate problems of professional communication and cooperation. It requires attention to these processes as they take place in the larger context of foreign affairs, and it requires the creation of conditions under which members of the intellectual and artistic communities of the United States and other countries can conduct a continuing discourse, not only about purely professional problems, but about the more general problems affecting their capacity to communicate and cooperate with each other. In these circumstances, to say that the sole and sufficient purpose of educational and cultural exchange is the advancement of scholarly, educational and cultural objectives is to risk over-simplification. However important this purpose, it cannot be pursued in a vacuum. This conclusion is further strengthened when the urgent need for coordinated planning is taken into account. The proper husbanding of resources requires programs that concentrate on specific and definite intellectual or cultural objectives, that have continuity of impact, and that are rigorously selective with regard to the goals to be sought.

In brief, even though an obvious purpose of scholarly and cultural interchange is scholarly and cultural interchange, this is hardly a sufficient guide to policy.

BUT then how should the purposes of American educational and cultural activities abroad be formulated? Our discussion, I suggest, supports a restatement of these purposes under five main headings: (1) the lacing together of educational systems; (2) the improvement of the context of communication; (3) the disciplining and extending of international intellectual discourse; (4) international educational development; (5) the furthering of educational and cultural relations as ends in themselves.

1. *Lacing Together Educational Systems*

International "good will" and "understanding," though laudable objectives, are vague and hard to measure, and are subject to the accidents and vicissitudes of domestic and international politics. The words point in the direction, however, of a more precise and tangible goal, the lacing together of the educational systems of different countries. The analogy of trade relations is a useful one in thinking of the purposes of educational exchange. When societies are tied together by extensive commercial relations and are economically interdependent, there is no guarantee that they will not come into conflict with each other. But a practical deterrent to runaway conflict has been constructed, and modes of cooperation have been created that may survive the ebb and flow of emotions and events. The potentialities of educational and cultural cooperation are probably even greater than the value of trade relations. As yet, however, these potentialities have hardly begun to be tapped.

Over the long run, it can make a very great difference to the relations of the United States with other countries and to the cause of international peace if the teachers and scholars of other countries have a close familiarity with American activities in their fields of interest, if they have had experience in the United States as students or teachers, if

they know their American colleagues personally and remain in touch with them, and if the conferences, and textbooks, and footnotes that constitute the substance of educational and scholarly affairs reflect intensive communication with American scholarship and education. And the reverse relationship—the use by Americans of the work of their colleagues abroad—is equally important. For the process here envisaged, needless to say, is not the "Americanization" of scholarship and education but the enlargement of their international dimension. The phrase "international community" is a slippery one that lends itself to sentimental rhetoric. It begins to take on substance when in a major sector of life of all nations—the educational sector—habits and institutions are developed that make for shared transnational interests, common perspectives, a common fund of information and ideas, and a practical system of mutual dependence.

It would be reasonable to explore the hypothesis that an effort that is consciously and specifically directed towards lacing educational systems together is more likely to achieve definite results than an effort whose conscious purpose is simply to promote friendly feelings. As with any other educational or cultural purpose, the accomplishment of this purpose will, of course, take time; an expectation of quick results is incompatible with it. But it has on its side the fact that it is a purpose that is not grafted on to the other purposes of teachers and scholars; it is simply an extension of the natural interest of the best teachers and scholars in what is going on elsewhere, and it proposes merely to make it easier and more rewarding for them to follow that interest. Moreover, in speaking of an effort aimed at "the lacing together of educational systems," I am speaking of something more definite than "good will." Success or failure, with respect to such an effort, is more easily measured; and if success is achieved, its consequences will be more enduring.

2. *Improving the Context of Communication*

A second major purpose of educational and cultural affairs may be described as the improvement of the context of communication.

To enter into a culture is to be able to hear, in Lionel Trilling's phrase, its special "hum and buzz of implication." In one society, one thing signals another thing; in another society, it does not. People may be unaware of this system of signals and cues, but because they share it, they understand each other, often without having to put their understanding into words. This is in good part what it means to say that people have a common culture; at a simpler level, it is why old friends who have shared many experiences together are likely to feel particularly close to each other, and to communicate in something like a special code. To be unaware of the unspoken codes that other people use is to be likely not to understand them or to misunderstand them. Moreover, to the extent that we Americans are unaware of our own code, we shall have trouble making ourselves clear and plausible to them.

A primary purpose of educational and cultural exchange is to become aware of others' cultural codes and of our own—to bring to the surface the context of unspoken facts and assumptions within which their words and actions, and ours, can be correctly interpreted. It

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Letters of an Ambassador in an Under-Developed Country



THE war of 1812 was over; two years later Charles Bagot was appointed as British Minister Plenipotentiary to the USA. Before his departure for his new post Mr. Bagot was appointed in July 1814 as Special Commissioner in Paris to settle British claims; he remained in the city until Napoleon's return from Elba. The Duke of Wellington, then British Ambassador to France, had left Paris to attend the Congress of Vienna. He placed Lord FitzRoy Somerset, his military secretary, in charge of the Mission. Napoleon set out from Elba on February 27, 1815 and arrived at Cannes on March 1. Early and late spring of 1815 brought feverish preparations for the great battle of Waterloo from June 14 to 18, 1815. One week before the battle, Lord FitzRoy Somerset wrote to the newly appointed minister to the USA concerning:

The Appointment: The Old Approach!

Mrs. Pole and The Duke of Wellington received last night your letters announcing your appointment to America. . . . You are placed in a responsible and an important post where the interests of Great Britain must be unceasingly watched. . . . I think it is desirable that you should not quit England till such events have occurred here, as may enable you on your arrival at the seat of government to throw cold water upon any disposition on the part of the President [Madison] to renew his connexion with Bonaparte which probably he may be inclined to do if he thought that Napoleon could make head against the allies. . . .

George Canning, British Ambassador in Portugal and Member of Board of Control for India, wrote Charles Bagot after Waterloo:



Mount Vernon in Virginia, from a lithograph published in 1800.

My dear Charles:

It was a very great satisfaction to me to receive your letter of the 27th ult. and to hear from yourself what I had before seen and approved, your appointment to the mission to America.

I know not how or why you should entertain any doubt of having done rightly in accepting this offer made to you. In my opinion you did exactly right in accepting at once without hesitation and of course without that bane to all just decision (*experto erede*) consultation. As to the disagreeableness of the particular destination, I know not what business you would have to take them into account, in discharging the plain duty of your profession—even if they were tenfold what they are likely to be, but even allowing you an option, I should think that you would have judged wrong if you had not considered those peculiar inconveniences as amply overbalanced by the peculiar importance of the station.

Your plan of treatment may or may not succeed with the Yankees, but it is obviously, for your own sake, the proper one. I am afraid, indeed, that the question is not so much how you will treat them, as how they will treat you and that the hardest lesson which a British minister has to learn in America is not what to do but what to bear. But even this may come round. And Waterloo is a great help to you, perhaps a pretty necessary help after the (to say the least) balanced successes and misfortunes of the American War.

Charles Ellis to Charles Bagot

Lisbon, July 22, 1815

My dear Charles:

Canning announced to me the other day (when he was answering your letter) that you were appointed our minister to the United States. I congratulate you upon it. Does this startle you? I consider the mission to America as the best, at this moment, in the whole eirele of our Diplomaey for a person wishing to rise in the profession. And wishing most anxiously to see you rise in it, I cannot refrain from congratulating you, though you have not merited such treatment at my hands.

But possibly I may be reproaching you unjustly and you may not have received a long letter which I wrote to you from Bordeaux, in reply to yours, I need not say of what date, for I have received but one. I do not feel sure you will like Washington quite so well as the *Chaussée d'Antin*, but it will be very good for you.

I think you quite right in your intention of being very civil to the Yankees. But if your mind being disappointed, you had better not flatter yourself that you will render them civil to you in return.

The Duke of Wellington's magnificent victory will diminish the difficulties and the disagreements of your situation.

Ready To Sail: And No Per Diem!

41 Upper Brook St.
London
October 27, 1815

Charles Bagot to Lord Binning, M.P.

. . . My new ship wants 150 hands, for whose volunteering I must wait. This may happen in a week, it may not happen in a month. . . .

Settling In: Coping With The MALUS ANIMUS:

Washington
May 6, 1816

Rt. Honourable Charles Bagot to Lord Binning, M.P.

My dear Binning:

. . . Here I am in a great red brick house in the City of Washington, which by the by is a much better city than I expected. I am in a great situation, as much greater than I conceived when I was in England, but it is a very arduous and a very responsible one. I ought not, however, to repine at that; on the contrary, I ought to rejoice at it, as I shall if I succeed, but it makes me very anxious . . . I have gone through all formalities and ceremonials . . . I have been very well received here, and I make it my business to endeavor to do away with as much as I can—the *malus animus*.

I shall do something in that way, but no man can hope to do it in any great degree, as it is, in fact, the food upon which the great, and I am sorry to say, the predominant party, in the country is nourished, but it is much better than it was.

They have certainly gained reputation by the war, but they have lost nearly everything else and I verily believe that they could not have maintained it six months longer.

The President is a yellow mixture of Perceval and Heneage Legge of Putney with not a prepossessing countenance; his tail is of this sort [a sketch of President Madison's head is inserted here] which I thought had been obsolete. [Since wigs and pigtails were becoming less fashionable this assertion is poking fun at Madison for wearing a pigtail of the sort sketched.]

St. John's Church and the President's House, 1816, from the original drawing by B. H. Latrobe, Architect.

A Hot Summer In a Hardship Post:

Washington
June 12, 1816

Charles Bagot to a Mr. Sneyd.

Dear Sneyd:

. . . Talking of summer, a pint of American summer would thaw all Europe in ten minutes. Sir, it is dreadful—it is deleterious—it leads to madness. Ice houses take fire and scream because they cannot bear it. There is no enjoyment here—all I can hope to do is to prevent being unhappy, and that I shall manage by looking forward, or upward, or backward—anyhow but Yankee-ward.

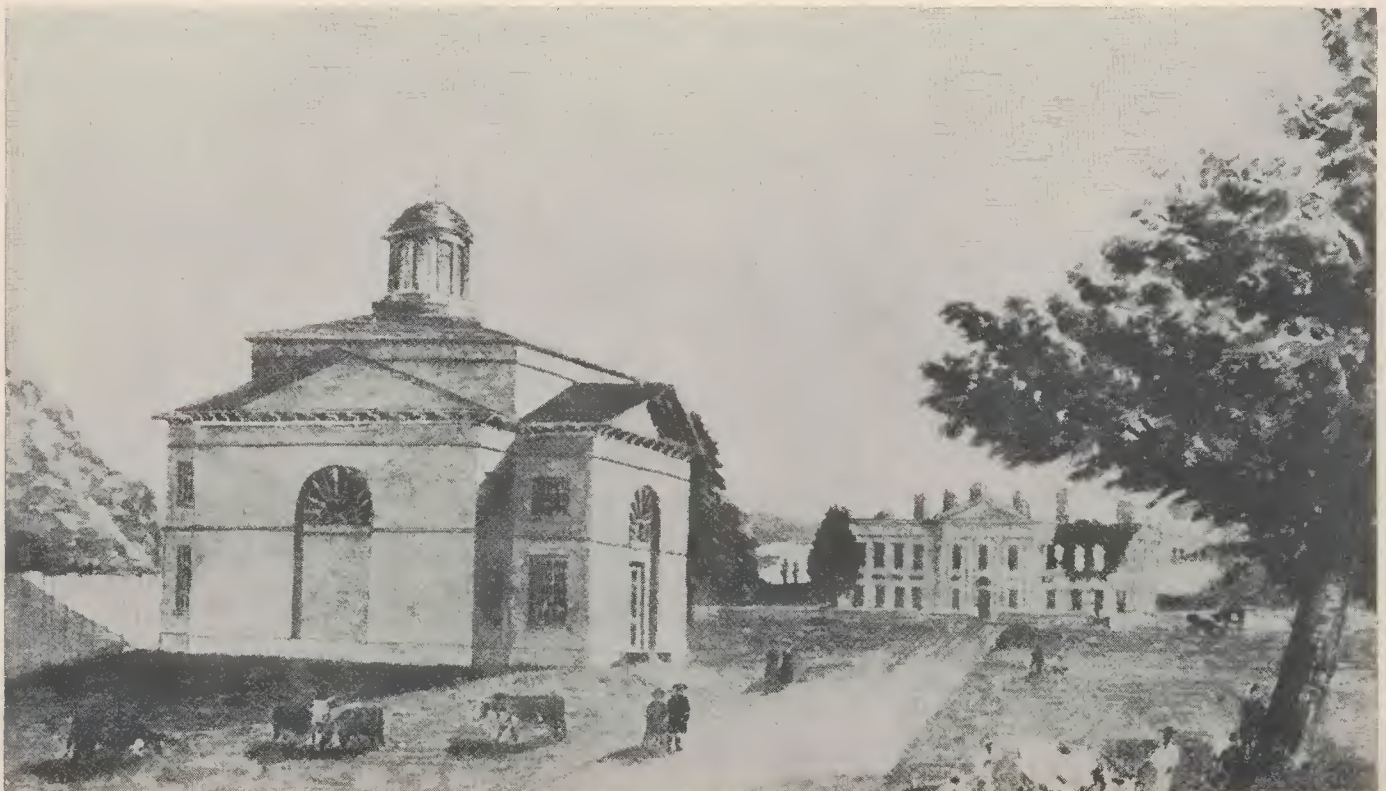
Society, as far as I have seen . . . and what a difference there is between vulgar and blackguard company—the latter is to be had here but not good, and it is not proper for my Excellency's table. . . . Notwithstanding all this everybody is uncommonly civil to us. We have been well received publicly and privately—and I believe we are liked; so take care that what I have said touching the people does not come back to this country by the fast sailing ship, "Betsy" from Liverpool. Perhaps, I ought not yet to form any opinion at all about this nation, having as yet never stirred from Washington.

On Monday I am going to pass a night at Mount Vernon with Judge Washington—Washington's heir and nephew. I hear that he is a very amiable man, and I shall be curious to see that country seat of the only great man this nation has yet produced.

An Invitation And Journey To Mount Vernon: At Last!

From Mrs. Bagot's Journal: Mrs. Bagot tells how she and her husband left Washington in a barouche at 10 a.m., stopped at an Inn in Alexandria where Judge Washington's nephew met them to escort the party onward. They arrived at 1 p.m. and dined at 3:30 after which they walked to the

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THE PROMOTION LIST

OUR heartiest congratulations to those seven hundred and sixteen Foreign Service officers whose names appeared on the promotion list published on April 25.

By and large, we have a promotion system second to none. Our appointment and promotion by Presidential commission with advice and consent of the Senate is a mark of prestige we would not readily surrender. Our Selection Boards insure, as far as it is humanly possible, that promotion is strictly according to merit and that high standards of performance are maintained. Our only question at the moment is could not the lag between the conclusion of the Boards' deliberations in December and the publication of the promotion list be shortened?

We all know the sense of anticipation (of one sort or another) that grips the Service as soon as the Selection Boards have completed their work. We are also aware that exceptional circumstances influenced the delay in the publication of the list both this year and last. Would it not be possible, however, to issue it regularly at least by March 1 each year? If budgetary or other reasons dictate an effective date of the promotions beyond the time of State confirmation, we believe that this fact should not delay the announcement of the promotions. Without belittling the monetary aspect of the promotions (heaven forbid!), we believe that the priority is the early publication of the list. In so doing we would shorten the period of uncertainty with a consequent beneficial impact on Service morale. ■

GIVE THE PROFITS TO AFSA

A LETTER from a correspondent appearing elsewhere in this issue calls our attention to the new regulations governing the sale of personal property by government employees abroad. The regulations, contained-FAMC 378 of Feb. 1, 1966, prohibit individual profits from the sale of personal property, including automobiles, by government or contract employees or their families abroad at prices above the original cost. The Ambassador may appoint a sales committee to approve all sales by employees. This committee may authorize sales at prices above acquisition cost providing the excess proceeds are contributed to a US or local charity, or to the US government, or one of its agencies.

This ruling is a matter of concern to many of us. While the need for something of the sort has been evident for some time, it had been stoutly opposed as an incursion into our private lives. There is little doubt that profiteering, however small in volume, was harmful to our national interests abroad. At the same time, in areas where market prices were highly inflated, sale of personal property at cost would have led to serious complications involving

favoritism, at best, and benefiting local profiteering at worst. The compromise that has been worked out appears fair and reasonable, even if cumbersome.

While the regulations could not contain specific suggestions for recipients of excess proceeds, the JOURNAL hopes that individuals and posts will keep the Scholarship Fund in mind. As a legally designated US charitable organization, the Scholarship Fund may be named as a recipient of these proceeds. While the Fund has made remarkable strides in recent years, and particularly in the last few months, it must continue to do so in order to keep up with the equally rapidly increasing costs of education. It now contributes from \$300 to \$1,000 to the education expenses of over 80 children of AFSA members. We would like to see both the number and the amount doubled in the next few years and believe that with the generally increased consciousness of the Fund on the part of members and the public this goal can be reached. Proceeds resulting from the new regulations channeled into the Fund could help considerably. ■

SCENARIO FOR THE FUTURE

TWENTY years ago the Foreign Service Act of 1946 decreed that the old Foreign Service School should become a new Foreign Service Institute. The new institute was duly set up and in two decades it has established a resplendent record. Take, for instance, its performance in language instruction (see FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, October, 1965). This has been such a conspicuous success that it has stripped some Europeans of a cherished idea: That Americans had some biological or psychological impediment that prevented them from speaking foreign languages.

But while the Institute was building up its reputation, it was hampered by inadequate quarters. Since 1957 it has occupied converted garage space in the Arlington Towers. Not the worst quarters in the world but nothing, certainly, to raise the spirits.

Now comes word that the Department has found new quarters for the Institute. This is a splendid new twelve-story building in Roslyn—only two blocks away from the old place.

The site is attractive and the interior will be tailored to fit the Institute's particular needs. There will be, for instance, 23 large seminar and almost 100 language classrooms. Seventy per cent of the classrooms will be outside rooms. Special features of the new establishment will be a reading room for classified material, a bookstore specializing in books on foreign affairs, a cafeteria with 550 seats and a garage holding 300 cars.

With good luck the Institute will be able to move to its new quarters by June 1.

Many people had a hand in this splendid initiative and all of them deserve the thanks of present students and all those who will follow them. The principal credit goes, of course, to Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, William J. Crockett.

The new building arrives at a particularly propitious time—the time when the future has taken a bright turn with the announcement that Ambassador George V. Allen has become Director of the Institute. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

It would be pleasant to tell you that the new pay rise was in the bag. It *did* go through the House and now it is up before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. The House leveled out President Johnson's sliding scale ranging from one per cent to 4.5 per cent and substituted an across-the-board rise of 2.9 per cent in pay checks. What with certain fringe benefits, the total hike will come to 3.2 per cent. The House also changed the President's effective date from January 1, 1967, to July 1, 1966. Present indications are that the Senate will accept the House draft. Any increase will be pleasant but this one won't permit any foolishness. Stay away from Olga Tritt and Monte Carlo.

Success Story

What happened on Thursday and Friday, April 28 and 29, must go down as one of the Department's greatest successes in public relations. "The National Foreign Policy Conference for Editors and Broadcasters" attracted 705 members of the press and television for the two-day briefing session in the West Auditorium and various smaller conference rooms. There were representatives of all three major networks, such publications as TIME, LIFE, THE NEW YORKER, READER'S DIGEST, independent television stations, newspapers throughout the country—in short, people from all fifty states.

The first speaker was the Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey. He was followed by General Harold K. Johnson, Chief of Staff of the United States Army; George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State; William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs; Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs; Lincoln Gordon, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and US Coordinator, Alliance for Progress; David Bell, Administrator, Agency for International Development.

What went on in the auditorium was a series of statements on many phases of foreign policy by top officers followed by questions from the audience. On Friday morning the participants broke up into "round tables" or "working groups" to pursue subjects of their own choice. One assigned subject, "Communist China," drew so many people that two additional con-

current round tables had to be set up.

All the vast machinery for this enterprise was masterfully organized by John Evarts Horner, director of the Office of Public Services. Mr. Horner's aim was "to present the facts in as honest and straightforward manner as possible and to bring the participants into direct contact with the principal officers of the Department's political section, thus permitting them to gauge the caliber of the men involved in US foreign policy." The degree of success was indicated by the flexibility and candor exhibited by the speakers and the enthusiastic applause accorded each as he finished.

It took Mr. Horner and his staff three months to prepare for the conference. Aside from the main business at hand, there were expert side touches. On the first day Under Secretary Ball acted as host at the reception which enabled the visitors to see the elegant eighth floor (it was the first time the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, could not turn up at one of these conferences; he was laid low with laryngitis). The Executive Dining Room was reserved for the visitors. There were plenty of telephones. There was a system of getting messages to the participants. And, finally, this sign of professional competence: "We will notify cab companies of the time of adjournment of each day's session."

This conference was the eleventh in the series which was inaugurated in 1961. For this year Mr. Horner has arranged 26 other conferences in different parts of the country. This is an increase over the previous years and reflects the increased interest being shown in American Foreign Policy.

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature? Another candidate:

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὤρα ἀπιένλι, ἐμεῖ μὲν ἀποθανομένω, υμῖν δὲ βιωσομένοις. ὀποτξεροὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπι ἄμξιων πρᾶγμα ἀθλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

Last Words of Socrates, quoted by Plato in Apologia. "The hour of our parting has come and we go our separate ways—I to die, you to live. Which is better only God knows."

June Award

The Reformed Church of Barneveld in the Netherlands has bounced twenty-three year-old Bertus Van Hoef and his wife for owning a television set. They will be re-admitted to the Church if they confess their "sin" and get rid of the television.

For this meritorious action the Reformed Church Community gets the June Award. It is the first time the Award has gone to a House of God.

Why do the American churches not follow this excellent example? The advantages should be obvious. There will always be empty pews as long as the parishioners can sit looking glassy-eyed as all that drama oozes from the screen. The churches should try to suppress the competition. Every parishioner should be told firmly, "Chuck out that set or you are excommunicated." Such action would certainly be supported by newspapers, magazines, theatres, schools, roller skating rinks and cat shows.

June: Roses and Tourists

June is here. The radiant spring gardens with the forsythia, azalea, cherry blossoms, dogwood, tulips, daffodils—have now vanished. Summer gardens are making a brave but more subdued show with roses, peonies, salvias and a few other shrubs and flowers that have the knack of defying Washington's frowzy soil.

Yes, unmistakably June is here. If one couldn't point to the gardens as evidence, one would point to the tourists. According to official figures they now pour over the landscape at the rate of twenty million a year. It is not hard to believe it; indeed, it would be easy to believe that the Washington Monument at any given moment of a summer's day is surrounded by twenty million people. As out-of-town licenses multiply, traffic gets tighter. Parking gets more difficult. Hotel rooms are hard to find. Service in restaurants slows up.

The tourists have their own problems and the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, wants to do something to ease their lot. The key of his plan is to create a big tourist orientation center with ample parking facilities whence the tourists could be shunted to various points of interest by minibus. The ideal spot for the

center, the Secretary told a Senate Subcommittee, would be the Union Station. There was a time when the interior of the Station was a gleaming place, throbbing with passengers. With the decline of the passenger trade it has become sad and scruffy, a dreary fate for one of the capital's most imposing buildings. Secretary Udall's scheme has the double merit of solving the tourist problem and restoring the station to its resplendent past.

Near Corrida

A group of Washington bullfight aficionados suddenly flared up with a project to stage a bout in the area during May. They were inspired by reports that a successful but "bloodless" corrida had been held in Houston. Washington authorities voted against the project.

Perhaps the local aficionados should dry their tears and agree that bullfights should not be staged outside of Spain. If the spectacle possesses any aesthetic qualities, any elements of grandeur these shine forth only when the very greatest toreros are performing. When the second raters are wagging the muleta—many second raters are to be seen in Latin American countries—a corrida becomes a dog's breakfast.

Aficionada

Overheard in a Supermarket:

Aged woman to another aged woman:

"Believe me, I ticked him off. I'm not having a young whippersnapper tell me it's wrong for me to like bullfights."

Witch Doctor: \$30 a Coup

Ghosts recently began to infest a pumping station in Krugersdorp, South Africa, and the African laborers naturally refused to work at night. The town council summoned a witch doctor, Josiah Mangani, who for a fee of \$30 promptly bounced the ghosts and restored peace in the town. One of his techniques was to treat the frightened workers with various powders and ointments, including extract of snake, elephant and leopard.

Let us bring Josiah Mangani to Washington forthwith! His fee is most reasonable and we could put him to work exorcising the following:

1. People in California who telephone to friends in Washington, D.C., at 2 or 3 in the morning (overlooking the difference in time).
2. Laundry workers who smash the buttons on new shirts and then slap

on a sign, "received in defective condition."

3. The inventor of the barbecue.

4. Owners of dogs who smile winsomely while the dogs snarl and menace the hocks of passers-by.

5. People who drop in without telephoning.

6. Dinner guests who arrive ten minutes early while the host is upstairs jabbing at his tie and the hostess is downstairs jabbing at the flowers.

7. Dinner guests who arrive an hour late at the very moment the soufflé collapses.

8. People who start an anecdote with "But of course you have heard my famous story about the . . ."

9. Waiters and shop clerks who call the customers "honey" or "dearie" (in England, "ducks").

10. Shop Clerks who say "What was your name again?" ("It was Peregrine Poinsonby, you dope, and it still is.")

Oh, to think of it, Oh, to dream of it—the day of Mangani's arrival!

Down in the Bourbon Belt

Overheard at a club in Charleston, South Carolina:

"What I always say is there's no such thing as bad bourbon."

Unsolicited Advice

Some words should be removed from the vocabulary at once:

Image ("The Johnson image has improved lately in Rwanda.")

Message ("Look, I think you get

the message!")

Stance ("Our stance is poor in Viet-Nam.")

Posture ("Consider our posture just before Geneva.")

Flap ("Captain Lovelace worked himself into a dreadful flap.")

These are all out. The last three are rancid and the first two merely mildewed. On the other hand no conversation is complete without fault used as a verb, e.g. "But we can't fault the English for that."

The following are also definitely in: charisma, glitch, moment of truth, flak (e.g., Did you get caught in that re-discount rate flak?) "and "Sorry about that chief" and "read-out" (meaning "reaction") e.g., "Will you give me a read-out on that?"

In other days, chic words seemed to last for years. Nowadays, they seem to evaporate in a matter of weeks. So check with the corner druggist or some other leading thinker before you plunge into charisma, glitch, etc.

Crisis Averted

According to some of the more somber thinkers, the advent of the silverless quarters was going to cause a traumatic shock in about half the population. Eh bien, the new quarters have been around for several weeks. No case of shock was recorded. Indeed, it would appear that most citizens showed total apathy toward the new coins. The only sign that seems to betray them is a glint of copper in the nurl.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Yes, sir. This is the first time I've ever testified before your Appropriations Sub-Committee."



SERVICE GLIMPSSES



Rio de Janeiro. The January flood left the DCM's house almost incommunicado. DCM Philip Raine and his daughter waded to the bottom of the hill to meet the chauffeur.

Madrid. Minister Counselor William W. Walker, left, and Major General Stanley J. Donovan, USAF, warm up with a nip of brandy after a dip in the chilly Mediterranean waters off Spain's southeast coast. They were members of the swimming party led by Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke to refute Communist propaganda that the sea had been contaminated by the H-bomb which fell there January 17. In the background are Mrs. Donovan, Harry A. Debelius, ABC, and FSO Timothy L. Towell.



Abu Simbel. Minister Counselor David G. Nes, right, shares a friendly smile with Cultural Affairs Officer Robert Bauer, UAR Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities Undersecretary Adel Taher and UAR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cultural Department head Ambassador Ahmed Moukhtar El Ghamrawi in front of a colossal statue of Ramses II. Messrs. Nes, Bauer and PAO James Halsema represented the Embassy at the dedication ceremony for the storage yard for stones taken from the Abu Simbel temples. (Photo by J. J. Halsema)

Providence. Eleanor Anne Porter, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. William J. Porter, named "Miss Bryant" at Bryant College in Providence, R. I., is a candidate for Miss Rhode Island.





Kathmandu. Mrs. Henry E. Stebbins, wife of the Ambassador to Nepal, presents winter clothing to one of the children at the Shifali orphanage. Each child had been measured and clothes were tailored from donated United Air Lines uniforms in a project by the American Women's Organization of Nepal. (Photo by Marcia Gregg, AID)

Kabul. Archer K. Blood, DCM, confers with H. E. Abdul Karim Hakimi, Governor of Helmand Province. Mr. Blood met with the Governor at the Helmand Valley Authority offices in Bost, during a field trip to various parts of southern Afghanistan.



Sao Paulo. Minister Counselor Niles W. Bond, right, Miss Pris Goslin (Miss Labor-USA) and Mayor João Vicente de Faria Lima are in the front rank at the ribbon-untying ceremony at Labor-USA, the first major international labor exhibit presented by the USIA and the Department of Labor. Partially hidden by Miss Goslin is N. Thompson Powers, special emissary from Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz.



Bucnos Aires. Embassy wives are pictured with a few of the 85 bags of clothing collected for flood victims in the northern provinces. The clothing was sent to rural school teachers for distribution. Thousands of people were driven from their homes by the March floods.

MARY PETTIS SANFORD

The First Sit-In



WHETHER or not student demonstrations against war and nuclear bombs, and teach-ins by the academic dignitaries have promoted international peace, they have certainly shattered my own private torpor. Not only have they reminded me of the happily forgotten intellectual and moral conflicts of my student days; they have also transfixed me with the realization of a portentous responsibility: I was probably the first student sit-in. I invented this method of protest in the 1930s, all by myself, in defiance of heavy social and emotional and intellectual pressures, and I think it is my duty to record this for history, before I forget it again.

That remote era may seem quaint and uninteresting today to the solemn folk-singers, the embattled SNCC, the professors carrying the gospel to the provinces, and all the other workers in the vineyards of the grapes of wrath; but we of that innocent time had our battles for peace and our deeply-felt (by us) demonstrations, and if we were not quite so hostile to hostilities nor so militant for peace as the present intellectuals of the affluent society, we can plead that the Depression had disadvantaged us (the word was "underprivileged" then), and we didn't have much time or energy left to devote to our cause after waiting on tables, scrubbing floors, cooking our own meals, washing dishes, typing in college offices, working in the library, and getting on with such full-time academic chores as classes, papers, and exams. We literally couldn't afford to go to jail, even if it had occurred to us. But if we went to bed in fatigue instead of on the streets in protest, we yielded to none in the strength, purity, and vehemence of our moral convictions, which went like this: War is terrible and getting worse all the time; men of goodwill should therefore renounce war; if aforesaid men unite everywhere and refuse to fight and die, the whole world will finally grasp this logic and at last unite itself in a sort of majority vote for peace, whereupon the wicked would see that the jig is up. (The wicked who want war, it was revealed to us, were a power structure composed of the munitions makers—"merchants of death"—bent on selling their hardware to military officers eager to practice their skills, all abetted by scheming politicians. Luckily we had been clued in on this conspiracy in time to foil it.) We were naturally anxious to line up with the goodwill team, con-

found the plotters, avoid slaughter, wage peace, and proceed with creating our own artistic masterpieces, making our scientific discoveries, reforming politics and laws, righting social injustices, and all the rest of our program for ourselves and the retarded but not altogether hopeless world. Our attitude towards that world started with a different prognosis from that of the grim students of today who claim that society is a sick horse fit only to be shot; we felt that it was convalescing stubbornly and with difficulty from a near-collapse, and, since it was our only horse, we ought to hasten its recovery of a health free from all the old sores, infections, and burdens that had made it slump in its traces. It was our duty to act, firmly and decisively and unsparingly, for this consummation.

Our immediate job on the campuses, since we were intellectuals, was to state our convictions to the world and then prove them, and to this end we gave demonstrations called "Peace Strikes." The idea was that, at a given hour, those in favor of peace on various campuses would desert their classes and throng to some appointed spot, where they would define their purposes forcefully, make clear their renunciation of war, impress the world with their numbers, hearten the men of goodwill everywhere, intimidate the war conspiracy, and otherwise show that they meant business. Plagiarized from labor-union methods, the walk-out instead of the sit-in was the chic method of protest then; we didn't think of tempting the police into violence against our anti-violence, and nobody but me thought of taking over the classroom; but, as I said, those were simpler times.

The prime movers of these demonstrations were various organized groups aided by cliques, sets, faculty members, and individual students who burned with a pure, gem-like flame. There were eloquent members of the liberal political clubs ("The burden of war falls always on the common man"); sub-groups of the Current Events Club (they lived in a welter of newspapers and feverish excitement about events whose importance faded in the glare of next week's stories) and International Relations (a calmer, more orotund bunch who went in for the loftier monthlies and thoughtful, researched discussions on what Russia was planning and what Germany had in mind; they were quite confident about those nations—Hitler and Stalin were men of peace and goodwill who only wanted to build up their countries, and after all, the Rhineland was German—but they fussed uncertainly about Spain, and they scarcely threw Japan a bone, even of contention); student church groups who came to bring not a sword but peace; science majors who knew exactly what they thought and why ("War being an irrational solution to human problems, no rational man will engage in it"); graduate English instructors who read Housman to assembled satellites over mulled wine; undergraduate poets, slight and tousle-haired, who lurked forbiddingly in the darker corners of the coffee houses with volumes of Baudelaire propped on the sugar-dispensers and who would dismay the councils of peace, into which they would stroll late and alone, by drawing that since suffering is necessary to total human experience, war might be desirable—and then silence the ensuing outrage by announcing that they had nevertheless come because reflection had disclosed that nothing on earth was worth fighting for ("By coming here, I'm doing the wrong thing for the right reason," one murmured languidly to a Methodist liberal, who bristled);

very young university press editors who belonged to Communist cells that met behind drawn Venetian blinds amid desperate and unnecessary secrecy; and all those whom this broad spectrum of appeal attracted—scattered thinkers in saddle shoes and rebels in sneakers and scions of the rich evading the guilt of wealth by embarking on a crusade; the lovelorn seeking solace in affairs greater and more hopeful than their own, and lonely kids who yearned to belong to something, and girls who knitted with the unsettling constancy of Madame DeFarge. The Strikes were extremely well attended.

The day of the Strike was yeasty in atmosphere, like a religious carnival. Fierce young men nailed and thumb-tacked signs on trees and bulletin boards proclaiming that they would never become the veterans of future wars, and asked each other scornfully whether they were such fools as to make the Supreme Sacrifice at the fell behest of the merchants of death. A sorority sister expounded at breakfast the dogma that these villains spurred soldiers into war by placing new weapons in their hands: "If you had a brand-new rifle, wouldn't you want a chance to shoot it? I would!"—an improbable statement, since she was notoriously terrified of loud noises and blood. A football star quarrelled suddenly with a Southern girl who ventured to suggest that if our country were attacked and invaded, we might have to fight willy-nilly, and what would he do then? "For God's sake!" shouted the pro-peace belligerent, pounding the snack bar table, "who's going to attack us? Just answer me that! Who'd dare? What you secretly want, you want me to march off to bugles like a damned Rebel, don't you, and write you brave letters from the trenches, and get gassed and shot up, don't you? You non-combatants don't mind shedding other people's blood, do you? Well, I won't, for you or Uncle Sam or anybody!" (The Uncle Sam so scornfully referred to awarded him the Silver Star in 1945, by which time the girl had marched off with the Army nurses and received a leg wound in Normandy.) My roommate, looking angelic (this came easy, since she closely resembled a Raphael madonna), declared with sweet piety that giving up a class in History 214 was a small sacrifice to make for world peace. Piercing-eyed professors invited their disciples to lunch after the Strike—"My wife will have something special for us in the way of a Quiche Lorraine." Philosophy instructors, pipes in hand, strode about looking exalted. The Anglo-Saxon professor in his ten-o'clock lecture chucked "Beowulf" in favor of the wrongs inflicted on Germany by the Versailles Treaty and how war never settles anything, a canard briefly and sensationally contested by an owl-eyed boy who rose to say that war, however detestable, had indeed settled the fate of Carthage, the Byzantine Empire, and the thirteen American colonies that had revolted against Britain; but this unpopular thesis branded him with both pedantry and heresy, and he was drummed forever from the company of the intellectuals. ("Hey, whatever happened to Howlie Cox? He join the French Foreign Legion?")

The classes in the period just before the Strike were perfunctory. The few students who bothered to come fidgeted and looked at their watches, the faculty members carried on dutifully but mechanically. The Strike organizers were busy elsewhere, clustered about telephones, checking newspaper coverage, calling other colleges

about their programs and the speakers they'd bagged, and feeling the general exhilaration of action. Their more emotional adherents, too intoxicated by the nobility of it all to cabin themselves in a classroom, wandered in and out of the organizers' way and milled about corridors and snack bars, exhorting converted and unconverted alike. Plenty of hoi polloi felt, correctly, that the bright radiance around these idealists would conceal their own defection from both class and Strike, and hared happily off to such peaceful pursuits as doing their nails or having a beer in their fraternity houses. This indifference worked the other way, too, as with a classmate of mine who, with no more concern for war and peace than a Teddy Bear, could hardly wait for the Strike to begin. "Policy, my dear," she told me. "My sociology prof will be there—he's nuts about peace and I'm flunking his course. Besides, a bunch of us are dressing up as future war widows—isn't that fun? I'm marvelous in black!" Another girl stared at me blankly when I asked her why she was going to the Strike. "Why, evcrybody on campus who *counts* will be there. And if I'm going to be vice-president of the class next year. . . . What's the matter with you? You for *war* or something?" And she ran hastily from my dubious presence when the bell signalling the Strike rang, and melted in among the faculty and students pouring out of the classrooms and buildings into the quadrangle.

I found myself alone in the classroom and, so far as I could discover, on the whole floor. Students, faculty, and staff had somehow failed to sweep me along in their outgoing tide. What *was* the matter with me? I hadn't planned to stay here, and I certainly deplored war. Peace as I knew it in the United States seemed a fine state of affairs, and, from what I'd heard and read, war inflicted wholesale suffering and death. Then why wasn't I out there with my peers and betters cheerleading for peace? Or, since I wasn't, what kept me, obstinate and solitary, in this empty classroom when I could be guzzling a Coke and listening to Guy Lombardo records with my frankly frivolous sorority sisters? Was I a compulsive dissenter, a coward escaping the involvements and commitments of my time, an outsider, a snob? Contrary, dishonest, wicked, craven?

What I really was filtered slowly through the moil to me at last: I was *dumb*. I was sitting in this classroom like a dunce, that's what. I was a stupid girl too underdeveloped intellectually to grasp those majestic conversations in which nations were spoken of as characters in plays; I had only recently twigged to the opposite figure in Shakspeare, by which kings refer to each other as if they were countries—"England shall repent his folly," the French monarch says darkly of Henry V. How on earth did people fathom what Germany intended or Russia would do—or even the United States from year to year? I had listened with real reverence and determination and, finally, stupefaction to those pure and articulate people who were privy to these international mysteries, who could reel off the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk or the Locarno Pact and defend or attack either, who comprehended the intricacies of the Soviet five-year plans that somehow never came off in five years for reasons that the expounders went into at length with overwhelming statistics right out of their heads, who knew what they would do with a new rifle or a declaration of war, who believed with incandescent faith that

the force of good intentions could rout evil men from the seats of power so that the meek might inherit the earth. But I didn't understand, and I knew now that I never would. What of that doubt persistently gnawing in my beaverboard mind, that if war is immoral and unjustifiable, shouldn't we have knuckled under to King George in 1776? There was no use in my pretending any more; I was unworthy of those illuminated people, I belonged to a lower and humbler order. Worse, I was not only inferior; I was also confused. A strike, I had thought, was a collective refusal to work in order to force your boss to fork over what you wanted; but for the life of me I couldn't see how taking off from class was going to choke peace out of those wily politicians and generals and arms manufacturers, whose *sangfroid* in the teeth of our desertion was total. (The maneuver probably possessed subtleties and finesse beyond my coarse vision, though, I reflected miserably. Things often did.) Worst of all, I acknowledged at last that my weary load of humility rested on a small base of inverted pride: I hated being ostentatiously on the side of the angels. I was all for the angels, but I rebelled against conspicuous virtue, especially when fashionable. True saints, ignoring all such pride and prejudice, endure the hardships of abject admiration, the gratitude or ingratitude of beneficiaries, the righteousness or corruption of the devout, the climbers and clichés and columnists that afflict them; but I am not of the stuff of saints. If the angels should ever actively enlist me, my style would be more Salvation Army in the slums than Established Church at charity bazaars or Nobel-Peace-Prize prophets in an internationally applauded march anywhere. And so, backward, bewildered, and sinful, I could not honestly pretend that I belonged in the company of the blessed. I contented myself with watching them from the parapet, like an upside-down Lucifer.

The President spoke first, beaming broadly. He was followed by a very distinguished woman professor of Greek, whom I admired extravagantly and whose class I was now attending all by myself. She had led the class out to the Strike without a backward glance at me sitting there all benighted, and as she spoke now, her face was alight and sure and eager. I knew she couldn't be wrong about anything, and since I could not permit myself to join her there, I wished sadly that she would join me here and get on with the "Iliad." The audience clapped and cheered, and my classmates sauntered about in veils and black dresses, looking smashing and making dates with the boys who theoretically would confer widowhood on them. Intense girls who in these troubled times empathically refused to comb their hair stood shoulder to shoulder with coatless boys supporting picket signs declaring they would never fight. Attractive young instructors made short, fiery speeches, followed by markedly soprano cheers. A lot of knitting was going on. Some of the boys stood in Byronic attitudes suggesting thoughts too deep for tears. The Good Humor man did a brisk business behind a hedge. I couldn't hear much except the few phrases that drifted up on the spring wind: "War is the abandonment of reason. . . . If we make our voices rise for peace all over the Republic and the world. . . . War never settles anything. . . . Refuse to let our generation become cannon-fodder. . . . League of Nations. . . . Men of goodwill. . . . Disarmament. . . . Mer-

chants of death. . .," and these fragments of serious thinking so doubled my sense of ignoble stupidity that I retreated to my seat and the "Iliad."

Greek was my comfort and delight. It had come to me like love—it often takes people that way—and I had thrown over my first infatuation, science, in order to fit Greek into my curriculum. ("But you need German for science, Miss Pettis, not Greek. Greek is frivolous!") With a small, intrepid band of other students, I had climbed from the foothills of optatives and aorists and the slopes of Xenophon and Sappho up the arduous ascent to Homer. Relinquish any of those hard-won and magnificent heights, sacrifice one of the few hours of instruction remaining to me, lose a single hand-hold on that peak in Darien? Why, I *loved* that class, and that was why I was doggedly lingering there and nowhere else.

And that was when I became that innovator, that augury of the future, the first sit-in demonstrator.

My qualifications were classic:

I was a minority. Irreducible, in fact.

My presence was a protest, so non-violent as to be absolutely unconscious, against my deprivation of that Greek class. That I was sad at the loss of a pleasure instead of angry at the denial of a right does not diminish its significance. Lots of people have not realized in history the importance of their roles or inventions. The Chinese wasted gunpowder in mere firecrackers for centuries before Europeans saw its further possibilities, and in the War of Jenkins' Ear, I'll bet Jenkins felt the loss of his ear more profoundly than the breach of principle that led Britain to go to war in the matter.

I was definitely sitting in a place I had the legal right to occupy, and the majority of the university population would have piled indignation upon derision had they known that I was both boycotting a popular movement and exercising the unpopular right to stay in class. ("Peace-hater!" "War-lover!" "Scab!" "Grind!" "Blue-stocking!" "Too primitive to understand the complicated problems of modern society—she *belongs* in Homer's Bronze Age!" "Escapist!" "My dear, can't you see that all Americans must actively support our movement because it is morally *right*?" "*Greek*, for God's sake, when she could have been our fourth at bridge!") The coffee counters, the gaming tables, the fraternity dances of the social power structure would have subtly barred me; the inner conclaves of the intellectual Establishment would have denied me a voice; my sorority would have accused me of publicly disgracing the group; my roommate would have harrowed me with sorrowing loyalty. Harassment and obloquy should have been my lot, and I admit that the absence of spectators was a weakness in my sit-in, since the point of a demonstration is to have someone to demonstrate *to*. But everybody who should have witnessed mine was out having the old-fashioned kind, and I was forced to forego publicity and martyrdom. A newly invented procedure cannot be perfected at once.

I had no idea, of course, that I was inventing anything. All I wanted was to go on with the "Iliad," and I wished my professor would get the hell off that platform outside and explain line 322 in Book XXII to me.

We had come to the part where Achilles, after Hector's slaying of his crony Patroclus, has gone off *his* strike and into combat with Hector. Achilles was a

bragging, bullying old prima donna, I thought, my sympathies being entirely with Hector. His parting with Andromache, when he foresaw his own death, the defeat of Troy, and the enslavement of his mother and wife, has always seemed to me the most heart-breaking in literature. I surrendered myself to the luminous and terrible hexameters, the movements of fate and gods and men, and quite forgot the activities on the lawn until cheers and applause, breaking through the dactyls and trochees, brought me back to the parapet. The speakers were smiling and shaking hands, and faculty and students in the audience were clapping and calling, and everyone wore the satisfied look of a successful revival meeting, and my classmates, veils aflutter, were disappearing with escorts, and the edges of the crowd were rapidly dissolving towards lunch. Ignominiously, I hoped no one had seen me hanging around that empty classroom. How could I have explained preferring the siege of Troy or grieving for Hector fallen? Was I a war-monger? Then why did I mind so much about Troy? Or, much worse (because I had a secret suspicion it might be true), was I a prig? Or a pale loiterer in the ivory tower, oblivious to the duty of the intellectual now? But I had just been disqualified as an intellectual by absenting myself from the elite on the lawn, so what was I? A butterfly frolicking with Greek poetry while my generation strove to hold off doom? As I was trudging along searching my soul, I bumped into Edward, a math major who was very nearsighted.

"Hello," he said, peering into my forehead. "What was all that noise?"

"Where've you *been*?"

"In the library. I work there, you know. What was all that noise?"

"The Peace Strike, Edward."

"Peace Strike? What's that?"

"Good Lord, haven't you seen all the signs and heard all the talk—" I broke off as it was borne in on me that he couldn't see the signs and possibly hadn't heard anything but lectures since he came to college. My heart warmed to Edward. I might be dabbling in Greek quantities, but he had sunk from sight in equations and complex variables and maybe multi-dimensional space. Just then Alice, a sorority sister, caromed around a corner. "Is the peace party over?" she asked, flipping her pearls.

"Where have you been?" I asked.

"Playing bridge, of course, like a sensible girl."

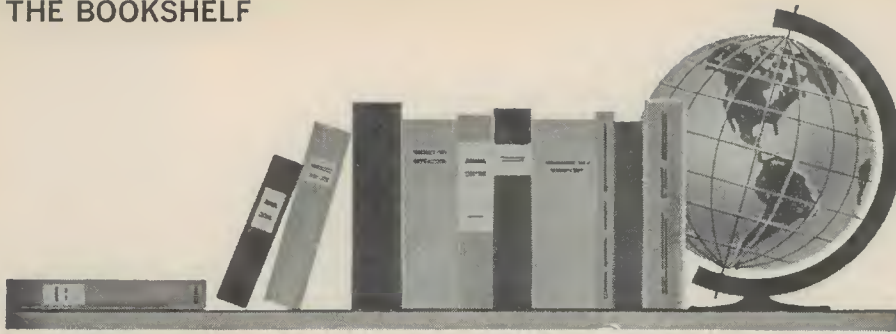
"In the shadow of Armageddon?" I cried. "When our generation may become cannon-fodder?"

Edward gulped, but Alice, after a quizzical glance at me, burst into genuinely merry laughter. "Well, if we're going to have war, I'd better get in all the bridge I can now, hadn't I? And if we have peace, everyone will have time to become awfully good, so I'd better improve my game, hadn't I?"

"But, Alice, bridge is irrelevant to war and peace!"

"Oh, no, honey, bridge is war itself!" said Alice.

Edward instantly asked her to lunch, revealing unguessed impulses and perceptions behind those glasses. Later they were married, and after Pearl Harbor he was absorbed into top-secret researches for the Allied war effort. His field, so I heard, was the Theory of Games. None of us knew that I had just pioneered a revolutionary technique of protest thirty years ahead of the time in America. ■



Career Development

STUDENTS of the Service are much indebted to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for its publication, as an outgrowth of the work of the Herter Committee, of a number of informative monographs on the Service. The fourth and fifth of these—one a statistical “Anatomy of the Foreign Service” by John E. Harr, and the other a sociological disquisition by Regis Walther entitled “Orientations and Behavioral Styles of Foreign Service Officers”—have now been released.

Mr. Harr's study is a competent, thorough compilation of data on the recent composition of the Service. It shows, for example, that twelve FSO-3s and above speak Turkish, that seven per cent of the Wristonees have Ph.D.'s compared to only three per cent of the officers who entered the Service by examination, and that over half of the lateral entrants have expressed an interest in a “program direction” assignment, as against none at all (in Mr. Harr's sample) wanting to be assigned to Intelligence and Research. The results, though not as relevant to current controversies as one would wish, are worth having, since the Department itself is not overhasty in making public significant data on the changing composition or character of the Service.

As regards Mr. Walther's study, it may be enough to explain that it is mostly an analysis of statistical comparisons of various categories of FSOs with each other and with comparable groups of young corporation presidents, research engineers, high school counselors in Nevada, and so on. We learn from it that “too high a score for potential ambassadors on either the Social Service or Approval from Others scales are negatively associated with performance.” The author also tells us that “personnel officers are high on the Empirical-Intuitive and low on the Systematic-Methodical scales, and fiscal officers are the exact reverse.” Further, the point is made that superior and weak performers in all job categories apparently scored

differently on “optimism” but equally on “sympathetic-accommodating.”

If this seems like a sad waste of foundation money, the fault is no doubt not entirely Mr. Walther's. He was a “Research Program Officer” in the Office of Personnel when these studies were conducted, and it would perhaps be too much to expect that such a largely internal research effort would result in any very challenging tests of the clichés of career management. Still, the author's researches did lead him to conclude that “there were noticeable variations in the results obtained” from four different oral examination panels, suggesting that science has now at least established that different individuals act differently.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

THE ANATOMY OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE—A STATISTICAL PROFILE, by John E. Harr, and ORIENTATION AND BEHAVIORAL STYLES OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, by Regis Walther. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

TV as a Tool for Progress and Peace

AS one who blanched on reading that television had been added to the blessings we were showering on the people of Vietnam, I am probably the wrong person to review this book. However, Wilson Dizard—author also of “The Strategy of Truth,” probably the best survey to date of our overseas information program—has won me over. With “The Beverly Hillbillies” crowding the Beatles in London, “My Friend Flicka” enchanting the Bulgarians, “Wagon Train” and “Bonanza” among the top ten in Poland, antennae sprouting from grass roofs all over Africa, I am ready to admit that TV is here, and practically everywhere else, to stay. Since we can't lick it, we'd better jinc it.

That, considerably oversimplified, is the message of this book. It is, first, a comprehensive survey of the amazing expansion of TV into all parts of the world over the last decade; second, an appraisal of its potential, for good and for evil. Most of the facts and figures with which the volume is

crammed were new to me and may be new to others. Did you know, for example, that Japan leads the world in educational television? That Italy and other countries have found TV the most effective way to teach illiterate adults to read and write? That South Africa refuses to admit television for fear it would spread “subversive” ideas? That almost half the population of Bangkok see one or more TV programs every day? That export markets mean the difference between loss and profit for the American telefilm industry?

It is the future that interests Mr. Dizard most, however. He recognizes how powerful an instrument TV can be in the hands of an autocrat—one chapter examines the ways in which Castro, de Gaulle and Nasser have employed it. But he points out that its limited range makes it much less dangerous than radio as an instrument of ideological aggression. Moreover, the cost and complexity of programing encourage the interchange of materials. There are already some cautious exchanges between Eurovision and its Communist counterpart, Intervision. Other international networks are in process of formation. Despite the immense problems, technical, political, linguistic, psychological, the author predicts for the not too distant future a global news and documentary service relayed by satellite, and he is optimistic enough to believe that this will further world understanding rather than exacerbate hostilities.

He believes also that television can greatly speed up education, academic and even more important vocational, in newborn African countries that cannot or will not wait the ten to twenty years required by conventional schoolroom techniques.

All this won't happen by itself. The last chapter contains some recommendations for United States action to help bring it about. We are doing something already, through USIA, AID, the Ford Foundation and the commercial networks. But we need to do a lot more. Mr. Dizard's book should serve as both a handbook and a challenge.

—TED OLSON

TELEVISION: a World View, by Wilson P. Dizard. Syracuse University Press, \$7.95.

Munich Revisited

ONE had to watch essentially intelligent and honest people behaving like blind lunatics—suppressing facts, tolerating monstrous iniquities, earning the amused contempt of their

enemies and the anguished dismay of their friends."

These were "The Nightmare Thirties." Sir Colin Coote, retired Managing Editor of the *DAILY TELEGRAPH*, portrays the ways of the actors as aptly as he characterizes the epoch. The vision of a soldier, a M.P., and a journalist guides his interpretation of the nightmare. Drawn-from-life personality sketches are beams of light through the subconscious underpinnings of history—for instance, the often misunderstood relations among British leaders. A Balliol contemporary of Harold Macmillan, Sir Colin happened to be a client of Stephen Ward—strictly in the medical sense of course. His career straddles the epoch. He brings the nightmarish decade into the perspective of history.

"Editorial," Sir Colin Coote's memoirs, is suggested as counterpoise and companion reading for "None So Blind," Ian Colvin's historical essay on the pre- and post-Munich period. Mr. Colvin, Berlin correspondent for the *NEWS CHRONICLE* from 1935 till 1939, has a personal experience to tell as one of the Cassandras of the age. At the climax of a losing battle he delivered his message to Chamberlain who listened to it "... looking exactly like his photographs ... and plucking away at the loose skin of his throat in deepest indecision." In the course of his research, Colvin met briefly the aging Sir Robert Vansittart whom he remembered from a distance as "a ploughman in a nearby field ... admired for the straightness of his furrow." The Permanent Head of the Foreign Office, kicked upstairs in 1938, became Colvin's hero and the hero of "None So Blind."

Sir Robert had not been at liberty to use in his own biographies, "Lessons of My Life" and "The Mist Procession," the notes garnered during eight years of office. Lady Vansittart gave Colvin access to Sir Robert's private papers and added reminiscences of her own. This original material constitutes the truly valuable part of the book. It throws light on many historical issues: the rupture of the Stresa front—precipitated by security leaks in the British Embassy in Rome and followed by the ill-fated Laval-Hoare proposal; the abortive prewar attempts of Görndler and Kleist to gain foreign support for resistance against Hitler; and the diplomatic ploys and counter-ploys of the Munich era. Through these events, the Permanent Head attempted to put into effect a balance-of-power policy. A discriminating analysis would have been of major interest. But the uncritical use of secondary sources makes

it difficult to follow the course of this policy which becomes somewhat lost in the account of Mr. Colvin's own efforts. "None So Blind" does not do justice to its hero. The reader gets glimpses at Sir Robert Vansittart, "more a Secretary-of-State in mentality than a permanent official," as Lord Avon said, but the picture remains at best that of "the distant ploughman."

A scholarly life of Sir Robert Vansittart, and an account of Vansittartism—a realistic policy, not anti-germanism as many believe—remains to be written. In the meanwhile Mr. Colvin's book should find its place on the shelf of the student of diplomacy in the serene vicinity of Sir Colin Coote's memoirs.

—CHARLES H. TAQUEY

EDITORIAL, *The Memoirs of Colin R. Coote*. Eyre & Spottiswoods, London, 42s.

NONE SO BLIND, by Ian Colvin. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., \$5.95.

Two Field Trips

AT this particular time in history it behooves us all to learn more about southeast Asia, its history, and its people. "Mai Pen Rai" is a palatable way of informing ourselves about one of these countries, since Mrs. Hollinger spent some years in Thailand, living closely with the Thai, and coming to know them well.

The first chapters are devoted to an area of experience which we in the Foreign Service can share intimately—the trials and traumas of being confronted with a radically different culture. The author's problems range from a temperamental air conditioner to the cobra living in the roof, but early in the game she discovers that "mai pen rai" means "never mind," and that it is a very useful *modus vivendi* in her household.

Once over the hurdles of house and servant problems, Mrs. Hollinger sets

about finding a way to involve herself more intimately with the people, and she hits upon a very direct one. She becomes one of the small staff of foreign teachers at Chulalongkorn University, and in doing so, she herself learns a great deal. Through her students and colleagues she is able to view the mysteries and beauties of this fascinating land. She goes to funerals and birthday parties, on trips to forests and caves. The descriptions of these excursions are among the most amusing parts of the book, but at all times she is charmed by the Thai, and this appreciation results in an understanding and empathy which finally leads her husband to say "the damn country fits you like a glove." Certainly this is an admirable and enviable state, but I found Mrs. Hollinger's attitude toward her fellow Americans less than charitable. Surely not *all* of them wasted the day at the bridge table, the night at the cocktail party. Perhaps the tourist is fair game, but blanket criticism of her neighbors, also her countrymen, I thought a little unbecoming, and the only sour note in an otherwise delightful book.

"Children of Allah" by Agnes Newton Keith is a much bigger book in size, subject, and scope. Though her subject is Libya and the desert people, her perspective is many-dimensional, enhanced by all this amazing woman's experience and travels. We are given the chance to see things through the eyes of the artist, historian, and scientist, for Mrs. Keith is all of these. She takes us on field trips through the Sahara, into the houses and minds of the desert people, temple ruins, and villages in the oases. She draws pictures for us—literally, because the book is sprinkled throughout with charming sketches which show her wide range of interests and knowledge. People come first, and her initial response is to them; she then sketches in



Special Forces Patrol, Montagnard Country by Howard R. Simpson.

their surroundings. The same approach applies to her word pictures. She combines a warm and human narrative with scholarly observation on the architecture, history of the land, and its sociological structure, including an amazingly complete survey of the desert vegetation. The end result is a personal yet impersonal account which keeps us continually alert and interested.

Agnes Newton Keith has lived through the experiences she describes in "Three Came Home," "Land Below the Wind," and "White Man Returns," and we profit from her maturity as a person and a writer.

—MARY JANE SHERMAN

MAI PEN RAI, by Carol Hollinger. Houghton Mifflin, \$4.95.

CHILDREN OF ALLAH, by Agnes Newton Keith. Little, Brown, \$6.95.

A Nice Album

SHORTLY after Adlai Stevenson's death there appeared in THE NEW YORKER an article about him written by Lillian Ross, who had for some time previously been preparing a full-length "Profile" of Stevenson for that magazine. That article has now appeared in book form, interlarding 30 pages of text with 20 odd photographs, many excellent.

The article itself was only a sketch for a profile, and as a book it could hardly be thinner and frailer. There are several attractive vignettes, more or less accurate, of Stevenson on the run between UN meetings, political conclaves and social appearances, and a few even more attractive examples, grave and gay, of his famous wit and wisdom. That is all—except pictures which make a nice album.

Lillian Ross is a very skillful reporter and, had she had time, would doubtless have done a first-class Profile. This book, however, is not even that. It is of course natural and inevitable that we should have to wait some considerable time for the sort of biography, even the sort of portrait, that Adlai Stevenson deserves.

—CHARLES W. YOST

ADLAI STEVENSON, by Lillian Ross. J. B. Lippincott Company, \$2.95.

Evolution of the Cold War

IN this brief survey of the cold war, 1945-1965, Professor Lerche, Director of the School of International Service at American University, presents an admirable historical analysis of this over-shadowing international event of our time, together with a searching examination of recent and current changes in the cold war and

their probable significance for the future.

The cold war is seen as an inescapable outcome of the strategic physical proximity and conflicting ideologies of the two super powers that emerged from the final welter of World War II. The traditional international order had collapsed; both America and Russia, in an unprecedented situation, perforce pursued novel and revolutionary goals. Yet these goals were imprecise. Strategies have been evolved on an *ad hoc* basis, and the conflict, though active and constant, has been gradually made subject to certain tacitly agreed ground rules. It is not entirely *sui generis*, and has come more to resemble great historic confrontations of the past than to differ from them.

The writer sees Soviet strategy as primarily "promotional," more concerned with long-range purposes relating to Soviet security, which are pursued with continuity and intensity, than with the winning of "victories" in areas more peripheral to its central goal. Despite its militant theology which predicates a world victory for communism, the Soviet Union aims increasingly at more limited goals—assurance of its own security, achievement of fully recognized great-power status, and enlargement of its sphere of influence in world affairs.

Soviet initiative, with its strong ideological overtones, is met by a US policy that the writer sees as essentially a "protective" strategy of response. It accords with the American belief in a world of law, logic and stability, an order of things jeopardized by the intrusion of Soviet ambition and waxing power. The fitting response was a strategy of "containment" as riposte to Soviet expansionism, and "deterrence" of the presumed military threat implicit in Soviet behavior. This strategy was at first single-minded in its devotion to preventing the worst that Soviet capabilities made possible; more lately it has been tempered by a belief that Soviet intents may be restricted well within the range of maximum feasibility.

The cold war has resulted from the interaction of American and Soviet strategies. As the world has changed in recent years; as the battlegrounds, landmark issues and crises of the cold war have put their impress on the conflict and modified its course; so has the cold war become something quite different in our time from what it was originally.

Dr. Lerche devotes his concluding chapters to an analysis of this change and its meaning for the entire international system. General, i.e. nuclear, all-out war has become unlikely. Vic-

tory as a goal has been abandoned by both sides. The super-powers have achieved what might be called a regulated tension in their relations but no true detente as yet. The two "camps," once tightly controlled from Moscow and Washington, have responded to centrifugal, nationalist forces. New power centers and new theatres of cold war rivalry have developed.

He sees our era as one of transition from sharp bipolarism to one of "flexible and changeable relations among states," with the cold war now "obsolescent if not obsolete." Beyond the cold war he sees efforts, both on the Soviet and American sides, to adjust to the new international realities while not forfeiting entirely or at once their huge politico-psychological investments in the cold war. Thus, it may be hoped there will result a more stable relationship and an enlargement of the areas of common interest, even of common policies. And the post-cold war era will be marked, less by obsessive and over-riding conflict, and more by a "deliberate reversion to classical patterns of great-power relations."

—LEON W. FULLER

THE COLD WAR AND AFTER, by Charles O. Lerche. Prentice Hall, \$4.95 (\$1.95 paperback).

466 Years in 711 Pages

TO COVER the history of the world from 1500 to 1966 in 711 pages requires not only prodigious learning but a prodigious sense of organization. Professor Stavrianos has got all the necessary equipment. His book has nothing in common with those haphazard synopses of world history that pop up every so often and serve only one purpose: to remind us what we already learned in other contexts. "The World Since 1500" possesses a logical and effective design. It starts with 1500, the author explains, because that was the time when the races of mankind began to mingle on a broad scale. The work bears down astutely on these aspects of history:

1) "The roots of European expansion (why Europe, rather than one of the other Eurasian centers of civilization, expanded).

2) "The Confucian, Moslem and non-Eurasian Worlds on the Eve of Europe's expansion (their basic conditions and institutions and the manner in which they effected the nature and course of European expansion).

3) "The stages of European expansion" (Iberian stage, 1500-1600; Dutch, French, British stage, 1600-1763; Russian stage in Siberia).

The book is filled with arresting maps (indeed the most brilliant that



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LACING THEM ALL TOGETHER

(Continued from page 27)

is an elementary and well-recognized truism that people elsewhere do not look at things from the same perspective Americans do. But it is perhaps not so well recognized that this problem cannot be overcome by direct methods of persuasion, and only partially by abstract lectures on American life, politics or economics. For in speaking to others, Americans make assumptions they do not make, and, in listening, others make assumptions that Americans do not make. This is a problem that affects most international communication.

The specialized languages of science and of formal diplomacy are the results, each in its own way, of more or less successful efforts to deal with this problem. But in an era of mass communications, mass movements, and democratic sentiments the problem has taken on new proportions and constitutes one of the basic reasons reasonable relations between nations are difficult to achieve. The insistence that an effective information program requires educational and cultural activities as an adjunct represents, though somewhat dimly and distortedly, a recognition of the existence of this problem.

To some extent, a better context for communication can be created, to be sure, by direct measures. It is impossible to understand the problem of Negro rights in the United States, for example, without understanding that America has a federal system, and that the term "United States" is the name of a continental nation of extraordinary diversity of tradition, outlook, and circumstance. Similarly it is hard to explain the way in which American institutions of higher education maintain standards unless people are aware of the role of semi-official accrediting agencies and of the wholly unofficial, but very well understood, system by which universities are rated.

While programs in American Studies have great values, it would be a mistake to expect them, however well constructed, to carry the main burden of an effort to eliminate the static and the dead spots that interfere with international communication. Generalizations about a culture are helpful; they are also often overly simple and misleading. Understanding another culture is a matter of understanding a vast variety of things in a vast variety of specific contexts. It involves catching innumerable cues and signals that do not lend themselves easily to explicit statement or formal codification, and that often appear bare and unimportant when, apart from their immediate contexts, they are stated or codified. There is no adequate substitute, in short, for personal exposure to a culture, and for the reports that those who have been successfully exposed bring back. Not the least value of such exposure is that the awareness of the special characteristics of one's own culture may be enhanced. This is a major reason why emphasis should be given, in programs of intellectual and cultural exchange, to the movement of people, and to the placing of these people in positions in which they will be participants to some degree in the going enterprises of another society.

3. Disciplining and Extending International Intellectual Discourse

It would greatly oversimplify the harsh complexity of most international conflicts, and it would ascribe more

influence to intellectuals than they have, to say that international conflict has its source in the quarrels of intellectuals. Nevertheless, there is a kind of devious truth in this statement. International affairs are peculiarly susceptible to galloping abstractions—"Communism," "Africa," "Imperialism," "the Free World." Nowhere else do massive stereotypes and personified ideas play a larger role; nowhere do they do more to rigidify disagreement, to give it a quality of necessity and higher nobility, and to turn otherwise manageable conflicts into unmanageable ones. And intellectuals, more than most other groups, have the power to create, dignify, inflate, criticize, moderate or puncture these abstractions.

The character of international conflict, in other words, is influenced by the language that comes to be used in public to explain what is going on, to justify the positions that are taken, or to negotiate disputes. The quality of this language is something that intellectuals can do much to affect. This is a fundamental reason for thinking that the presence or absence of habits of disciplined discourse between the intellectuals of different nations has much to do with the chances for the rational resolution of international conflicts. The promotion of such disciplined discourse is, or should be, a principal purpose of educational and cultural activities.

The absence of this sort of dialogue—and only this sort of confrontation, personal, continuing, responsive, and rigorously intellectual, deserves to be called by that word—is one of the principal factors that has adversely affected the relations of the United States with Latin America. The maintenance of such a dialogue is probably necessary not only to better relations with the countries

to the south of us in this hemisphere, but to programs of economic assistance in most parts of the world, and to the easing of the misunderstandings and irritations present in our relations with Western Europe, Japan, India and other countries. The possibility of using international meetings, periodicals, and certain specific assignments under American exchange programs with this purpose centrally in mind is worth exploring.

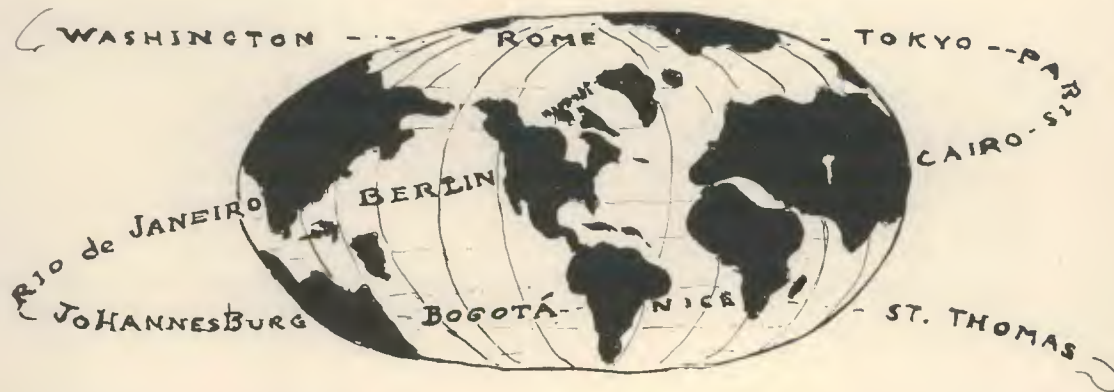
4. *Developing International Education*

It is against the background of the three purposes that have already been described that the contribution of educational exchange to programs of economic and social development can probably best be understood. Even when educational exchange is approached from the point of view of economic and social development, it should not usually be viewed as a means to an external end—economic and technical assistance—but as an instrument, in its own independent terms, of *educational* development. As has already been said, complete independence from economic projections and possibilities is of course undesirable. But the most important job that educational institutions can do in foreign-assistance programs is to aid in the development of educational institutions. This is what they look best doing, and this is what they can do best.

There is a strong case, therefore, for establishing educational planning and development on its own feet, both institutionally and intellectually. Universities and scholarly organizations, which have special needs and special goals, must enjoy considerable institutional autonomy in performing their functions at home. In performing their

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functions abroad, they also need a large measure of such autonomy. While they cannot think about educational plans for a given country in disregard of its political or economic circumstances, they should be regarded as equal partners in the planning process, with a perspective of their own that is as important as any other.

In speaking of "educational development" as a central purpose of educational exchange, it should be emphasized that we are speaking not only of the educational development of other countries, but of American educational development as well. The exposure of a considerable number of teachers, as a regular part of their careers, to experience overseas means a change in the attitudes and perspectives prevalent in American classrooms. A central and continuing commitment of central faculties of a particular university to overseas educational development means that, in this university, the international environment of the United States will be vivid. Indeed, it may be a parochial error that service by educational institutions in foreign fields necessarily means a drain on resources that would otherwise be available at home. Ideas, techniques and experience from abroad, and foreign students and teachers, enrich American educational resources. If foreign service came to be regarded as a usual opportunity in the career of a large number of teachers and scholars, it is possible that more good people, not fewer, would wish to take up educational and scholarly careers.

5. *Furthering Educational and Cultural Understanding*

No statement or restatement of the purposes of international educational and cultural activities would be complete, however, without adding what ought to be obvious, but unfortunately has ceased to be so. The pursuit of truth, the sharing of cultural achievements, and the effort to bring together the knowledge, collective experience and imagination of mankind to improve the human condition, are all enterprises that transcend the particular purposes of particular nations. Free trade in the arts and sciences, the free movement of people and ideas across borders, the free association of individuals with one another as individuals and not as members of different nations, are supreme achievements that are not to be justified politically. Political systems acquire their justification in large part from the contribution they make to these ends.

So long as the federal government makes a large investment in international educational and cultural activities, it is necessary and inevitable that these activities will also be measured by other purposes as well. But the most important of all issues is that the appropriate calendar of purposes not be turned upside down in the process. Educational and cultural relations are important, in the end, because they are educational and cultural relations. Fortunately, although there have been quarrels with this principle and distortions of it in the history of the federal government's involvement in international educational and cultural affairs, the principle has generally prevailed. And it has prevailed because, when the chips are down, most Americans, and most of their representatives, have recognized that a free educational system and a free culture, by their very nature, imply and need and benefit from free educational and cultural exchange on the international scene. ■

In the Air: Years of Progress

IT IS proper to point out, I think, that no group of this size in the United States has had more to do with the extension of American-flag air transportation throughout the world than the men gathered here this afternoon. For those who might be interested in a description of the cornerstones around which this new industry, this new art, has been built, I would like to attempt to give you a chronology of the high spots as I see them.

First, we must give credit to the Post Office Department. Way back in 1924, no one in his right senses ever thought that an airplane could operate commercially. It was the Administration of Calvin Coolidge and the Postmaster General Henry S. New—supported by several key members of the Congress—who authorized the Department to go ahead and set up the first pioneer airmail service here in the United States. I well remember being present when the first airplane took off from New Brunswick, New Jersey, destined for Chicago and the West Coast. The ship was an old World War I DH-4, with an old Liberty engine clattering away in the nose—no instruments, no radio aids. The pilot had a mechanism that gave him his engine RPMs and he had a compass, and that was all. And he looked up in the air and I think he must have said his prayers every time he took off, because it was a wild adventure. The fact that he had maybe a hatful of airmail letters in his cockpit was the most significant development of all.

At the end of two years that airmail load had grown to a ton or more. The Administration correctly decided that it was appropriate to bring private enterprise into the airmail

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Juan T. Trippe

business. That decision was something for which all Americans, I believe, can be very thankful. We did not take the road of our friends abroad and set up a government-owned enterprise. I am confident that, over the years, history will record that that was a wise decision.

A dozen of us who had been pilots in the First World War banded together to organize a small company to go into the air mail business. I think the best thing we could say for ourselves was that there was no conservative banker in our midst. In any event, we were crazy enough to think that we might someday make a profit. Also we were fortunate to get a few industrialists, from Hartford and Boston in staid New England, to join us, who were all New Yorkers, in starting the first domestic airmail route. Contract Air Mail Route number one was awarded to our Colonial Air Transport in 1925. Our service connected with the government-operated New York-Chicago-San Francisco Service.

Believe it or not, that little company got into black ink. There were no bankers. We had plenty of haywire ideas. Nevertheless, the company got off the ground and into black ink. This so surprised our friends from New England that they thought our company shouldn't expand to Chicago when the government decided it wanted private enterprise to take over the original government-operated service. Also they opposed expansion down the coast to Florida. A big argument ensued. The chairman of our board was the then-Governor of Connecticut, John Trumbull. Our industrial friends from New England said: "Look, the New Haven Railroad has been pretty good to New England over 100 years. Our airline is in black ink. We don't know what will happen if these ex-pilots, who are running it, get loose to Chicago and down to Miami. We think that this shouldn't be permitted—even though our company has been selected by the government, extending our franchise to both Chicago and to Miami."

At that point a stockholders' meeting was called. Every stockholder showed up—all 85 of them—as I recall. The final vote was 50½ to stay in New England and 49½ to stretch our wings south and west. We had to tell the government we couldn't go ahead with the contract. This soon was awarded to National Air Transport, now United Air Lines,

and to Pitcairn Aviation, now Eastern Air Lines. Colonial might today have been quite a sizable little airline.

As it turned out, however, that was a most fortunate development for the twelve World War I pilots—because it brought about the start of Pan American Airways. That was in 1926. And in 1927 the first US international air service was inaugurated between Key West and Havana. By some good break that service also started nearly in the black—not quite, but enough to provide credit for expansion in the next four or five years during which American-flag air service was extended south to every country and colony in the three Americas.

I should point out here that a major question in those early years was the problem of obtaining from foreign governments permission to land. As in the case of a cable company, an airline had to secure its own operating rights abroad. I can tell you gentlemen very frankly that that little airline would never have moved anywhere if the US Embassies along the route hadn't taken us under their wings and helped us to arrange the necessary governmental permits for that first service to link North and Central and South America. For instance, we did not have permission to fly to Chile—but, with the knowledge and support of the State Department, we started an airplane down the West Coast to Chile. It had almost reached the border when the Chilean officials decided, at the last minute, to sign the franchise and let our aircraft land. The same sort of thing took place on the East Coast. When we sought to extend to Brazil, the Embassy was anxiously lending every assistance. The franchise papers had all been prepared—but still no franchise. Finally we realized that the best way to break the log jam was to just start off and see what happened—and again we were successful. Looking back over the 39-odd years since that day, I feel strongly that, if the Foreign Service officers of our government hadn't had their coats off and been willing to support this new infant industry, it never would have reached first base.

Look, for instance, in the Pacific. Take Wake Island—nobody knew who owned it. Many other "stepping stone" islands, too, presented problems—Canton, Baker, Jarvis, Howland. All four were claimed by our British friends. Yet we needed those islands if we were going to extend to the South Pacific. At that point, we found an old law that was still on the statute books (and still is today, I understand) under which our government could grant support and protection to any little company out digging guano on a desert island—provided the island was not inhabited. Since none of these four key islands was inhabited, we set up a little expedition. We dug guano, we opened an office in New York where the guano was offered for sale. We asked our government for protection. Needless to say, the British didn't like this, and the cruiser "Essex" was dispatched from New Zealand. We got into Canton just a few hours before the "Essex" arrived, and I shall never forget the conversations that occurred. We were trespassing on His Majesty's land by being there, we were told. We had our boat there, and a small Navy vessel, with the approval of the Navy Department, was standing by. "We don't quite agree with you," the Captain told the British. "We are here, these people are digging guano on this island. It's uninhabited. Here they are and we intend to support them." And so from those four islands guano was dug and sent to New York for sale. We didn't have very much—perhaps 500 pounds altogether—but it was successfully marketed.

I shall long remember the day when Judge Moore and Secretary Hull called me in on my return home to say that the British Ambassador was expected, and that they were going to ask me how I dared land there. "And then," they added, "you are going to come in and apologize, but quote this old law, and point out, of course, that the government had no discretion, et cetera, et cetera." All this happened,



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January, 1929, Juan T. Trippe, then President of Pan American Airways, and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, Pan Am's Technical Adviser before a three-engine Fokker F-10.

and soon a big argument in Parliament followed. The matter finally went to negotiations between the two governments. Today Canton Island is a condominium with two flags flying, the American flag and the British flag—but I should point out that all the property rights are vested in the Department of Agriculture and leased to Pan Am for a dollar. Thus, with Canton Island as a "stepping stone," service to the South Pacific was started.

Another illustration: Pan Am's trouble getting into Hong Kong. We had rights to land in Macao. But before our first flight landed, one of the officers representing our government in Hong Kong pointed out to the Governor: "If you don't let that Clipper land in Hong Kong, you may build up Macao into a great trading area that might some day put Hong Kong behind the eight ball." As a result, we were invited to Hong Kong only when our Clipper was about an hour out of Hong Kong. From that day we have stayed there ever since.

These events typify the long-standing relationship between the officers of our government all over the world and the personnel of Pan Am. They are instances of the support Foreign Service officers always accorded our infant air transport industry.

Thirty years ago, in October of 1935, Pan Am started transpacific service. We can all be proud that it was an American-built ship, owned here in the United States, with an American skipper and crew, that was the first to fly a major ocean route in civil air commerce. A few years later

our Clippers inaugurated transatlantic flying. Then came World War II, and all the Clippers literally went to war. They became part of the US Navy. The company operated as an agent of the Navy until peace was established. Next followed the first round-the-world service, and here again we had an American ship, an American airline and an American captain when the "Clipper America" went around the world to inaugurate the first scheduled global airline service.


We might consider the introduction of the subsonic jets. They entered commercial service about seven years ago. If you review the transitions in world travel and in world trade that have occurred since the introduction of the jets, I think you will agree with me when I say that in this seven-year period, we have made more progress than we achieved in any of the previous seven-year periods in the 39-odd years since US-flag international air service started. What used to be a long trip to Europe is now down to six hours. We can get in a day and a half to any spot in the world, and countries that were literally weeks of travel away, back 25 years ago, have become almost neighbors.

In my opinion, we are going to see even more progress in the next seven years than we have seen in the last seven. We are going to see, for example, a tremendous development in helicopters that will reduce the cost per seat-mile to perhaps half the present cost. Such service will provide fast interurban travel from centers of cities to the airports. We are going to see new type aircraft, literally able to land on oversized tennis courts—both will provide a tremendous expansion of intercity travel here in the United States. Further, we are going to witness the development of much larger aircraft than we presently see in the air today. I am talking about aircraft that will be carrying up to 490 passengers. The economies that will be achieved from these larger ships will be reflected in reduced travel costs all over the world.

Finally, we are going to see also development in supersonic flight that, again, will revolutionize world travel. Today we know supersonic aircraft are going to cost a great deal to develop, perhaps a billion and a half dollars in terms of development during the next five years. We know their frailties. We know that their present seat-mile costs are perhaps a little higher than we would like to see. We know about noise at airports with which we shall have to reckon. As we see the situation today, supersonic transport is not going to achieve any major break-through in noise reduction. And, of course, we shall still have that unwanted appendage traveling behind the supersonic airliner that causes the supersonic boom—that gunlike noise on the ground. This particular problem, no doubt, will be solved by getting the planes higher, as well as by making the aircraft larger. Research carried on in the laboratories in recent months indicates that, as the size of the S.S.T. jet increases, the supersonic boom is reduced, cutting down considerably the sharp sonic boom shock that the smaller supersonic military aircraft give us today.

All this is going to happen—and I can see no rest for the weary. All of us—you as well as those of us in the Pan Am family—are going to have to keep our American-flag services underway and keep them out in front all over the world. As one person, working in one airline, I would like to close by saying that I am confident that with the kind of support you have accorded this industry over the years, and with the knowledge that we can count on it in the years ahead, we are all going to be able to keep American-flag international air transport, as private enterprise, in the American tradition, way out in front in the years ahead. And come 1975, every American citizen can be proud that he will be able to go on an American airplane anywhere in the world, with safety, and at the lowest cost possible.

(This talk by Mr. Trippe, chairman and chief executive officer of Pan American Airways, was given at the February 24 luncheon of the American Foreign Service Association.)



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LETTERS (Continued from page 30)

grave of General Washington. She says the grave looked like an icehouse near to which grew cedars, eypress and a large oak. The view at Mount Vernon she describes as magnificent, but says the house is in a very bad state of repair—a low house through which the winds whistled in every direction. After spending an evening in talking, music and tea, they retired at 10:30 p.m. At 1 p.m. the following day they returned to Washington via "roads so bad we were in danger of being overturned." She says the scenery along the way was fine and wild with immense forests of oak, pine, cedar and hickory.

And The "Barbecue":
An Old or New Presidential Custom?

The Duke of Wellington in answer to a letter of the Hon. Mrs. Bagot—unfortunately the original letter of Mrs. Bagot is not available.

Courtray
December 14, 1817

My dear Mary,

I received the letter which you was so kind as to write to me in the summer, and I have frequently since heard of you from Mrs. Pole and your sisters and from Mrs. Patterson¹ and her sisters and I am delighted to find that you had recovered from the indisposition of which you complained when you wrote me.

I shouldn't like to see Bagot come home too soon as we were certainly never on such good terms (I believe never before on any terms at all) with the government of the United States as we have been since he was appointed minister, as he gives so much satisfaction to everybody both at home and abroad of which I hear from all quarters, I hope he will be able to stay. I shouldn't however like to see him come home like Johnny Newcome, nor you with the loss of all [illegible] calls on your enthusiasm and your patriotism. As for your being bored I don't mind that. First, I believe that you are like me in that respect, viz. that you can find amusement with blackguards if you cannot find gentlemen to keep company with; and secondly if you cannot, you are one of your lives and fortunes people.

You pledged yourself that you would live behind a mountain with your man if you were allowed to marry him; and I have no pity for you and won't hear of your being off.

Besides how can you complain when you have such elegant amusements as a BARBECUE? [Captain Josefine Bagot, editor of the "Hitherto Unpublished Letters of George Canning to His Friends" defined barbecues as "an American expression, meaning a large social or political entertainment used by Judge Washington in a letter to Bagot. Originally a Red Indian word connected with cooking."] I could not avoid reading your account of this amusement to Miss Louisa who was with me when I received it and who was much entertained by it.

But she swears she was never present at such an amusement, but she knows what apple toddy is, and whiskey sling and a shote. ■

¹Marianne, daughter of Richard Caton, of Annapolis, USA, married to Robert Patterson of Baltimore. She married afterwards, as a widow, the Marquess Wellesley as his second wife in 1825.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

"The Hallowed Quiets of the Past"

YOU'RE what? *Resigning?*
Incredulity, envy, disappointment—such were the mixed emotions of our friends and colleagues to our sudden announcement. And sudden it was. In June we were happy, albeit impoverished, in our Washington assignment, finding that those natives, too, can be friendly. In August we accepted an irresistible offer to return to private law practice in our home community.

After ten treasured years of total immersion in Foreign Service life plus several earlier years of pointing toward this life as a goal, we, too, felt an incredulous wrench as we severed the ties. Left behind were so many things which we'll miss.

All women are inveterate shoppers, and always love a bargain. Like all Foreign Service homes, ours is enhanced by many lovely bargains. The carved wooden lawyers from Bavaria rouse lively interest and everyone admires our carpets, our carved walnut nest of tables from Kashmir, the old Swedish painting, and all our other treasured possessions. Little dreaming of an imminent change in our way of life, we almost casually added to this store. Now I miss such commonplace items as the practical German school notebooks, the handcream in tubes from Norway, and the gorgeous decorative candles from Berlin. True, nearly everything we so heedlessly purchased overseas is available Stateside, but at a price! I'll miss the fun of shopping in strange lands for unexpected bargains.

Just as much pure fun as shopping was traveling. Knowing there was a regular vacation there—not that anyone ever takes it all—and having such exciting places to spend same was marvelous. For long memory-treasuring we'll hold our camping trips to Norway and Yugoslavia, swimming in Bermuda, Holland at tulip time, mountain climbing in Bavaria. And I shan't forget the journeys themselves.

Part of that travel was, naturally, involved in the transfer process. Once I heard a lovely, but thoroughly brain-washed, Foreign Service wife declare that she actually liked the packing part. Though I can't go that far, I'll have to admit that this, too, had

its values. Now that we won't move every three to four years, how will we ever get rid of our junky excess baggage? Maybe that gal had something after all.

Another nice part of the transfers was being able to leave some of one's problems behind. If there was a person or organization we didn't like overly much, well, wait a year or so. Either they'd leave or we would. I'll skip quickly here and avoid recalling the dear friends made—and left—with the same rapidity. Instead, I'll remember the joy of a tangible fresh start in each new home.

Tied to the fresh starts was the learning of a new culture and language. I'll confess to pride in being able to bargain like a native, to showing off my language skills and knowledge of local history to visitors from the States. Learning languages was relatively easy for me, and now I'll have no use for my skill. Perhaps it was merely pride that warmed my heart at being included in local women's groups. Perhaps it was a valid sense of achievement when local acquaintances became true friends. In any case, I'll miss this part probably more than I should admit.

All of this, pleasant as it was, was actually only peripheral to our original reason for being in the Foreign Service. The desire to have a part, no matter if small, in the moving events of our world was a strong one. Although this urge has now been supplanted by another strong drive to grow meaningfully in one community's life, we'll not easily forget the excitement of being part of history as it was made. The memory of the hopeless faces of East Berliners on August 14, 1961, the intimate chats with local political figures, the satisfaction when a locally recommended policy was adopted back home, all were included in this fulfilling life. It was a heady feeling to be a true part of, but somehow separate from, the local political scene. To exercise genuine influence without all the customary lasting involvement provided its psychic rewards. Private law practice will no doubt provide times of crisis, but seldom again will we feel this vital sharing in the very fabric of world history. This was the hardest of all to relinquish.

So here we stand, private citizens again. Left behind are all these treasures. To you who remain, we say, "Use them well, and never forget what you possess."

Auf Wiedersehen. . . .

NANCY A. PRICE
Champaign, Illinois.

Tribute to Herschel Johnson

I was grieved yesterday to read in the New York Times of the death of Herschel V. Johnson.

Herschel Johnson may not be well known to the younger generation of Foreign Service officers but to those more senior in the Service he will always have left an indelible impression. Although at times testy and irascible, he was a man of complete integrity and devoted to the best interests of the United States. His work as wartime Deputy Chief of Mission in London, followed by his appointment as American Minister to Stockholm, amply demonstrated his qualities of devotion to duty, keen intelligence, and balance of judgment.

The history books have perhaps not yet done full justice to Herschel Johnson's delicate negotiations with Himmler via Count Folke Bernadotte which hastened the termination of World War II.

I was associated with Herschel Johnson not only in the Legation at Stockholm but later when Ambassador Johnson was the Deputy US Representative to the United Nations. At this time he played a major role in the execution of US policy which led to the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and ultimately to the recognition by President Truman of Israel.

Although Herschel Johnson was not an easy Chief to work for, his influence may perhaps be shown by the fact that five of the officers who served under him in Stockholm in World War II subsequently became Chiefs of Mission. These were Chris Ravndal, Ed Gullion, Brewster Morris, Al Lightner, and your correspondent.

ROBERT MCCLINTOCK
Newport, Rhode Island.

A Pernicious Institution

I wish to invite the critical attention of the JOURNAL to a pernicious institution in the Department which threatens to sap the resolve of the Foreign Affairs community and thereby endanger our very freedom and continued existence as an independent nation. I refer to the practice of vending machine operators of placing a "Mystery Bar" column in each candy machine. This may seem like a minor matter at first glance, but if you will permit me to dwell for a moment upon the implications, I'm certain you will agree that it represents a clear and present danger.

I should explain that a "Mystery Bar" is simply a candy bar like any other and is obtained from a vending

machine in exchange for an undebased coin like other candy bars. The difference (and the danger) lies in the fact that the purchaser does not know what he has bought until after he has parted with his money—i.e., he has bought a pig in a poke. I have noticed "Mystery Bars" in cinema lobbies, bus terminals and other dubious places for some time, but only recently in the Department.

The threat of the "Mystery Bar" is twofold: it destroys our image and undermines our character. The Department has labored for many years to build an image of not only selflessness and dedication but also of a body of intelligent professionals who attack problems from all angles and ruthlessly eliminate less desirable alternative solutions to narrow the choice of policy. Public accusations that we make policy with a dart board have been stoutly denied. Senior officials appear on television and explain why we didn't follow policy X or Y and why we must follow policy Z. This image can be shattered overnight if it becomes public knowledge that our policy-makers buy "Mystery Bars." Also, Lippmann, and Buchwald will be merciless and the editorials in the nation's papers will destroy public confidence for decades to come. De Gaulle's attempts to expel us from Europe will be vindicated. The Chinese will dub us the "Chocolate Giraffe" (an animal commonly believed in Chou Dynasty China to be indecisive).

As demoralizing as this turn of events could be, it is nothing compared to the erosion of will power that our personnel will suffer. The subtle poison of the "Mystery Bar" habit will turn our decision-makers into quivering masses of indecision. How can the Country Director who has just thrown away his third Peanut Butter Cup for the day (he could have chosen a Baby Ruth in a forthright manner if they hadn't been slipping Heath Bars in the "Mystery" column lately) face his Assistant Secretary and argue for a firm, no-nonsense policy with respect to the problem of the Straits of Endemia or Trucial Trueuleneia? The truth is that he can't—his decision-making apparatus has been short-circuited by repeated acts of indecision which have worn habit patterns into his mental processes.

It is not (yet) too late to take steps, to initiate effective measures—in short, to do something! We must ban "Mystery Bars." With the exception of a few officials in S/P, G/PM and such who have a legitimate interest in game theory and who could be provided appropriate passes, all personnel must be kept from ma-

chines with "Mystery Bars" and persuaded to resume the purchasing habits of an earlier and more republican age. If we wait too long to act, we shall have to face the consequences!

RICHARD H. HOWARTH

Washington

No Hundred Flowers

WHATEVER happened to the "Department of Dissent"? I know I am not alone in missing this column, which appeared monthly for some time until August, 1964. Since then, there has been no such column, except Bill Knight's excellent little note, "On Dissent," in December, 1964. Many of your readers view the existence of this department as an encouraging sign of a searching and constructively critical attitude towards our Service. Its disappearance is cause for concern.

Could you comment on this? Surely the reason could not be lack of "dissentable" developments in the last year or two. Or have the hundred flowers bloomed?

JOHN E. WILLIAMS

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The Department of Dissent was never abolished—nothing of the sort! It faded away for lack of dissenters. Incidentally, one very articulate dissenter of the past objected to the title. Its use at the top of his article, he argued, indicated that there*

was a correct, orthodox point of view, and the editors had labeled his words as heterodox.

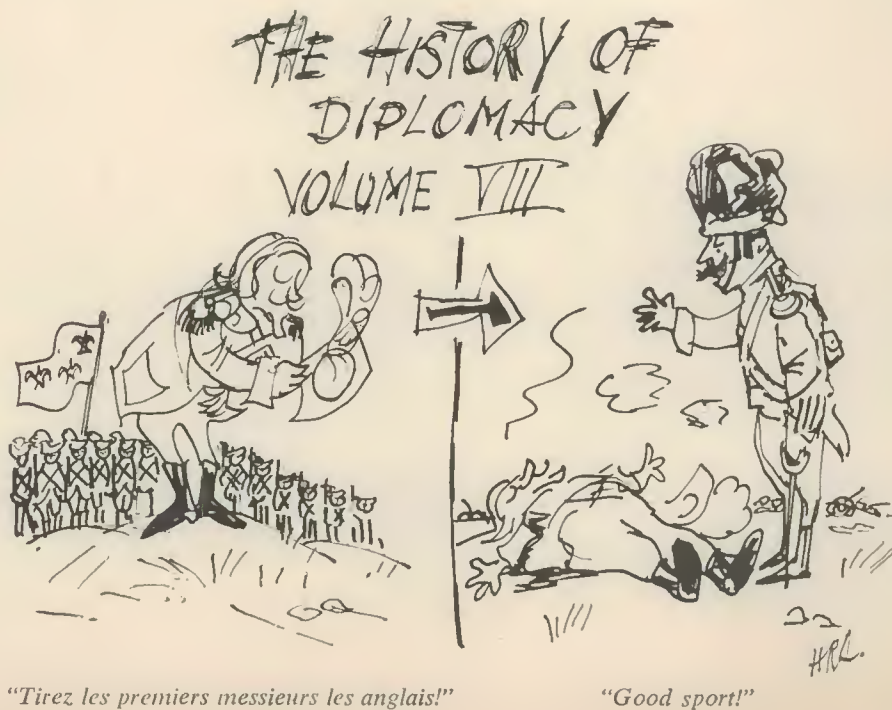
Give the Profits to AFSA

Every time I see a new instruction forbidding us from profiting from the sales of automobiles (FAMC 378 of February 1 appears to be the most recent ease in point), the thought occurs to me: why not have the Association launch a campaign to obtain some of these profits for the scholarship fund?

Has anybody ever inquired into the amounts involved? I suspect that there may be more form than substance involved in this whole campaign. One would assume that (as is true in India) Governments over the years would have moved to close this obvious loophole, and the legends are not so common as they used to be about the profits to be made at some other post. Also, I am not sure how many ears are sold at cost to Faithful Old Retainers, etc. Nevertheless, it would be worth learning whether there are countries where profits are still to be made. I imagine that it would reward the Scholarship Fund raisers even to write directly to members serving at such posts. And a bit of drum-thumping by the JOURNAL might also be in order, if there appears to be gold in this particular gimmick.

LINDSEY GRANT

New Delhi



The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 28, 1966

I. OPERATIONS

	As of March 1,		
	1964	1965	1966
Members carrying Group Life	2741	2878	2942
Group Life in force (exclusive of Reversionary)	\$49,734,950	\$52,310,650	\$53,419,550
Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan	7545	7796	8329
Claims paid during year:			
Group Life, Number	17	10	15
Group Life, Amount	\$210,250	\$173,875	\$235,850
Family Coverage, Number	7	7	10
Family Coverage, Amount	\$6,200	\$6,100	\$9,400
Accidental Death, Number	1	0	2
Accidental Death, Amount	\$17,500	—	\$35,000
Foreign Service Benefit Plan	\$607,734.43	\$704,682.01	\$908,894.42

II. NEW BENEFITS ADDED DURING YEAR

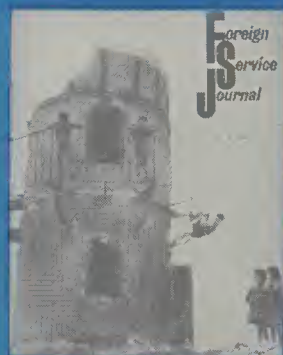
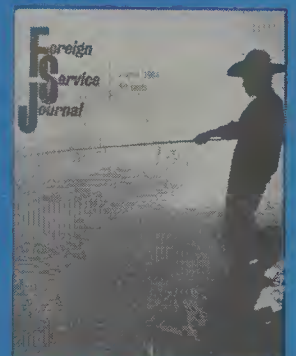
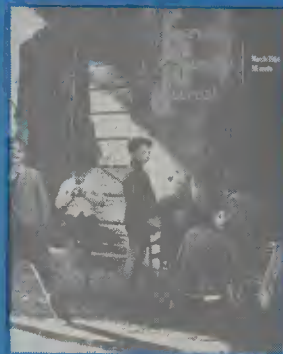
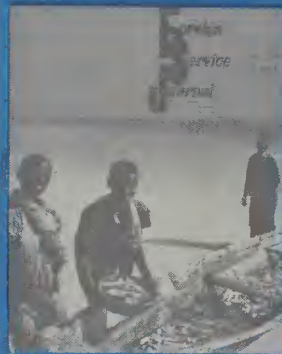
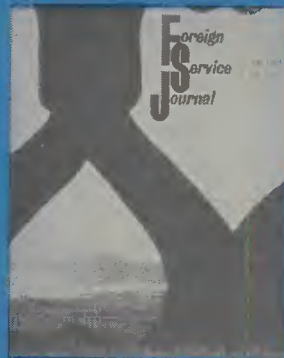
1. An increase of 20% in benefits paid for Group Life claims arising from deaths during the period March 1, 1966, to February 28, 1967 without increase in premium (does not apply to AD&D, Additional Insurance or Family Coverage).
2. Further increases in benefits and maintenance of rates under the Foreign Service Benefit Plan, see Civil Service Brochure BRI 46-61 revised January 1, 1966.

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