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# Foreign Service Journal



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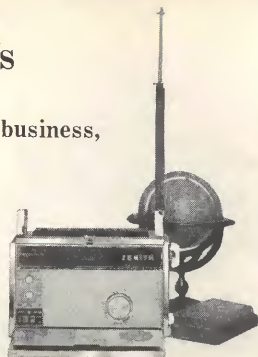
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## contents

August, 1966  
Vol. 43, No. 7

### page

- 16 LIMITED OBJECTIVES, LIMITED SUCCESS  
*by Livingston T. Merchant*
- 22 JUNIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AND THE PERSONNEL SYSTEM
- 26 MANAGEMENT STRIKES AGAIN  
*by Constance V. Stuck*
- 30 AND NOW: THE IMPATIENT AMERICANS  
*by Lothar Kahn*
- 36 GERMANY'S OTHER BERLIN  
*by Paul Brock*
- 37 AMERICAN SCHOOLS OVERSEAS  
*by Elizabeth Boles Eddison*
- 45 THE NAVY AND FOREIGN POLICY  
*by Paul H. Nitze*

OTHER FEATURES: With Our Contributors, page 8; African Kaleidoscope, page 28; Service Glimpses, page 27; Cook's Tour, by Helen K. Behrens, page 50; New Board Members, page 53.

## departments

- 4 FOCUS ON FINANCE  
*by Jay Vaxter and John Marshall*
- 10 TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO  
*by Henry B. Day*
- 33 EDITORIALS: REGIONAL ASSIGNMENTS  
AVE
- 34 WASHINGTON LETTER  
*by Loren Carroll*
- 41 THE BOOKSHELF
- 55 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



#### PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR AUGUST

Catharina Stephan, wife of FSO Ralph W. Stephan, cover.  
National Gallery of Art, "Child in a Straw Hat," painting by Mary Cassatt, page 2. This picture is one of sixty-eight that are being lent to the National Gallery by Mr. & Mrs. Paul Mellon for an indefinite period of time.

*De Gazet van Antwerpen*, Belgium, cartoon, "Comment on the Geneva Conference of the heads of the Big Four Powers," page 21.

THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC., cartoon by B. Tobey, page 23.

Daniel Lee McCarthy, FSO, photographs for "African Kaleidoscope," pp. 28-29.

S. I. Nadler, "Life & Love in the Foreign Service," p. 35. From "The Private Life of Henry VIII," with Charles Laughton.

Paul Brock, photograph, p. 36.

Herbert J. Meyle, Department of State, photograph, p. 48.

Howard R. Simpson, FSO, cartoon, p. 56.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. 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.

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#### Marriages

BAILEY-MONTGOMERY. Faith Kendall Bailey was married to FSO Robert Joseph Montgomery on April 30, in New York. Mr. Montgomery is assigned to the Economic Section, Embassy, Mexico City.

BEACH-BURROWS. DeAnn Vera Beach was married to James Christian Burrows, son of FSO and Mrs. Charles R. Burrows, on July 9, at the Washington National Cathedral.

CONNELLY-JOHNSON. Elizabeth Leslie Connelly, daughter of of FSO-retired Bernard C. Connelly and Mrs. Connelly, was married to Charles Keith Johnson on June 11, in Chevy Chase, Maryland.

JONES-NICOLOPOLOUS. Robin Virginia Lewis Jones, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. G. Lewis Jones, was married to John Anthony Nicolopolous on June 25, in the Bethlehem Chapel of the Washington Cathedral. Mr. Nicolopolous is the press attache at the Embassy of Greece in Washington.

NELSON-WINSHIP. Marion Christina Nelson was married to Peter Winship, son of FSO and Mrs. Stephen Winship, on June 18, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mr. Winship, a recipient of the New York Times scholarship at Harvard, is now in Harvard Law School.

PORTER-CLARK. Eleanor Anne Porter, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. William J. Porter was married to Gentry Clark II, on June 4, in Central Village, Massachusetts.

#### Births

LANDRY. A son, Joseph Carl, born to FSO and Mrs. Walter J. Landry, on June 10, in Bilbao, Spain. Mr. Landry is Vice Consul at Bilbao.

MURPHY. A son, Nicolas Sean, born to FSO and Mrs. Nicholas M. Murphy, on June 14, in Fairfax, Virginia.

O'CONNOR. Twins, Kathryn and Christopher, born to FSO and Mrs. Patrick T. O'Connor, on May 10, in Frankfurt/Main.

SHEPARD. A son, Warren Burke, born to FSO and Mrs. William S. Shepard, on May 3, in Singapore.

#### Deaths

BUELL. Robert L. Buell, FSO-retired, died on July 5, in Newport, Rhode Island. Mr. Buell entered the Foreign Service in 1925 and served at Calcutta, Stockholm, Peiping, London, Tientsin, Colombo, the Department, Berlin, Leipzig, Manila, Singapore, Rangoon, Leopoldville, Alexandria and as consul general in Edinburgh, before his retirement in 1952.

BYINGTON. Homer M. Byington, FSO-retired, died on July 7, in Norwalk, Connecticut. Mr. Byington entered the Foreign Service in 1897 and served at Naples, Rome, Bristol, Leeds, Hull, Palermo, and the Department. He served as a delegate to the International Conference on Emigration and Immigration at Rome and as consul general at Naples, Antwerp and Montreal before his retirement in 1944.

MATTOX. H. W. Mattox, father of FSO Henry E. Mattox, died on June 17, in Daleville, Mississippi.

SHAW. George Price Shaw, retired Ambassador, died on July 14 in New Orleans. Mr. Shaw entered the Foreign Service in 1920 after service in the Navy during World War I. He served in Mexico, Honduras, Ecuador and other Latin American countries before being named Ambassador to Nicaragua in 1948, to El Salvador in 1949 and to Paraguay in 1952. He retired in 1953.

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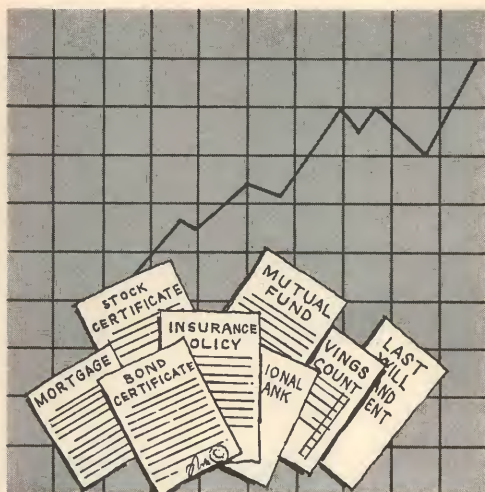


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# FOCUS ON FINANCE



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 broad spectrum of assistance that is available to them. This series of articles, the second of which follows, 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.

## Historical Development of Present Prosperity

by JAY VAWTER and JOHN MARSHALL  
Investment Counselors

As was pointed out in the initial column of "Focus on Finance" in the June issue, the great prosperity of our economy has brought more and more families up to an income level where personal financial planning is of considerable importance. Subsequent columns will discuss the many facets of personal financial planning such as savings, insurance, mutual funds, securities and estate planning. However, before discussing these separate problems, we felt it desirable to give the reader some historical background on how today's prosperity has come about. It is not difficult to trace the development of our present prosperity back 50 years just prior to the United States entry into World War I.

The economic growth and development in the United

States in the last fifty years has probably been the greatest in history for any country in a comparable period of time. This is dramatically demonstrated by the fact that per capita Disposable Personal Income (spendable income after taxes) rose from \$326 in 1916 to \$2,401 in 1965. A large portion of this increase was due to inflation but even the increase in real income available for consumption was substantial. At the beginning of this 50-year period, in 1916, we were:

1. Still on the sidelines of World War I, which changed our position from a debtor nation to a creditor nation in four short years. During this period, the Allies were compelled to become borrowers from the United States in order to finance their huge purchases of war materials in this country. At the end of the war, we found ourselves in the position of a creditor nation but this change was so rapid that we retained the attitude of a debtor nation for many years.
2. A growing industrial power moving into a world-wide position of dominance. We were just emerging from the gas-light era into the age of electricity and the automobile was beginning to displace the horse and buggy as the principal means of private transportation.

### Changing Role Of Government

Our economic philosophy was still pretty much "laissez-faire." What few government regulations existed were largely confined to tariffs, interstate commerce, currency and banking and food and drug. However, Teddy Roosevelt had "busted" a lot of "Trusts," the income tax had been adopted, the Federal Reserve System was in the toddling stage, and a brand new Department of Labor reflected the growing importance of labor unions. These were the seeds from which sprouted the vast "government sector" of our economy and the role of government as regulator, director and governor of our economy today. It took the Great Depression of the 1930's and World War II to nurture these seedlings to their present vigor.

The Great Depression of 1929-33 revealed the deficiencies of the old "laissez-faire" philosophy in our complex, modern democratic society. World War II required complete mobilization of all society under the government in a total war effort. Both of these required development of regulations, controls, participation and direction by government. It was not the first time—the transcontinental railroads were built with federal subsidy—but the extent and continuity of government participation in our economy was new.

### Depression and War Followed by Prosperity

It might be said that World War I, the Roaring Twenties, the Great Depression of the Thirties and World War II all set the stage for the phenomenal economic boom which began in 1946 and continues today. It was the developments of the Twenties and poor economic management in the Thirties which brought about the depression of the Thirties. This depression in turn was followed by the most devastating war yet known to man and this very war helped bring us out of the depression.

When World War II ended, it was expected that a substantial recession would follow. This had happened in 1919-21 following World War I and, assuming that history would repeat itself, many economists were sure the same thing would happen in 1946. However, the circumstances in 1946 were considerably different from 1919. First, we were actively engaged in World War I for only a little over a year. We had been providing substantial material for that war before our entry but our full commitment was of relatively short duration. During World War I shortages of consumer goods, while somewhat annoying, were not of the same all

encompassing consequence as in World War II.

Second, World War I had been preceded by a period of relative prosperity whereas World War II came on the heels of ten years of deep depression. Thus, late 1945 and early 1946 found the American consumer thirsting for goods of which he had been deprived for fifteen years, ten of depression and five of war. Furthermore, this consumer had a bulging bank account. During the war his income had increased steadily and in many cases his wife had also contributed to the family finances. However, war-time shortages made it virtually impossible for him to spend all of this income and thus he saved approximately 25 percent, of what he earned. The normal saving rate in peace time is around 6-8 percent.

Immediately after World War II there was in fact a substantial drop in industrial production. However, this proved to be short lived and strictly transitional. Production had to be shifted from the production of guns and tanks to automobiles and refrigerators and that it was done so quickly is truly amazing. The American consumer was clamoring for peace-time goods and we quickly found ourselves in a full-blown boom. Interestingly, the stock market refused to believe what it saw and did virtually nothing for three years.

This substantial boom tended to feed upon itself. As the huge savings from the war-time period were spent on new goods and services, this in turn generated further income for the American family which then became available for further consumption spending. Our productive capacity for consumer goods was at a low level when the war ended. Thus an enormous investment was made by American business to build up its capacity to produce the goods and services demanded by American families.

By the time the Korean conflict started in 1950, the American economy was humming along and we were able to sup-

ply this war with much less dislocation in the private sector than in World War II. Consumers continued to acquire the goods they had done without for so long and business continued to expand its capacity, for war goods as well as peace-time demands (much as is the case today with Vietnam). When the Korean conflict ended in 1953, there was a brief recession and then the boom resumed.

#### *Post War Boom Ends—Peace Time Boom Begins*

The recession of 1957 marked the end of the post-war boom as such. The needs and demands created by depression and war-time shortages had been fulfilled and our productive capacity had been built up beyond what was needed for current production. That is, we then had sufficient productive capacity to handle a substantial growth in demand for several years. In fact, only in the past three or four years have many industries finally caught up to the productive capacity built in the middle fifties.

Fifty-eight was the beginning of the new peace-time economic boom. For the first three years, through the end of 1960, this boom was rather stodgy primarily because of a lack of stimulation from the capital goods sector. As mentioned earlier, capital goods had been over-built and this removed from the economic picture a substantial element of activity. However from 1961 up to the present time our prosperity has reached levels never before witnessed.

#### *Technological Advances*

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tric lighting, telephone, "wireless" and electric power were in their infancy in 1916. All have become industrial giants and new giants undreamed of in 1916 have grown from them—household appliances, television, computers and electronics. In transportation, the internal combustion engine led to the vast automobile and airplane industries and their allied fields of oil and gasoline, service, financing, highway and airport construction and so forth. In the chemical industry there are whole new groups of materials, such as plastics, which simply did not exist before. Television existed only in the Tom Swift books.

The development of new products and industries growing from them was made possible by new techniques of manufacture, distribution, marketing and financing. It would be impossible for the present labor force to produce the quantity and variety of our present production without the methods of mass production which developed at the same time. On the other hand, present production could not be sold and enter into consumption without the modern techniques of distribution, merchandising and financing.

### *The New Economics*

Thus, the economic, political and technological developments of the past half century have brought us up to the present high level prosperity. This prosperity is unsurpassed in history and every year is reaching down further into the population structure as more and more families enjoy a standard of living that was once reserved only for the well-to-do. Under the Full Employment Act of 1946, the Government is committed to make every effort toward a goal of full utilization of our nation's human resources to provide jobs for all willing to work and to raise the overall standard of

living of our population. To the extent that this commitment results in our economy operating at or near its productive capacity, we can expect to have a continuing price inflation of modest degree.

The current economic philosophy, called the "New Economics," acknowledges the increasing role of Government as a partner with business in our economic growth. The New Economics puts great emphasis on the role of the Government's fiscal policy, that is, its power to tax and spend. Whether this new philosophy will prove to be the wave of the future remains to be seen, but certainly the tax cuts of 1964-1965 and the continued economic prosperity which followed indicate the important role which the New Economics can play. If successful, this approach will engender a more stable economic environment and will be an important influence on future personal and investment planning.

The next article, appearing in the October issue, will introduce in broad terms the basic elements of personal financial planning which have become so important as our economic prosperity has reached more and more families. Important questions to be dealt with: How much should I have in a savings account? What role should insurance play in my financial program? What about home ownership? And finally, should I invest in securities? ■

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JAMES HOWELL, A Discourse Concerning the Precedency of Kings (London, 1664)—as quoted in "The Diplomatic Corps Under Charles II and James II," by Phyllis S. Lachs.

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### INDEX TO ADVERTISERS—AUGUST, 1966

|                                |           |                                 |          |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------|
| Airways Rent-a-Car             | 53        | Houghton, A. C., & Son, Inc.    | 54       |
| Alban Towers                   | 47        | Jacob & Warwick, Inc.           | 54       |
| American Foreign Service       |           | Key, Francis Scott, Hotel       | 51       |
| Protective Ass'n               | Cover III | Liggett & Myers Tobacco         |          |
| American Security and          |           | Company                         | 13       |
| Trust Co.                      | 45        | Loomis, Sayles & Co.            | 5        |
| Beam, James B., Distilling Co. | 12        | Mid-City Sales Corporation      | 44       |
| Begg, J. F., Inc.              | 46        | National Distillers, Inc.       | 3        |
| Bell, W. & Co.                 | 6         | Restaurant Directory            | 48       |
| Brewood Engravers              | 53        | Reynolds, R. J., Tobacco Corp.  | 9        |
| Calvert School, The            | 52        | Radin, Rhea, Real Estate        | 51       |
| DACOR                          | 52        | Security National Bank          | 14       |
| DeHaven & Townsend,            |           | Security Storage Company        | 49       |
| Croutier & Bodine              | 52        | Service Investment Corporation  |          |
| deSibour, J. Blaise, & Co.     | 47        | State Department Federal        |          |
| Econo-Car Rental Service       | 52        | Credit Union                    | 53       |
| Edgewater Pharmacy             | 54        | Stuart & Maury, Inc.            | 51       |
| Firststone Tire & Rubber Co.   | 15        | Tatun Properties, Inc.          | 51       |
| General Electronics, Inc.      | 11        | Town & Country Properties, Inc. | 50       |
| General Motors, Inc.           | 7         | U.S. Lines                      | 14       |
| Giuliano Brothers              | 54        | Western Pharmacy                | 50       |
| Grace Line                     | 8         | Zenith Radio Corporation        | Cover II |
| Hicks Realty Co., Inc.         | 6         |                                 |          |

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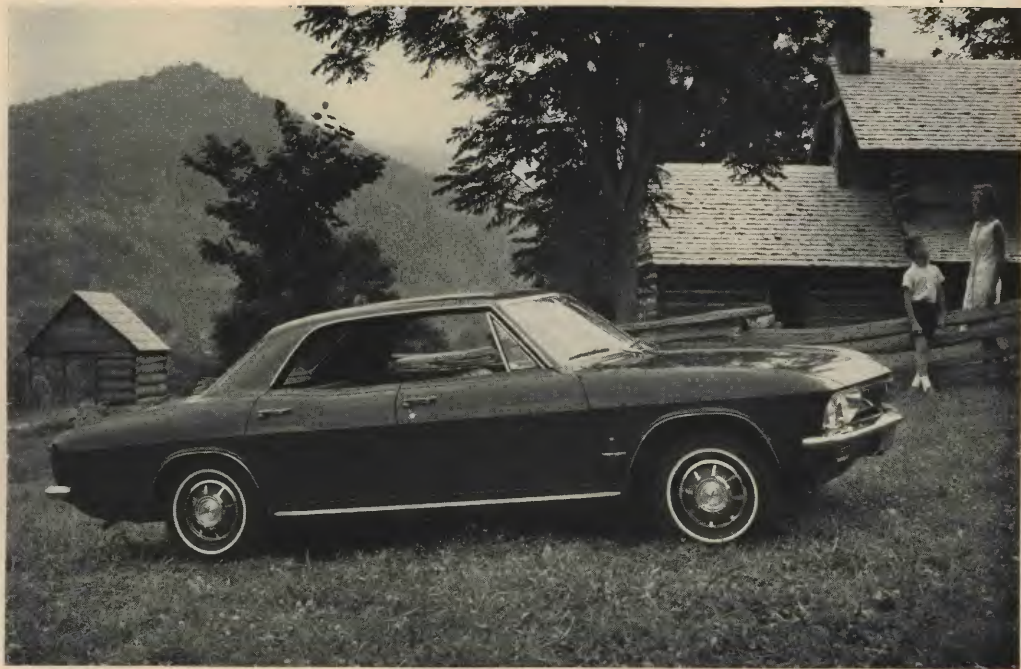
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# WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ELIZABETH BOLES EDDISON, wife of John C. Eddison, Deputy Director, Office of Central American Affairs, AID, graduated from Vassar College in 1948. Her husband's work as a development economist has taken the family to India, Puerto Rico, Burma, Pakistan and Bolivia. "American Schools Overseas," somewhat condensed here, was written in Bolivia in early 1965 for the VASSAR ALUMNAE MAGAZINE and is reprinted with permission. Mrs. Eddison is Education Chairman of the AAFSW for 1966-67.

LOTHAR KAHN, author of "And Now The Impatient Americans," page 30, is Professor of Modern Languages and International Education at Central Connecticut State College in New Britain, Connecticut. He has previously contributed to the JOURNAL, as well as COMMONWEAL, various Jewish journals and magazines abroad.

"Management Strikes Again," page 26, is the work of CONSTANCE V. STUCK. She has served in Rome, Djakarta, Moscow, Montevideo and Belgrade in budget and fiscal positions and is now assigned to CU/ARA as a program officer.

LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT entered the Department of State in early 1942 for a wartime job after sixteen years with the investment counsel firm of Scudder, Stevens & Clark in Boston and New York—the last thirteen years as a partner. Early in 1947 he was admitted to the Foreign Service and

served in various posts at home and abroad, including two terms as Ambassador to Canada and as Under Secretary for Political Affairs from 1959 to 1961. In 1962, he retired with the rank of Career Ambassador and has been pursuing various interests since. At present he is the United States Executive Director for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

HOWARD R. SIMPSON, a favorite JOURNAL cartoonist and contributor, writes that the outlook for a JOURNAL article; is not favorable since he is devoting every minute to novel number three. Novel number two, "Assignment for a Mercenary," was published by Harper & Row in 1965.

Our cover artist, Catharina Baart Stephan, is married to FSO Ralph W. Stephan, Jr. The cover was painted in Benghazi, Libya where Mrs. Stephan had a one-man show with USIS during her husband's tour of duty. Mrs. Stephan was born in the Netherlands and came to this country when she was twelve. She received her art training in Washington, painting portraits and preparing for an exhibition. Before her marriage Mrs. Stephan taught painting at George Washington University and has lectured at the National Gallery of Art and the Department of Agriculture Graduate School. She exhibited with the J. B. Neumann and Nierendorf Galleries in New York.



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# 25 YEARS AGO

AUGUST 1941

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

## Seven Men on a Flying Carpet

That is the title Guy W. Ray gave to his account of the trip. On August 11, 1941, five members of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Louis Rabaut left Miami to visit Foreign Service posts in Latin America. A JOURNAL editorial said their purpose was to examine all the factors entering into the relations of the other American Republics with the United States, appraise the results of our efforts, and obtain first-hand knowledge of conditions under which the Foreign Service worked. Jack K. McFall, then Executive Secretary of the Appropriations Committee, and Guy Ray, Foreign Service officer, accompanied the group. They visited Trinidad and 17 American Republics. They returned on October 14 and in this period of 64 days inspected 30 posts.

## North Atlantic Defense

Twenty-five years ago diplomatic relations were established between the United States and Iceland. The Honorable Lincoln McVeigh was named the first Minister to Iceland. Bertel E. Kuniholm opened a Consulate in Reykjavik around April 1940. H. Bartlett Wells was assigned there later, first as Vice Consul, then as Third Secretary. The German occupation of Denmark had obliged Iceland to cancel its Union with Denmark. British forces, which had first landed May 10, 1940,

were being withdrawn and replaced by American forces who first landed there July 7, 1941. The agreement with the United States stipulated that diplomatic representatives should be exchanged.

## Commissioner and Agent-General

Under an agreement for an exchange of envoys, the United States opened in New Delhi in August 1941 the office of the United States Commissioner to India. The Commissioner was the Honorable Thomas M. Wilson, who had the rank of Minister. Helping him open the office was Norris S. Haselton, previously Vice Consul in Calcutta, named Secretary to the Commissioner, and two young men, Foreign Service clerks. The staff was augmented 25 percent a few weeks later with the arrival of J. Lampton Berry, also designated Secretary. The representative of India who came to Washington was Gija Shankar Bajpai and his title was Agent-General.

## No Trespassing

On August 14, 1941, the Department of State instituted an identification pass system for admission of employees and visitors. By then the Department had six annexes, the largest at 515 22nd Street, the next largest the Winder Building on 17th Street. Under contract, the Willson Magazine Camera Company of Philadelphia set up equipment in the Foreign Service School room to photograph 1800 employees and in the first two days took pictures of 1500.

## 1942 Models

Harry Villard's annual mid-summer review of American automobiles reported on wartime curtailment and substitute materials to conserve strategic metals. Conversion of factory space was also a factor in reducing production of 1942 models. Production of convertibles had stopped earlier and dealers

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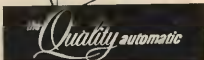


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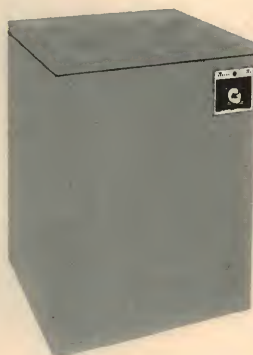


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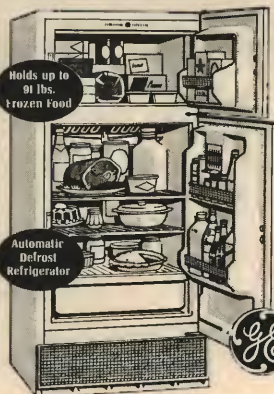
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- Front controls for picture and sound are easy to see and use.
- Slim silhouette styling. Permits versatile use in the home.

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were sold out. Progress on amenities was interrupted. He noted that only a little more perfecting was then needed to have allowed as standard equipment such items as fluid drives, automatic tops, and gear shift levers on the steering wheel or none at all.

#### Malaprop

To stiffen this column with a little contemporary zest, the Honorable Sheldon Mills, who was Second Secretary in Santiago 25 years ago and after serving as Ambassador in Ecuador, Afghanistan, and Jordan is now settled in Santa Barbara, has clipped from his home town paper two anecdotes about U Thant told to UCSB students by Dr. Ralph Bunche. After praising U Thant's spirit of cooperation Dr. Bunche said "He trusts everybody—he's almost too nice. Once I told him 'U Thant, it's lucky you weren't born a girl.' He asked why. I said, 'because you can't say no.'" Then to show U Thant's humor, Dr. Bunche cited the lady who was enthusing over U Thant's speech. "It was simply superfluous," she bubbled. The Secretary General, taken aback, recovered and decided to play along. "Do you think I should consider publishing it posthumously?" he inquired, tongue in cheek. "Oh," the wide-eyed woman replied, "the sooner the better."

#### Births



On August 15, 1941, a daughter, Barbara, was born to Mr. and Mrs. William Belton at Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo) where William was serving as Third Secretary and Vice Consul. Barbara graduated from Barnard in 1962, worked a year as a Welfare Officer with the Territorial Administration of Papua-New Guinea, and in April 1965 married Sigfrid Yngvesson, a Swedish physicist. She has been working for a Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of California

in Berkeley, where her husband has been doing graduate research. They plan to move in September to Göteborg, Sweden, to live.

#### Promotion

George W. Caldwell, Jr., who retired in 1963 and has been directing a business of supplying drivers to drive your car anywhere, writes from Houston that his son George ('Corky') has been appointed Sales Manager of the Hotel America there at age 23, the youngest sales manager of a major hotel in the United States. In August 1964, Corky married Jodi Dobyns, daughter of Edward P. Dobyns, Executive Director of the Bureau of African Affairs. They met when their fathers were serving in Copenhagen.

#### Changes of post 25 years ago

John Farr Simmons, Ottawa to Rio de Janeiro as Counselor of Embassy

George D. Hopper, Winnipeg to St. John's as Consul General  
Jefferson Patterson, Berlin to Lima as First Secretary  
Don C. Bliss, Jr., Calcutta to London as Acting Commercial Attache

Robert L. Buell, Berlin to Singapore as Consul  
William C. Affeld, Kobe to Guatemala as Third Secretary  
Adrian B. Colquitt, Martinique to Calcutta as Vice Consul  
Carlos C. Hall, Medellin to La Paz as Second Secretary  
James A. Noel, Mazatlan to Guadalajara as Vice Consul  
Raymond Phelan, Barranquilla to Agua Prieta as Vice Consul  
Archibald R. Randolph, Bogota to Caracas as Assistant Commercial Attache  
Gerald Warner, Taihoku to Kobe as Consul

#### From Department of State to the field:

Nathaniel P. Davis, Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Administration, assigned Foreign Service Inspector  
Harold D. Finley to Mexico City as First Secretary  
George F. Bogardus to Montreal as Vice Consul

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#### Appointed FSOs and assigned as Vice Consuls:

William W. Walker, Colon  
John H. Burns, Ciudad Juarez  
John A. Calhoun, Tijuana  
Ernest V. Siracusa, Mexico City  
William L. Blue, Niagara Falls  
W. Paul O'Neill, Winnipeg  
Paul F. Du Vivier, St. John's, Newfoundland  
Edwin W. Martin, Hamilton, Bermuda  
Edward L. Freers, Port of Spain  
Robert H. McBride, Habana  
Robert S. Folsom, Port-au-Prince  
Stuart W. Rockwell, Panama  
Henry Dearborn, Barranquilla

#### Assigned to the Department from the field:

Theodore C. Achilles, Third Secretary at London  
William Barnes, Third Secretary, Buenos Aires  
Homer S. Fox, Acting Commercial Attaché, London  
Calvin H. Oakes, Consul, Calcutta  
Warden McK. Wilson, First Secretary, Rome

### FORTY YEARS AGO

A retired officer recalls that in the summer of 1926 he was working at a Grenfell mission in Northwest River, Labrador, and was without any news for nearly two months. The first items of news on return were two: that Germany had been admitted to the League of Nations and that Rudolph Valentino had died.

J. K. Davis submitted a business letter about an ignorant right arm:

Regarding the matter of escaping penalty for non-delivery of machine, there is a way to creep round same by diplomat. We must make a statement of big strike occur in our factory (of course big untrue). Please address my firm in enclosed form of letter and believe

this will avoid penalty of case. As Mr. E is a most religious and competent man and also heavily upright and godly it fears me that useless apply for his signature. Please attach name by your office making forge, but no cause to fear prison happening as this often operated by other merchants of highest integrity.

It is highest unfortunate Mr. E so god-like and excessive awkward for business purpose. I think much better add little serpent-like wisdom to upright manhood and so found a good business edifice.

In the same issue there is an article by Alford Pearce Dennis, Vice Chairman of the Tariff Commission on "What Lies Back of Foreign Trade." He points out that:

It is not so simple a thing to appraise the spiritual and intangible influences which, though unseen, may prove a wall of adamant in the commercial intercourse of peoples. ■

#### Topic of the Day

As June waned, the pale Washington sky lost all vestige of color; it beat down on the city like a gigantic klieg light. People began to hide indoors like air-conditioned troglodytes, shunning the hot white glare of the streets. More than once, as she emerged to face the deserted pavements, Ellen caught herself scanning the horizon like a mariner in search of a cloud. It was the same nervous feeling the Near East had produced in her after months of monotonous sunshine without a smell of rain. If the bora or the sirocco had their strange effect on the lives of those who were subjected to them, so too, she felt, did the bland, windless atmosphere of Washington affect its residents—"The Care of Devils," by Sylvia Press. Beacon Press, 1958.

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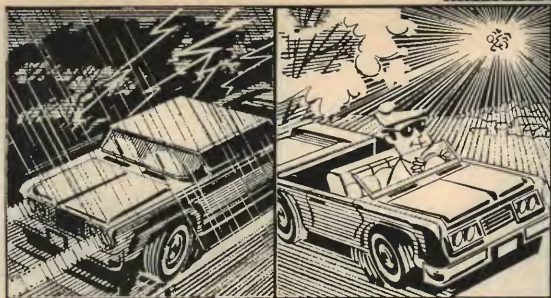
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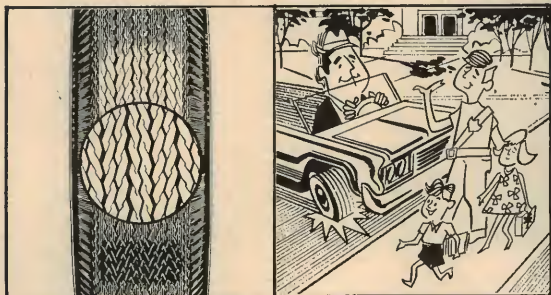


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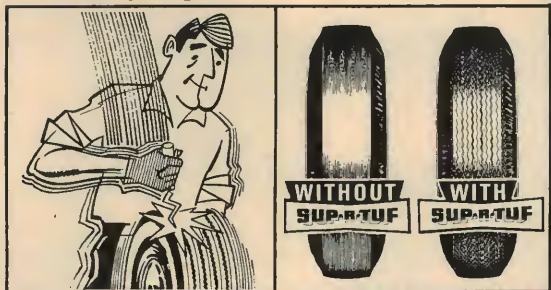
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*Recollections of the Summit Conference, Geneva, 1955*

# Limited Objectives Limited Success

A FEW DAYS after the Summit Conference in July 1955, I found myself on the night train to Lisbon. What we had done at Geneva, it seemed to me, could be considered a success. As the train bore south, I jotted down my impressions. Our purposes there, I wrote, had been limited ones; to identify the issues, designate forums to negotiate them, and endow these negotiations with a new spirit or impetus. Certainly the four issues had been exhaustively defined: the reunification of Germany, general European security, disarmament and the need for increased contacts between the East and the West. We had remanded the first two questions to subsequent meetings of Foreign Ministers, assigned the question of disarmament to the United Nations, and provided, on the last subject, that appropriate experts should report to the Foreign Ministers.

These were clear diplomatic gains over the pre-summit period. The most important result of the Summit, however, was to remove from the minds of the Soviet leaders the fear that the United States would attack the Soviet Union. The President, by his character and patent sincerity, convinced them of our peaceful intentions. It can be argued, I suppose, that releasing the Soviets from these fears may have left them free to pursue a course of greater risk-taking and Cold War maneuvers. I am convinced, however, that it removed the dangerous risk of Soviet action based on a miscalculation of our intentions. The risk of war was lessened.

Perhaps not all the Russians, and least of all Molotov, were affected by this new spirit. Molotov has the mind of a chessplayer and the manner of a glacier; he is an impenetrable man. But the others, Bulganin, Khrushchev, and especially Zhukov, listened to the President with rapt attention. Zhukov watched the President each time he spoke with an almost avuncular pride and, when Mr. Eisenhower was finished, Zhukov would look at Bulganin and Khrushchev almost as if to say "Didn't I tell you he was this sort of man?"

A year after I made these brief notes on the night train, I expanded them into a lengthier but still personal

account of the Conference. I am pleased this account has now been reworked for publication in the JOURNAL.

The Summit Conference at Geneva in July 1955 had its origin in Sir Winston Churchill's mind. He had broached the subject two years before in a public speech and he pressed the idea privately on President Eisenhower. Sir Winston's successor to the leadership of the Conservative party, Sir Anthony Eden, had had no great enthusiasm for the proposal originally, but in the course of events, which included a hard election campaign in Britain, Sir Anthony publicly declared himself in favor of the meeting. I felt it must have come as something of a shock to the old gentleman to learn of his protégé's sudden conversion.

Secretary Dulles, and presumably the President as well, had resisted the proposal, for there were real dangers in it. The inflexible positions of the Soviets on disarmament, the reunification of Germany and the Austrian State Treaty had been made painfully clear at the Berlin Foreign Ministers' Conference in January-February of 1954. So long as there appeared to be no hope of any constructive agreement from a meeting with the Soviets at the highest level, then such a meeting was likely to produce only one of two results, equally full of risk. The first would be a complete impasse, recorded for the world to see, with the attendant risk that defeatism would grow. It might even give grounds for the fatalistic assumption that war alone could resolve the issues that divide the world.

The other risk was that in an effort to avoid the above prospect, the conferees would impale themselves on another horn of the same dilemma. This would produce at the conclusion of a Summit Meeting an optimistic string of generalities which would mislead public opinion and arouse totally unfulfillable hopes. The free world could not relax if the danger remained unchanged.

There was also, on our side, an anxiety to avoid committing the President's prestige if failure was virtually certain and the further desire to avoid giving to the Soviets an appearance of respectability, which even the minimum of social functions connected with the conference would afford.

By late spring of 1955, however, new developments had modified these considerations. In March the Russians revealed a serious willingness to negotiate the Austrian State Treaty, and there were other evidences that Soviet diplomacy was entering a new and more flexible phase. Moreover, with the Federal Republic of Germany now sovereign and a member of both NATO and the Western European Union, our own Western house was in good order.

On Friday evening, May 6, 1955, I left for Europe with the Secretary for the spring Ministerial Meeting of NATO in Paris. We had ten hard days' work ahead of us. On Monday the North Atlantic Council was meeting to bring Germany into the Alliance, all the necessary agreements and treaties having just been ratified by all the parties concerned. There was also much business to be done with the French, concerting with them and also with the British our policies in Indochina. Finally, the Austrian treaty was in the last stages of negotiation and we looked forward to moving on from Paris to Vienna to sign it.

As we were flying the Atlantic, the Secretary had in his pocket authority from the President to work out in Paris with the British, through Harold Macmillan, Premier Faure of France and Chancellor Adenauer, who would be on hand for the NATO meeting, the terms of an invitation to Bulganin for a meeting "at the Summit." European agreement on the draft invitation was readily forthcoming and a tripartite note was finally dispatched to the Russians, as I recall, on Tuesday, May 10, 1955.

Three days later the last crucial disagreement on the Austrian Treaty had been dissolved by a Russian concession and we left for Vienna. It was a gorgeous spring day when we arrived. Lilacs and tulips were in full bloom. On the road to the city there were groups of cheering men, women and children. A holiday spirit was in the air and it made us all feel good.

The evening before the Sunday signing of the treaty the Secretary gave a small stag supper at our Embassy for the Foreign Ministers, and though Molotov was not definitely authorized to accept the Western invitation, he made it perfectly clear that it was "favorably considered" in Moscow. An informal understanding was reached that the meeting would take place in July, probably in Geneva.

The next morning, Sunday, May 16, the treaty was signed, with attendant ceremony and State entertainment. The crowds were an extraordinary testimony to the happiness of the Austrians and to the vitality of nationalism. The population of Vienna and all its suburbs is barely one and a half million. Fully one-third that number of people lined the route to the Belvedere Palace.

Within the Palace a scant half-dozen men from each delegation gathered around a long table to sign the treaty. The small number was not set by the Austrian Foreign Office, but by engineers, as there seems to have been a limit to the weight the floor would bear. The rest of the delegations and dozens of Austrians waited cautiously in doorways and adjacent rooms.

The signing ended ten years of occupation and waiting for Austria. By early fall all troops would be gone from Austria. For the first time since VE Day in May 1945, the Red Army was moving back toward Russia's borders. The consequences for the satellites and for Russia's rela-

tions with them seemed to me to be portentous. I felt sure an irreversible trend had been put into motion slowly, almost invisibly, but surely. The wind would carry the mood of the crowds that Sunday past state frontiers, border guards and iron curtains. These barriers could no longer be counted on to prevent hope and nationalism from penetrating the Soviet Union's empire. This was of the greatest significance for a Summit Conference.

The Cold War had not completely ended in Austria, however. After the signing everyone retired to the drawing rooms, sturdier places apparently, for champagne. A balcony overlooked the Palace grounds where 25,000 Austrians, overrunning police lines, had gathered to cheer. The applause was deafening, especially after the four Foreign Ministers appeared together on the balcony. The Austrian Foreign Minister suggested that the Secretary, Pinay and Macmillan appear singly to the crowd. Molotov was not deceived. As each Western Minister moved toward the balcony, Molotov sprinted to his side, and appeared there with him. He was taking no chances that the relative unpopularity of the Soviets would be audibly registered in decibels.

There was a certain constraint in the room: many were thinking with annoyance about an impropriety committed by Molotov only a few minutes before. Although it had been agreed by the Foreign Ministers that each would speak briefly, limiting himself to the Austrian Treaty, Molotov, in a thirty minute harangue (longer than the other three put together) addressed himself over the heads of the Austrians to another audience: the Germans. "There should be no postponement," he said, "of the German problem as well." He referred to new obstacles "which seriously complicate the situation."

### The Geneva Conference

Many heads must have harbored a memory of Molotov's words when the curtain rose on the Conference at 10:00 Monday morning, July 18, 1955. Dag Hammarskjöld welcomed the four Heads of Government on behalf of the United Nations. The First Plenary Session was held in the Council Chamber of the old League of Nations Headquarters, the Palais des Nations, overlooking the lake on the outskirts of Geneva. In this chamber all the meetings of the Conference were held, except during the final tense day when, in the effort to resolve the impasse on the terms of the Directive, each Chief of Government, with three members of his delegation, retired to a small adjacent conference room. In the center of the larger room was a four-sided table, open in the center and with five chairs on each side of it. For us, of course, the President was in the middle chair, with the Secretary on his right and I to the right of the Secretary. To the left of the President sat Douglas MacArthur and to his left was Herman Phleger. Then, behind this phalanx were another five chairs occupied by Charles Bohlen, Dillon Anderson, James Hagerty, Llewellyn E. Thompson and Robert Bowie.

Facing us were the British. Eden was in the center, with Macmillan on his right and Sir Ivan Kirkpatrick, the dapper, shrewd cynical Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office, on his right. Sir Norman Brook, the Secretary of the Cabinet and one of the most silent men I have ever met, was on Sir Anthony's left; and Sir Harold Caccia was left of Sir Norman.

It was clear that Eden wanted to go a long way in being specific at Geneva on suggestions to meet Soviet fears of a unified and rearmed Germany. Meeting in Washington the week before the Conference, the Secretary ably argued the case against being too specific on schemes which had been inadequately studied in detail and whose repercussions on Adenauer and in Germany might cause difficulty. Pinay had supported the Secretary, but could offer little on the basic approach the French would take. It appeared that Faure had not yet confided in his Foreign Secretary.

I was especially fond and respectful of Pinay. A neat man in appearance, usually calm in manner and cheerful, he can nonetheless erupt on occasion with unexpected violence. Once, in 1952, when he was Premier, a Communist deputy attacked him in the Assembly for capitalist exploitation of labor. Pinay owns and runs a tannery in central France. "Thank God I work in leather," said Pinay in a venomous reply, "and not, as my Communist opponent, in rope." Molotov knew Pinay could be infuriated and seemed to delight in provoking him. In June, in a Paris meeting before the Conference, Pinay assailed Molotov for Moscow's control of the French Communist party, which was then more troublesome than ever, "What is the trouble with France?" asked Molotov coldly, "Has it no police force?" When the Western Foreign Ministers met in Washington a week later, Pinay was still angry.

Faure was less forthright. Not until we arrived in Geneva and the Western Heads of Government met to discuss our respective offerings at the Conference opening the next day, did Faure completely reveal himself. Without preamble, the French Prime Minister drew a manuscript from his pocket and read us a major proposal for the control of armaments by economic measures, principally fiscal and budgetary devices. He had the further proposal that the savings from defense should be paid into a common fund to be administered by an international organization for the benefit of the underdeveloped areas of the world. Both the President and Eden jumped on him with considerable, but far from total, success. I was a bit uneasy, but unnecessarily; the cooperation and respect between the Western leaders was excellent throughout the Conference and the Russians discovered no chinks in the armor.

At the Conference, Faure, the Prime Minister, and Pinay, the Foreign Minister, had brought with them something of a personal entourage as well as experts from the Quai D'Orsay. Pinay sat to the right of Faure, and Joxe, the French Ambassador to Moscow, to the left. Next to Pinay was Roland de Margerie, one of the very best in the French Foreign Service, and next to de Margerie was Berard, a Faure man.

The Russians were to our right. Bulganin was in the center, flanked by Khrushchev and Zhukov on his right and Molotov and Gromyko on his left. The Russian back row was largely composed of Molotov's old crew of hand-picked hatchet men: Vinogradov from Paris, Zarubin from Washington, Malik from London and Pushkin, later to go to Bonn. The fifth seat was occupied by various men in the course of the conference.

Zhukov made by far the best impression on me. I looked over the Marshall carefully and was impressed by his dignity, his soldierly bearing and the intelligence in his face. He had obviously been included in the

Soviet delegation because of his former association with the President, and he met with the latter twice alone, the second time after the "open skies" proposal, when Bulganin and Khrushchev apparently tapped their military cohort to tell the President that his proposal was more an intelligence scheme than an inspection device. Zhukov didn't gain the Russians any yardage.

After each delegation briefly greeted the others, the President opened the business of the Conference. What he said was short but it covered all the ground. He spoke with force and great earnestness. "We are here in response to a universal urge." He went on to say that while we could not solve in a few days all of the problems of the world, it was "necessary that we talk frankly about the concrete problems which create tension between us and about the way to begin in solving them." The President undertook to describe the issues he thought should be discussed: the unification of Germany by free elections, taking into account "the legitimate security interests of all concerned"; the right of peoples to choose their own form of government and the fact that certain peoples of Eastern Europe had been deprived of this right, notwithstanding wartime pledges; the problem of communication and human contacts among our peoples; the problem of international communism and its 38 years of subversive activity throughout the world; and finally, "the overriding problem of disarmament." He spoke of the possibility of frightful surprise attacks and the need for effective mutual inspection. The President closed, after a reference to the need "to press forward in developing the use of atomic energy for constructive purposes," with an appeal to inject "a new spirit into our diplomacy; and to launch fresh negotiations under conditions of good augury."

After the translation, Faure spoke. His statement was long—nearly three times the President's. He spoke well and confidently. The first two-thirds dealt exhaustively and effectively with the problem of Germany. To end the cold war it is necessary to end the "brutal fact" of the division of Germany, he said. Faure then disposed of the hypothetical solution of the German problem by the "neutralization" of Germany. He first stated and supported with detailed reasons why Germany "cannot and must not be neutralized." It was an impressive exposition and doubly so coming from a Frenchman.

Then Faure came to "the constructive organization of peace: disarmament." He left the impression that his scheme for economic and budgetary controls which he had sprung on us the day before and from which the President and Eden had not been able to shake him would provide all the necessary safeguards. When Faure finished it was lunch time and the Conference recessed.

Eden, when he spoke after lunch, was as brief as the President had been, and just as effective. Eden's languor in manner and delivery is beguiling, for his intelligence is keen and his prose is terse. "As long as Germany is divided," he said, "Europe will be divided. . . . To reunify Germany will not of itself increase or reduce any threat which may be thought to exist to European security."

Then Eden came to the real meat of the Western position as it had been developed in the past two months. It is worth quoting the key paragraph in full for it contained the heart of the new and bold offer we were prepared to outline in our all-out effort to achieve the uni-

fication of Germany. We had moved a great distance from the Berlin Conference, where the central Western proposal was the "Eden Plan" for free elections. Eden went to the heart of our new offer:

"As I have said, our purpose is to ensure that the unification of Germany and her freedom to associate with countries of her choice shall not involve any threat to anybody. There are no doubt many ways of doing this. To illustrate what I have in mind, let me give some examples. These will consist partly of actions and partly of assurances. Let us take the latter first. We would be prepared to be parties to a security pact of which those around this table and a united Germany might be members. By its terms each country could declare itself ready to go to the assistance of the victim of aggression, whoever it might be. There are many forms which such a pact might take. We would be ready to examine them and to set out our views about them. We would propose to inscribe any such agreement under the authority of the United Nations. It would also be our intention that if any member country should break the peace that country would forfeit thereby any rights which it enjoys at present under existing agreements.

"Secondly, we would be ready to discuss and try to reach agreement, as to the total of forces and armaments on each side in Germany and the countries neighboring Germany. To do this, it would be necessary to join in a system of reciprocal control to supervise the arrangement effectively. All those represented here would, we hope, be partners in this, together with a united Germany. It would be understood that any proposals in this field would not exclude or delay the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission, to which we attach great importance.

"Is there some further assurance we can give each other? There is one which I certainly think should be considered. We should be ready to examine the possibility of a demilitarized area between the East and the West."

Eden closed with the expression of hope that before the Conference ended agreement could be reached on the outline essence of what had just been proposed.

All then turned to Bulganin. He spoke quietly and in a low voice. He might almost have been the chairman of a large charity organization delivering his annual report. Almost—but not exactly.

First, Bulganin claimed for Russia credit for everything that in past months had relaxed international tensions: "the termination of bloodshed in Korea and the cessation of hostilities in Indochina"; the Austrian Treaty; the "normalization of relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia"; the Bandung Conference and Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union; and finally the Russian offer to establish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Then Bulganin went on to rehash the Soviet proposal of May 10 on disarmament. Referring to the President's statement, he said he was in complete agreement with the need to eliminate artificial barriers between the two peoples. Bulganin droned on. The propaganda content was excessively high. He made a polite verbal bow to Faure's economic scheme for disarmament control as "worthy of careful examination."

Bulganin then launched into his main thesis—European security was the main thing. It was clear that any unity for Germany was a matter for the more distant future.

"It must be admitted that the remilitarization of Western Germany and its integration into military groupings of the Western Powers now represent the main obstacle to its unification." His main proposal was the Berlin Conference one of a "system of collective security with the participation of all European nations and the United States of America." The change from Berlin was to promote the United States from observer status to participant. There was also the twist of advancing in two steps instead of one. In the first the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty would remain in force. In the second stage they would be liquidated and thereby the presence of the United States driven from the continent of Europe. This was an unalterable objective of Soviet policy.

Bulganin brushed off the President's request that the satellites should be discussed. "To raise this question at this conference means interference in the internal affairs of these states." He then added that the subject of "so-called 'international communism' cannot be considered appropriate." Bulganin turned briefly to the Far East, claiming that Taiwan had become a "dangerous hotbed of complications" there. To continue to deprive Communist China of "its" seat in the United Nations, he said, "is not only abnormal but also inadmissible." He closed by calling for the "broad development of international cultural and scientific cooperation" and declaring that the Soviet Government "will do all it can in order that the conference may justify the people's craving for a peaceful and tranquil life."

Thus, on the first day of the Conference, it was starkly clear that the Soviets were as adamant as ever concerning the reunification of Germany. The basic Soviet position was that German unity would follow in time as well as importance the acceptance of the Soviet's concept of European security. And that concept, put simply, was the dissolution of NATO, the withdrawal of all American forces from the continent of Europe, and the closing down of all bases on "foreign" soil. The thesis was unacceptable to the Germans, to us, and what was even more important, to the French and the British.

This was the Soviets' long-term purpose but I think it was supported and reinforced by other reasons carrying great weight in their minds. First, they genuinely feared the Germans as fighting men. History gave them cause and one could understand such a fear. As our proposals proved, we of the West were ready to go a long way to meet this understandable concern. But if the history of past German invasions was clear in their minds, they were overlooking the lessons of Versailles and also, I think, the strength of the inevitable future drives of the Germans for unity. It was worse than stupid to count on keeping that vital nation divided. It was deadly dangerous.

Yet a year later Khrushchev was reported saying to a visiting French delegation, "Fifty million Germans against us is better than seventy. You keep your Germans and we'll keep ours."

The Soviets knew that the East Germans would vote overwhelmingly anti-communist in any genuinely free election. Reunification under the Eden Plan would liquidate the satellite regime of the GDR. Having pulled the Red Army out of Austria and accepted "different roads to Socialism" in Belgrade, the Soviets probably said to themselves, "we can't toss the GDR at this time

to the wolves or we'll put into risk the whole satellite system. Later perhaps, but not now."

There was no doubt in my mind of the solidity of the British and French on our agreed position on Germany. What I was not so sure of, however, was whether in their deep anxiety to have the Summit Conference generally considered a success, they might accept language which would be construed as subordinating in point of time as well as importance the unification of Germany to European security. Without unification and without a unified Germany securely knitted into the fabric of the Western world, in all its peaceful political and economic as well as in collective defense arrangements, "European security" was an illusion. But the immediate risk was that the eagerness on the part of the French or the British to reach an agreement with the Soviets at Geneva could result in the acceptance of language which would dismay the Germans and irreparably damage the position of Adenauer's Government. I left the conference room very discouraged.

The next morning the Foreign Ministers met to agree on an agenda. There was a brush over the Secretary's vigorous effort to get the satellites and international communism on the order paper. Molotov was not to be moved on those issues. He counterattacked with Bulganin's proposal of the day before that the Conference should discuss "the ending of the Cold War," the Far Eastern situation and the policy of neutrality. Most of the debate was between Molotov and the Secretary but Macmillan and Pinay gave him effective support on every point. Molotov finally abandoned this proposal and one by one the four ministers agreed on an agenda satisfactory, on the whole, to us. The problem of Germany and European Security was the first item, linked and in that sequence. Then Disarmament and, last, the Development of East-West Contacts.

Tuesday and Wednesday the discussion of Germany and European security proceeded fruitlessly. The deadlock I had foreseen became a reality, to the growing impatience of the President, who sought to move the Conference on to other subjects.

On Wednesday evening I was called to the President's villa. When I arrived a meeting was just starting in the Library. The President was in an easy chair by the fireplace with the Secretary beside him. Dillon Anderson was there and General Andrew Goodpaster was sitting by the door. All the others were recent arrivals from Paris: Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander for NATO in Europe, and longtime friend of the President; Harold Stassen and Nelson Rockefeller, Presidential Special Assistants; Admiral Radford, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Robert Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defense and one of the most competent men in the government.

The subject was disarmament, which was on the Conference agenda for the next afternoon. The forthcoming "open skies" proposal was discussed at length. There was no argument raised against it or its unveiling on Thursday. The question most seriously debated was whether or not it should be included in a comprehensive statement by the President on disarmament in all its phases or whether he should confine his speech to putting forward the "open skies" proposal. I felt strongly that when the President spoke on the subject of disarmament at the Summit Conference the entire world would

expect him to deal at some length with the whole complicated subject and hence the "open skies" proposal should be handled as one section in his statement or in a separate later intervention. After considerable discussion the President decided to make an opening statement covering the general subject. He did not apparently then decide whether to include "open skies" in his opening remarks or leave that for later injection into the session.

After the meeting I realized with a start that three days of the Conference were gone. The President had already agreed to stay on through Saturday, two full days longer than had been originally proposed and agreed. So we had only three days to go. We had got nowhere so far on German reunification nor on European security. We had not yet even discussed Disarmament or East-West contacts. It was hard to see that evening the stuff out of which any closing communiqué or directive could be made.

Disarmament had been adopted as the principal topic for that afternoon's discussion, but the report of the Foreign Ministers on their progress—or rather, lack of it—on German reunification precipitated, for a while, renewed and fruitless debate on this subject. As they so often do the Soviets injected a new piece of paper, copies of which were circulated at the table practically as the discussion opened. It was labeled, as always, "Proposal by the Soviet Delegation." It purported to be a statement of the basic premises of the Treaty which they had proposed be negotiated between "the existing groups of states in Europe." It was short and contained nothing new, but it was irritating to have it dropped on the table in that fashion and at that time. The President, who had the first turn to speak on the subject, disposed of it with a touch of asperity.

Still debate ground on. It was getting late when Bulganin, as Chairman, finally suggested that the Conference now devote its attention to the item of Disarmament. Thunderclouds were over the mountains across the Lake and the sky was darkening behind the President as, at Bulganin's suggestion, he led off on the new subject. Before he started the President asked the Secretary if he should leave "open skies" for the second round. It was getting late and he might not have a second turn so we advised him to include it in his general presentation.

The President had a prepared text and he followed it closely as he started. He pointed out the complexity of the subject, the need to find agreement but the overriding requirement that any agreement be supported and safeguarded by an adequate inspection system. Then the President looked up from his text and turned to the Russians. He spoke from memory but he never hesitated for a word. The depth of his earnestness and seriousness was so apparent that one could have heard a pin drop to the floor.

"I should address myself principally," he said, "to the Delegates from the Soviet Union, because our two great countries admittedly possess new and terrible weapons in quantities which do give rise . . . to fears and dangers of surprise attack." He then suggested that as an immediate, practical step the United States and the Soviets should exchange blueprints of their military establishments and provide facilities for aerial photography of each other's country. The President made clear that

this was a beginning . . . a beginning which would reduce mutual distrust . . . and that it was designed to promote rather than displace a comprehensive system of inspection and disarmament.

This was the "open skies" proposal, and the Russians gave the appearance of having been turned to stone. Within seconds of his last words, there was a tremendous clap of thunder and every light in the room went out. I am sure that I was not the only one through whose mind flashed the thought that this was an underline from On High. In the semi-darkness the President chuckled, "By golly," he said, "I didn't think what I said would have that effect!"

The dramatic effect of the proposal was greater than any other effect, unfortunately. The Russians, when they recovered, rather belatedly, condemned the proposal as an intelligence scheme, and the sense of deadlock grew in the minds of us all. In my notes I jotted down that Friday was "a vile day." It wasn't just the rain. Saturday seemed to be no better. All of us knew that we were at an impasse with the Russians on the German section of the directive, as the joint communiqué which the Conference was to issue at its conclusion was called. We all knew, likewise, that the President was leaving on Saturday, directive or no.

It came down to the question: on whose side was time? I was certain that the clock was running in our favor. The Soviets needed far worse than we an amicable ending to the Summit and a result that could be portrayed a success. All the painful and expensive steps they had taken—the Austrian Treaty, the humiliating pilgrimage to Tito in Belgrade, the offer of diplomatic recognition to Adenauer—all these were orchestrated but they were less than useless if they could not bring to bloom a "Spirit of Geneva" out of the Summit.

The moderation and the reasonableness with which the West had presented its case, our obvious willingness to take fairly into account legitimate Soviet security concerns and above all the shining sincerity of President Eisenhower's personality had given us, I felt, a substantial lead on the scoreboard and the clock was ticking away the minutes of the last quarter. The Russians are realists. They could not settle for a deadlock. They would have to give in on the language of the directive, although it was illusory to think that they would surrender on the substance.

And so they did. The four Heads of Government met on Saturday with only three other members of each delegation, in the hope that the restricted forum would induce readier agreement. Countless rewordings were suggested. The Soviets were immovable and so were the President and his colleagues. It was the President who was carrying the battle. Faure and Eden backed him

up, but they both seemed increasingly uneasy as time passed. We had at least two brief recesses as drafts were typed or translations confirmed. At each of these the British and French would stray over to us and discuss the impasse in whispers.

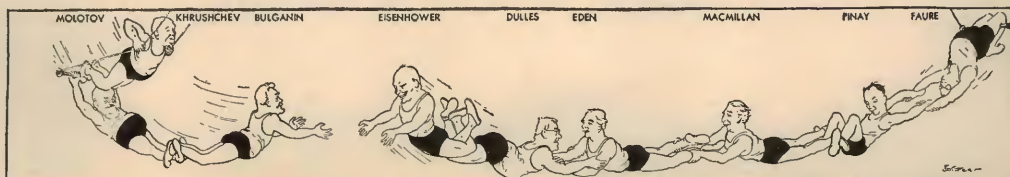
Around four o'clock a new draft appeared almost mysteriously. One copy was circulated to each Delegation. It was in English and we went over the language with the President on the carbon copy we had received. Trojanowski did a quick oral translation into Russian for his masters. On first reading it seemed to meet our main points. In a preambular paragraph it cited "the close link between the reunification of Germany and the problems of European security, and the fact that the successful settlement of each of these problems would serve the interests of consolidating peace." This provided the link, the equality for which the President was fighting. Then it went on: "1. European Security and Germany," followed by a paragraph on each subject in that order. The language on Germany was strong and clear—"The Heads of Government, recognizing their common responsibility for the reunification of Germany, have agreed that the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people."

This was good language. It would nail down the Russians on this vital point. A quick check with the British and the French confirmed that they would buy this formulation as a whole. Would the Soviets?

At long last they emerged from their huddle. Bulganin announced that the Russian delegation now saw possibilities of agreement. He offered a few harmless amendments, and almost before we knew it, we had agreement on the section of the directive which had defied our best efforts at negotiation for days. Most important, all the main points of the West were met. Only then did I think to inquire into the authorship of the mysterious draft: it was French.

The Heads were about to recess for the interval needed to retype and translate the directive when someone recalled that no text on East-West contacts had been approved. Ours was the only draft available, and in the absence of any competition it was approved promptly by all without a single change.

Then the meeting rose. I remain pleased with what we did. We entered the conference with limited objectives and, within these limits, we had succeeded. My notes made ten years ago on the night-train to Lisbon remain true. I think that one of the most important results of the conference was to remove from the minds of the Soviet leaders any fear that the United States would attack Russia. This realization created a better climate. It is still manifest in 1966.



COMMENT on the Geneva conference of the heads of the Big Four Powers by *De Gazet van Antwerpen*, Belgium

# Junior Foreign Service Officers and the Personnel System

ON May 4 the Board of Directors of the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club sent the following memorandum to William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration. The memorandum and Mr. Crockett's reply will be the basis for a meeting between the Board and Mr. Crockett on June 7.

IN view of the often stated interest of O/DG in communicating with members of the Foreign Service on ways the Service can become a stronger institution and more responsive to the needs of the nation in the field of foreign affairs, the Board of Directors of JFSOC believes it would be useful to establish a dialogue with the Director General of the Foreign Service on the position of Junior Foreign Service Officers in the personnel system. Although the views and questions here stated are our own, we have sounded out a number of our colleagues and feel there are definite attitudes and concerns among Junior FSOs, as distinguished from the Foreign Service as a whole, which have not been adequately brought to your attention.

It is our belief that a strong esprit de corps developed during the first few years of an FSO's career can be and often has been the decisive factor in holding outstanding individuals in the service. In contrast, however, a feeling of professional uneasiness and uncertainty now appears prevalent among Junior FSOs which, justified or not, tends to lower morale and create a climate for resignation. Some of the reasons for our concern are identified below.

*Reserve Appointments and Lateral Entry.* The number of people entering the Foreign Service and the Reserve other than by examination is of great concern to us. We see a number of university contemporaries appointed to high level positions with no greater qualifications than we believe ourselves to possess. While recognizing that some position requirements can be met only by outside recruitment, we are not convinced that the in-service supply of skills has been reasonably exhausted before recourse is had to lateral or reserve appointment. Several well-known recent appointments appear to support the view, often stated by graduate students, that entrance at the bottom via examination is distinctly less advantageous than non-examination entry a few years later at a much higher grade.

1. What are the figures on the numbers of FSR 5s and 4s under 30 as opposed to FSOs? How many FSR 3s, 2s and 1s are under 40?
2. What is the average salary increment involved in conversions from GS Grades to the FSR system? (including "conversion in lieu of promotion")
3. How many FSRs occupy positions classified for FSOs?

*Rate of Resignation Increasing?* We have heard that the rate of resignations of FSO 7s, 6s, and 5s is increasing. Among those resigning, we see some of our most respected and promising colleagues.

4. How many FSOs in these three classes resigned in 1965 as compared with the previous three years?

*More Responsible Jobs.* Junior FSOs are concerned that many of their jobs do not provide a chance to develop the skills of leadership and executive ability required to reach responsible senior level positions. Increasingly, the jobs held by FSOs in the past are now filled by more senior officers. Remaining are residual functions which are less meaningful, offer less challenge, and carry less responsibility than those of our contemporaries in other agencies or private industry. Years in such functions tend to erode the abilities and enthusiasm we possess, to our detriment as well as that of the Service.

*Competition with other "elite" Groups.* Entering FSOs are told that they are an elite—a handful of thousands. They unquestionably have abilities which would permit promotions almost annually in "management intern programs" in other United States agencies. Yet FSO promotion within a year is rare, and the average time in grade is over two years even at junior levels.

5. How do the promotion rates for junior FSOs compare with promotion rates in the management intern program and other elite and executive groups in government service?

FSOs, who must serve an "apprenticeship" of slower promotions and less substantive jobs, feel they will be increasingly less able to compete for policy making and program direction jobs with the elite groups in other agencies who seek lateral entry into the Foreign Service Reserve.

6. What effect will large lateral entry into the middle grades have on promotion of Junior Officers? Will it mean proportionately fewer of the responsible positions to which Junior Officers aspire will be open to them?

*Integration of Services.* The concept that selected AID and USIA activities added to traditional FSO duties will expand the opportunities for career development and executive training available to Junior FSOs is persuasive. However, we have heard that the input of FSO 7s and 8s will increase considerably in the next few years and that many of these new officers will be placed in specialized positions formerly held by Civil Service employees because of limitations in Civil Service hiring. Many of these positions in specialized fields, such as those relating to data processing, are probably better held by specialists. Most FSOs did not enter the Service to work in these fields.

7. What positions will be surrendered and acquired in the integrations? How will the qualifications for these positions be established?
8. What are the safeguards to prevent civil servants from basing their conversion of status upon receipt of a favorable assignment—an advantage denied to FSOs?

**Conclusion.** The world today offers a variety of interesting and challenging positions in international affairs, both within and outside the Government. Job mobility has become an accepted practice. To a skilled college graduate, the Foreign Service is not financially competitive even with other government agencies and is increasingly unable to compete in other terms as well. If excellence is to be the hallmark of the Foreign Service, a Foreign Service career must appeal to the excellent. To do this it must offer competitive salaries, responsible jobs, prestige, and the opportunity to develop one's talents. Many Junior officers—by all indications a majority—believe that the Foreign Service is presently deficient in all these respects.

Lucy Briggs  
Anne Collins  
Hilary Cunningham  
Douglas Harwood  
Harriet Isom  
Jim Marshall

Robert Myers  
Robert Pelletreau  
Charlotte Peters  
Charles Salmon  
Peter Sarros  
Anthony Wallace

Mr. Crockett's responses to the questions raised in the May 4 memorandum from the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club.

I AM grateful for the opportunity which your memorandum of May 4, 1966 has given me to discuss with you the problems of the Foreign Service personnel system. It will be helpful for all if we can continue the face-to-face dialogue which we began with a recent conference. As a supplement to that conference, I would like to set forth in this letter some answers to the questions of your memorandum.

**Reserve Appointments and Lateral Entry.** You express uneasiness that appointment of FSRs and lateral entry of FSOs may offer faster routes of advancement than does entrance by examination and you ask:

1. **Question:** What are the figures on the numbers of FSR-5s and 4s under 30 as opposed to FSOs? How many FSR-3s, 2s and 1s are under 40?

**Answer:** Here are the facts:

|       |              |    | Total in Class |
|-------|--------------|----|----------------|
| FSR-5 | 30 and under | 5  | 263            |
| FSO-5 | 30 and under | 5  | 471            |
| FSR-4 | 30 and under | 5  | 317            |
| FSO-4 | 30 and under | 0  | 640            |
| FSR-3 | 40 and under | 36 | 262            |
| FSO-3 | 40 and under | 65 | 667            |
| FSR-2 | 40 and under | 26 | 188            |
| FSO-2 | 40 and under | 2  | 408            |
| FSR-1 | 40 and under | 10 | 103            |
| FSO-1 | 40 and under | 0  | 239            |

The figures show that in Classes 1, 2 and 4 a few FSRs have attained their class at a younger age than their FSO colleagues. However, their numbers are minute compared to the total sizes of the classes, and, more important, most of the FSRs involved are not in competition with FSOs. Of the 88 FSRs under 30 in Classes 4 and 5 and under 40 in Classes 1, 2 and 3:

- 24 have converted from the Civil Service and have remained in their domestic duty positions;
- more than half hold positions which could not normally be filled by FSOs; and even if the incumbents were to become FSOs they would, for the most part, continue in a specialty such as attorney, geographer, science officer, atomic energy advisor, medical officer, electronics security specialist, digital computer analyst,

overseas schools programs officer, and management analyst;

- five are assigned to other agencies, one is assigned under a State-Labor agreement, and several are in Schedule C positions;
- leaving about 30 officers serving in jobs which conceivably could be filled by FSOs if the skills required were available in fact.

Analysis of the figures shows that the problem is not formidable but there certainly is a need to police the appointment of FSRs from the outside as well as the extension of these appointments. The Department has recently undertaken to do this (FAMC No. 407, May 26, 1966, "Use of the Foreign Service Reserve Officer Category"). Additionally, the Department intends to promote Foreign Service officers in the junior grades more rapidly, thus decreasing the disparity in the age level between FSRs and FSOs.

2. **Question:** What is the average salary increment involved in conversions from GS Grades to the FSR system? (including "conversion in lieu of promotion")

**Answer:** The following is a tabulation of conversions of GS personnel to FSR status during the period July 1965 to April 1966:

| FSR Rank    | Number of Convertees | Average Increase in Salary Upon Conversion |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| FSR-8       | 1                    | \$165                                      |
| FSR-7       | 7                    | 212                                        |
| FSR-6       | 7                    | 405                                        |
| FSR-5       | 7                    | 283                                        |
| FSR-4       | 19                   | 55                                         |
| FSR-3       | 17                   | 743                                        |
| FSR-2       | 33                   | 636                                        |
| FSR-1       | 8                    | 1215                                       |
| All classes | 99                   | \$514                                      |



"My story is simple. I couldn't stand the heat, so I got out of the kitchen."

Drawing by B. Tobey: © 1966 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

Many of these increases involved within-grade increases which would have been made in the GS status and others are technical increases to the nearest upward figure. This salary increase of \$500 on conversion contrasts with the \$1200 average increase in salary which was received by officers promoted by the 19th Selection Boards.

3. *Question:* How many FSRs occupy positions classified for FSOs?

*Answer:* Positions are no longer classified or designated as FSO or non-FSO. However, it can be said that a great majority of Reserve officers serving in the Department and overseas occupy positions which are in specialized fields, in shortage skills categories, or in functions for which the Department supplies services to other agencies. For example, of the 116 Reserve officers appointed from the outside in the July 1, 1965-March 31, 1966 period, less than one-third are occupying positions, normally staffed by FSOs.

The 116 Reserve officers were: *Economic Group*—Civil Air officer (1), Commercial officer (7), Economic officers (1), Fisheries officer (2), Labor officer (3), Mineral officer (1), Deputy Assistant Secretary (3), Int. Economist (1); *Administrative Group*—Budget and Management officer (1), Digital computer systems analyst (3), Management analyst (3), Training officer (1), Administrative specialist (4), Scientific linguist (2), Professor (economics) (1), Deputy Director (FBO) (1), Personnel officer (1), Medical officer (3), General services officer (2), Program officer (2), Administrative officer (1), Education officer (1), Head, central technical services (1), Employee development officer (1); *Miscellaneous Group*—Protocol officer (2), Special assistant (4), Staff aide (1), Foreign Affairs officer (8), Program and Project specialist (IGA) (2), Other (2); *Public Affairs Group*—Public affairs adviser/officer (3), Information officer (2), Writer-Editor (1), Information receptionist (1); *Science Group*—Science officer (5), Atomic energy adviser (1); *Engineering Group*—Electronics engineer (2); *Consular Group*—Visa examiner (1), Consular officer (1), Deputy Administrator (1), Veterans affairs officer (1); *Intelligence Research Group*—Int. Research specialist (8), Geographer (2), Historian (1); *Political and International Relations Group*—Political officer (2), Int. relations officer (5), Director, Multilateral policy planning staff (1); *Legal Group*—Attorney (4).

*Rate of Resignation.* You say that you have heard that the resignation rate in Classes 5, 6 and 7, is increasing, and you ask:

4. *Question:* How many FSOs in these three classes resigned in 1965 as compared with the previous three years?

*Answer:* The rate of voluntary resignation has remained constant at only 2%. The 2% does not include selection out, separation for cause, resignation on marriage or transfer to GS or FSS status. (Table below shows resignations since 1962.)

*More Responsible Jobs.* The heart of your concern seems to be that you may not have responsible positions later in your careers. You believe that some of your present jobs are not giving you the experience which is needed to prepare you for these responsibilities and you fear that lateral entrants who have had more meaningful experience elsewhere will be better prepared than you.

Concern about responsibilities has always troubled able, ambitious young people in all professions and businesses. There is no clear cut answer to the problem. We can only discuss it and give you our honest assurances of our agreement with your goals.

Since the Foreign Service is perhaps even more concerned than you that its young officers be prepared for senior responsibilities, I think that there should be limits to your uneasiness. The Department's process of preparing its young officers for responsibility is carefully planned and administered. After the extensive screening which precedes entry as an FSO, the Junior officer is given 30 months training and then launched on a career which is plotted to give him a variety of jobs of constantly increasing responsibility. There is formal training as well as on-the-job experience. Career development is the framework of the assignment process. Naturally, as officers progress up the ladder, some are identified as more able and are brought on faster than others. The Department is as anxious to find officers capable of bearing responsibility as are the officers to achieve the positions of responsibility.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that the primary objective of the Foreign Service personnel system is to staff effectively the Department of State and its missions abroad. At times there are conflicts between this objective and that of preparing Foreign Service officers for senior responsibility. There are always some officer positions which provide less training than others for the senior positions to which FSOs aspire. However, these are a small minority of the junior and mid-career officer positions, and the Department is constantly striving to reduce their numbers. For example, the number of consular positions filled by FSOs has risen from 36 to 180 between 1964 and 1966. Aside from other considerations, the Department has too much invested in each FSO to assign him to a position where his talents are underemployed and his development is neglected.

The broad-gauged officer cannot be expert in every phase of foreign affairs work. However, he should have a variety of experiences. These experiences will often include assignment to another agency or an assignment to a specialized program or function. What may appear today to be a confining job or a job which is not in the so-called mainstream of foreign affairs may provide a base of practical experience which will serve an officer in good stead in the years ahead. Junior officers have a real advantage over the lateral entrant in that they have a longer lead time in which to broaden as well as deepen their qualifications. Experience demonstrates that they fare well in the competition.

|       | FSO-5        |   | FSO-6        |   | FSO-7        |   | FSO-8        |      | Totals |
|-------|--------------|---|--------------|---|--------------|---|--------------|------|--------|
| Year  | Resignations | % | Resignations | % | Resignations | % | Resignations | %    | %      |
| 1962  | 5            | 1 | 5            | 2 | 20           | 4 | 10           | 3    | 2      |
| 1963  | 4            | 1 | 5            | 2 | 14           | 2 | 4            | 2    | 2      |
| 1964  | 4            | 1 | 13           | 3 | 17           | 3 | 2            | 1    | 2      |
| 1965  | 10           | 2 | 11           | 2 | 14           | 3 | ....         | .... | 2      |
| Total | 23           | 1 | 34           | 2 | 65           | 3 | 16           | 2    | 2      |

*Competition with Other "Elite" Groups.* You state that FSOs could attain more rapid promotion in other Government agencies, and you ask:

5. *Question:* How do the promotion rates for junior FSOs compare with promotion rates in the management intern program and other elite and executive groups in government service?

*Answer:* In 1965, the average time to move from 0-8 to 0-6 was 5 years and from 0-6 to 0-5 was 2.5 years. In 1966, these figures had dropped to 4.5 years and 2.2 years. It is believed that the best of management interns who enter at GS-7 or 9 (0-8 or 0-7) move up to GS-12 (0-5) in two to three years. We share your belief that the rate of promotions for junior FSOs is too slow and we have developed proposals for accelerating these promotions. The objective would be for the average officer to move from 0-8 to 0-5 in 5 years; a superior officer could move to 0-5 more quickly, perhaps in 3 years.

The Foreign Service class and promotion system, like those of the military, was established to provide for a life-time career with an evenly paced rise in rank. There are limits to how rapidly promotions can be made in an eight class system unless officers are to reach their zenith in mid-career and then be faced with either departure from the Service or a decade or two of plateau.

In comparing Foreign Service and Civil Service rates of advancement, the ultimate rewards should, of course, also be kept in mind. They include opportunities to become chief of mission and to serve in top executive positions above the career Civil Service grades. There are, after all, over 100 ambassadorships, over 100 DCM positions, and many important policy positions in Washington to which all FSO's may realistically aspire.

Continuing, you fear that your apprenticeship will make you less able to compete with other elite groups who may come into the Service by lateral entry, and you ask:

6. *Question:* What effect will large lateral entry into the middle grades have on promotion of junior officers? Will it mean that proportionately fewer of the responsible positions to which junior officers aspire will be open to them?

*Answer:* There has been no large lateral entry into the Service since the Wriston Program. Only about 25 persons a year have become Foreign Service officers by lateral entry in the 1961-65 period—hardly a threat to a corps of 3500 officers. Nor is any large scale lateral entry planned which would pose a threat to Junior officer advancement. There has been a proposal for some 700 USIA officers to become FSOs and a consideration has been given to a similar entry into the FSO ranks by a limited number of AID officers, but in both cases the officers would remain in their agencies and not become employees of the Department of State. These FSOs in USIA and AID would on occasion be assigned to the Department on an exchange basis, but this would not affect Junior officer promotions or decrease the number of responsible jobs to which Junior officers might aspire. There are also plans for the increased lateral entry of qualified FSRs and Civil Service officers who wish to become FSOs. The entry of these officers into the FSO corps would not, however, decrease the number of responsible positions open to FSOs since most of these entrants bring with them a position and most remain in that position.

*Integration of Services.* Continuing on the subject of USIA and AID, you ask:

7. *Question:* What positions will be surrendered and acquired in the integration? How will the qualifications for these positions be established?

*Answer:* As you can see from the explanation above, it is not correct to speak of integration of the personnel of State, AID, and USIA. The broad aim has been to bring all the personnel of the three foreign affairs agencies into a single personnel system with common salaries, retirement benefits, and conditions of employment, but not to integrate the agencies or the personnel. Each agency would continue to have its present degree of independence and to be staffed by its own employees. Exchange of personnel would be increased but no positions would be surrendered or acquired.

As to the lateral entry of Civil Service officers, you ask:

8. *Question:* What are the safeguards to prevent civil servants from basing their conversion of status upon receipt of a favorable assignment—an advantage denied to FSOs?

*Answer:* There is no basis for concern on this point since the great majority of conversions from the Civil Service do not involve reassignment. In most cases, the officer converts in the position in which he is currently assigned. In those cases in which the officer is reassigned, the assignment process is exactly the same as it is for all FSOs. The officer's skill and personal preference are balanced along with the needs of the Service in arriving at a decision on what position he should fill abroad.

## CONCLUSION

In concluding, you state your belief that the Foreign Service must be competitive as an employer with other Government agencies in salary, responsible jobs, prestige, and the opportunity to develop one's talents.

On this I agree completely. I believe that the continued flow of excellent applicants and the low resignation rate among Junior officers indicate that, all things considered, it is competitive. Of course, salaries may be slightly less in the early years, but they reach parity in the mid-years and in the senior years exceed those of most other Government servants. This is not to say that improvement is not called for, particularly at the Junior officer level. I recognize that fact and believe the proposal for accelerated Junior officer promotion will greatly improve the situation.

Salaries are not our principal concern, however. Few in the Foreign Service measure success or satisfaction by purely monetary standards. We all want an opportunity to render meaningful service to our country—to develop our talents in order to be able to meet the high responsibilities of the Service.

I believe the Foreign Service offers an unparalleled opportunity for an officer to develop his knowledge of foreign areas, his understanding of the realities of international affairs, and his language skills. No man of ability and ambition need fear lack of opportunity for fulfillment in the Foreign Service. The Secretary has pointed out that Desk Officers or County Directors now make decisions reserved in more tranquil times for Secretaries of State. There is always room for initiative and new ideas, whether generated by senior or junior officers.

As to the prestige of the Foreign Service, I think that it has never been higher, both in comparison to other diplomatic services and to other pursuits at home. Certainly, I see a rising tide of competent people from the outside who want to enter our Service.

In conclusion, may I again say that I sincerely appreciate the opportunity to enter into this dialogue. If you have from us full facts and authoritative explanations of what the Department is trying to do, it will reduce the misconceptions which travel the halls. We want and need a continuing frank expression of your concerns and your ideas, for it will assist us in shaping a Foreign Service whose leadership you will be proud to take over in the years ahead. ■

# Management Strikes Again

*(A circular airgram will be issued shortly advising all posts of a new organizational change in the Department. Because this change represents a unique innovation in the field of management, the JOURNAL has asked the Chairman of the Task Force for Operational Appraisal and Systems Development to explain it in his own words. The author, Gerold D. Cover, will be remembered as the former Special Assistant for Analysis Compliance in the Office of the Deputy Coordinator for Advisory Consultations, Division of Administrative Affairs. His comments follow.)*

SOME years ago, the then Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, said in a speech delivered to the Anglo-American Friendship Society at Concord: "Back at the shop, we're drowning in a sea of paper."

He added that although the "paper" (reports) were perceptive and succinct, covering in depth the broad spectrum of events occurring throughout the world, "we have too long neglected realizing that foreign policy, information-wise, is a two-way street. Steps must be taken to close the paper gap. Our diplomats overseas must be provided with the tools they need to build a stronger Foreign Service—namely, reports, which would include bio-data on members of our Congress, leading US figures in sports and culture, think pieces on our Federal Reserve interest rate, etc."

It was Jefferson's considered judgment that foreign policy objectives of this nation could be more intelligently pursued by its emissaries abroad if they were kept currently informed of the political, economic and social trends developing at home.

Jefferson went on to say that he had commissioned a "task force" to opt out the best possible means for keeping our missions abroad well informed on the current American scene. He argued that newspapers had become "a vast wasteland" which could no longer be relied upon to fulfill their traditional role of unbiased dissemination of information. Further, he added:

"The world has now grown too large for all of the events taking place therein to be fully reported in a four page weekly."

So, the Task Force took up the cudgels, battling against the forces of entrenched bureaucracy, through the stormy seas of changing administrations, and weathering successive waves of retirement of Task Force members. Studies were made, analyzed, discarded, then retrieved from the waste basket. They

were presented in tabular, narrative and question and answer form. Promotion panels evaluated them under a merit point system. Committees composed of prominent citizens (among those who served on these committees at various times were Wyatt Earp, Clara Bow and Judge Crater) submitted suggestions.

So much for background. Let's look now at how it works.

The striking thing about FR/PRZ (we call it fur-perz) is its sheer simplicity. Visualize, if you will, the table of organization of a US Embassy abroad. Plotted on a chart, the profile becomes a simple isosceles triangle. Compare this to the organization table of the Department of State. Here we have a close resemblance to a mock-up of the molecular content of a hydrogen atom.

What we have done, in effect, is to erect a triangle—an American Embassy—in Washington, D.C. FR/PRZ has an ambassador, a DCM, political and economic sections, an AID mission and military attaches.

The political and economic sections, obviously, are responsible for reporting on these facets of American life: the behind the scenes jockeying for power, the domestic effects of enacted legislation, sociological trends and so forth. These reports clear through the section chief, the DCM and, if they are of exciting significance, the ambassador. Then they are despatched to all posts. Despatches written by the junior officers are condensed by local employees for inclusion in the WEEKA or BER, which is also distributed to all posts.

A surprising development arising from the inauguration of FR/PRZ, and one which, I must confess, we did not anticipate, is the tremendous interest which other agencies in Washington, and the Congress, have displayed in it. Copies of all despatches, BER's and WEEKA's are sent to the FR/PRZ "desk," which is RF/ZRP (called ruf-zerp). The desk then makes distribution to the other offices in the Department who have an official curiosity about the subject at hand, as well as AID, the Peace Corps, Joint Chiefs, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, HEW and the Library of Congress. These reports are invaluable, simply because this is the one source in Washington available to the various branches of government who want to know what's going on. The big difficulty today is that there are so many reports in so many file cabinets in so many offices that no one can find a darn thing. FR/PRZ solves this, for here can be found a three or four page despatch covering any single topic regarding the current American scene. You can imagine how helpful it is to our Congressmen to know in advance what the consequences will be of legislation presented for enactment. Certainly Treasury wants to know—in brief, simple language—what happened to the gold. And the Pentagon periodically, at budget time, wants to know for certain how many B-52's we really have. As for Commerce and Agriculture, they're so excited about the reports that they've fired 236 statisticians and now share a dimly-lit service elevator across the hall from FR/PRZ.

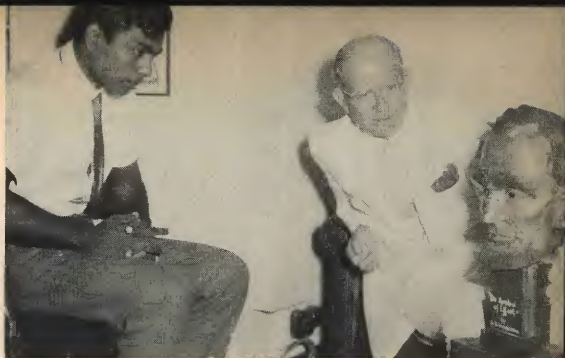
FR/PRZ is complete even to a consular section. We've made every effort to make it look as much as possible like a US consular section abroad: fly-specked "See America" posters scotch-taped to the wall, dirty Cinzano and KLM ash trays, and derelict couches. The section is quite competently staffed with some of the best people in the business. We aren't sure yet what they'll be doing, but we're ready to roll anytime.

The administrative section of FR/PRZ is carrying on in the great tradition of unstinting service and gracious consideration found in every foreign service post. Foreign service personnel who have previously served in Departmental offices other than FR/PRZ not infrequently are emotionally shaken to find the desk, or lamp, they requested is delivered the same week. Finding the washroom soap dispensers filled and working produces a similar result.

*(Continued on page 51)*



**Maine-Sorua (near Lake Chad).** Manga warriors demonstrate their skills for Ambassador Robert J. Ryan during his tour of Niger. The swords and tack of the horsemen are said to show the influence of the armor and equipment of the crusaders.



**Colombo.** Ambassador Cecil B. Lyon commends 18-year-old sculptor, Asoka Dias Weerasinghe for his highly lifelike head of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Weerasinghe is an engineering student at Ananda College. He called on the Ambassador to show him the sculpture and to lend it to the Embassy for display.

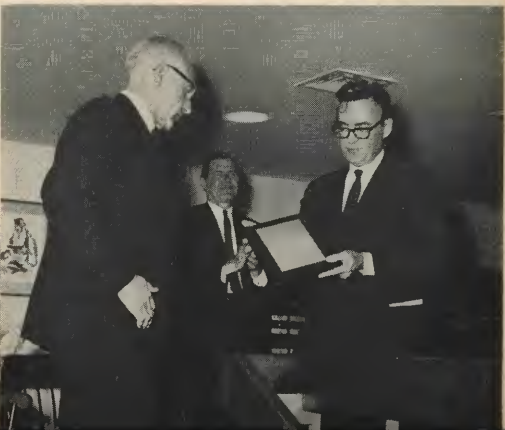
**Trieste.** The Vecchia America costume ball organized by the by the Italo-American Association found Consul and Mrs. Samuel G. Wise in the guise of a Laredo desperado and a garden variety gold digger. The event was attended by an overflow crowd of more than 600 Triestine Americanophiles.

## SERVICE GLIMPSSES



**Bonn.** Miss Michaela Laurelli, niece of Henry J. Paoli, poses in front of her uncle's sculpture on the exterior wall of the American Club. Mr. Paoli did the sculpture at the request of the Embassy in honor of President Kennedy's visit in June of 1963.

**Medford.** Reed Harris, Director, ICS, USIA, receives the first Edward R. Murrow Award for Excellence in Public Diplomacy from Robert Manning, Editor of the ATLANTIC and former Assistant Secretary of State, at the Fletcher School Banquet as Dean Edmund A. Gullion, Career Minister, retired, applauds.



# AFRICAN KALEIDOSCOPE

"Ex Africa semper aliquid novi."  
From Africa there is always something new.

—Pliny

The present tribal trouble is significant.

—from a newspaper clipping

Oh Paradise on Earth!

Oh azure sky, oh fragrant air.

—Meyerbeer's "L'Africaine"  
Libretto by Scribe

Beau ciel d'Afrique!

—Berlioz's "Les Troyens à Carthage"

O skies of blue, o soft native breezes  
O verdant hillsides, o fragrant  
shores!

The balsam-scented forests  
The cool valleys and all our golden  
temples.

—Verdi's "Aida"

There in the virgin forests  
Amid the sweet smelling flowers  
In ecstasy we shall forget the world.

—Verdi's "Aida"

Where Afric's sunny fountains  
Roll down their golden sand.

—Heber

So geographers, in Afric-maps,  
With savage pictures fill their gaps;  
And o'er inhabitable downs  
Place elephants for want of towns.

—Swift

So have I heard on Afric's burning  
shore

A hungry lion gave grievous roar.

—W. L. Rhodes

I speak of Africa and golden joys.

—Shakespeare

There is all Africa and her prodigies.  
—Sir Thomas Browne

While Jove's planet rises yonder  
silent over Africa.

—Robert Browning

Africa is a continent of contrasts.

—"The Changing Face of Africa"  
by Hodgson

In spite of its great potential, Africa contains eight per cent of the world's population, Antarctica, it contains twenty-two per cent of the world's surface.

—"The Changing Face of Africa"

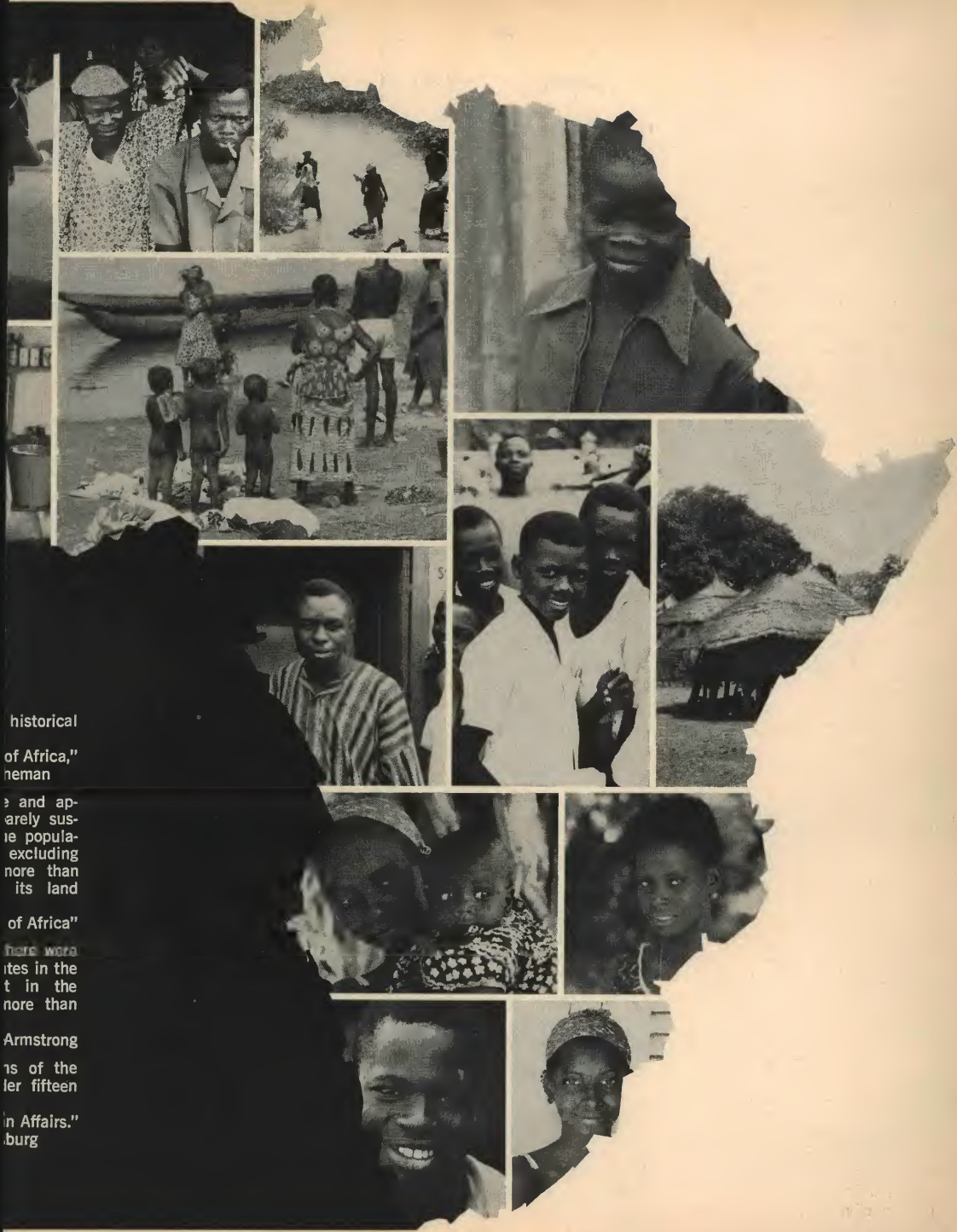
Less than a decade ago, only three independent states existed in Africa; today there are thirty.

—Hamilton

"... Probably the whole population of Africa is under the age of 25."

—"An Atlas of Africa"  
Boyd and W.





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# And Now:

A Dutchman said to me on a recent tour, "I like you Americans as individuals, but I don't trust you as leaders of the world. You see things in black and white and you are too impatient to look for the grays."

Only three days later I was reminded of this remark. An irate Rome maitre d'hotel blew his stack over the behavior of my tour members. "Can't you Americans ever wait?" he said angrily. "You want action before we can even think about it."

Then, two weeks later there was the French professor. "You have developed the art of public relations," he explained, "and many Americans are proud of it. I see public relations as a form of impatience. It is easier and quicker to put across the image of something than the reality."

From de Tocqueville to present day writers, foreign visitors have claimed that we are a people who want results in a hurry. They see us as men and women so anxious for quick problem-solving that we accept second rate thinking and resort to shortcuts and false panaceas. They accuse us of thinking in terms of either/or, is or is not, do or don't. We are told that we inexcusably simplify what is complex. The result is said to be a dangerous superficiality in approaching life and its problems. This superficiality was relatively harmless, they say, while we were an isolated insular nation, but has become disquieting now that we are the defenders of a distinctive way of life.

Such distinguished critics as the late Harold Lasky and Raymond Aron, the French Walter Lippman, have been struck by this craving for the quick, the obvious, the pat. These visitors, and others, have seen the American spirit as essentially active, rather than contemplative, the latter being regarded "as the luxury of the old." We are not happy, these observers claim, when we are not *doing* something. We judge activity as a virtue in itself because myth has it that it will lead to something. We are said to be inordinately preoccupied with the useful and the pragmatic, with quickly identifying problems and just as quickly inventing solutions for them.

This need to act, to identify a problem and move immediately toward a solution, is traced back by the more knowledgeable observers to frontier days. The frontier did not allow for time or contemplation. Survival hinged on the ability to conquer rebellious forces, to identify a problem quickly, perceive its basic nature, and incisively act upon it. It was necessary to clear an area in a hurry, even clear a forest quickly, build a house, construct a corral. Abstraction and philosophy tended to delay the mastery of nature. In business, equally vital in American

life, unusual respect has been given the man who could immediately determine a goal, and organize the means to achieve it. These foreign critics believe that it was struggle and the pragmatic need to cope with it under stress which built the American spirit. It is only natural, in the light of our history, that Americans have wanted to identify with businessman and frontiersman as men of action and visible results. It is only recently, after the Sputnik episode that the professor's shape has lost some of its derided egg-shape quality and has begun to taken on more normal and desirable features.

So-called "American thinking" has been sometimes labeled technical thinking. According to such thinking, every situation is inherently a problem and every problem admits a solution. One of the philosophical assumptions of this pragmatic and optimistic approach is that the world can be changed, almost, but not quite, at will. Another assumption is that it is possible to manipulate men, their feelings and aspirations, virtually upon command. It results in restlessness, mobility, and an unceasing quest for something better. It can be traced back, in addition to frontier thinking and the optimism of a new and rich nation with countless untapped resources, to the late 18th century belief in progress and the perfectibility of men. All human activity can be improved and taught; the individual can and must not only manipulate others but even his own psyche. Hence the Dale Carnegie courses on how to win friends and influence people, not through the slow but substantial actions in their behalf or genuine persuasion on merit, but strictly on the basis of simple formulae designed to please and achieve desired ends in a hurry.

Technical thinking, foreign observers have charged, attributes to life and men a simplicity they do not possess. The technical method of thinking thus risks constant impatience and oversimplification in analysis.

Where does American technical thinking or impatience manifest itself? And how? Observers have long taken pains to point out the mechanical, stereotyped smiles that greet them everywhere in America—smiles that first please and then annoy as their real pragmatic, false character evidences itself. The whole art of "human relations," sometimes dubbed "phony relations," is a short cut aimed at winning friends and favors under false pretense. It is little wonder that friendships in the US appear superficial to most observers, lacking at once in depth, intensity, and substance. Similarly, the adjustment theory practiced in US schools bothers a number of visitors as another sample of formula thinking. Obedience to social demands is taught less because it is intrinsically good in itself, but because it is a practical necessity. "One can't get anywhere without fitting in," is the prime and simple

# The Impatient Americans

assumption underlying the deliberate adaptation to environmental conditions. Newspaper columns prescribing simple recipes for success, for making your husband happy, for giving your wife sexual satisfaction, for keeping happy children happy and unhappy children ruly, are all part of the easy-solve-formula game. Women's magazines especially cater to the yearning for simplified living. Even the schools and universities, in discussing personality improvement or predicting personality growth, are prone to dispense simple prescriptions. The survey courses in high school and college, reading about books rather than the books themselves, is a ready illustration. On lower levels, drug stores show masterpieces in condensed form, even as "funnies"; they also display short books which provide convenient resumés of the same classics. The illusion that all can be improved and learned, that the limits to achievement are few and that both can be done swiftly, is nurtured by the huge list of how-to books crowding shelves of American book stores today. The range of the how-to books is itself a revelation and confirms the vast faith in the learn-it-fast technique, preferably in a few hours or, if necessary, a few days.

If foreign observers continue to harp on American confidence in learning all and learning it fast—and getting where they want to get—it is because Americans, as Lasky put it, "do not assume the duty to remain in the position in which they were born." American optimism and activism reject the notion of a static world. On the contrary they insist that what was yesterday will again be different tomorrow. But they do not expect this better tomorrow to come their way unaided; Americans believe that they must help bring it about. When a given career does not seem to bring about the better tomorrow, the American, unlike his European counterpart, takes on a new career, sometimes even in his forties and fifties. There is, in fact, no equivalent for the word "job" in the languages of other nations; job connotes at least in part the temporary and the transient. Where the European has plodded along in the same position, one sometimes determined for him at age 14, the American moves restlessly and expectantly from place to place, impatiently aiming for a future that is more fruitful and exciting. America, in a real sense, provided the original revolution of rising expectations, a revolution never completed, with impatience both as one of its roots and characteristics.

But if impatience is a quality of our personal and cultural lives, it appears to be equally present in our national and international politics.

Here the impatience with theory, the need for movement and action, the craving for an early solution to a complex problem, the pragmatic passion, have combined

to make life troublesome for us and our neighbors. The rest of the world, more static, more set in its ways, more contemplative has already been, and may increasingly become, distrustful of American approaches. It is a curious fact that some of our allies who have faith in both American idealism and our pacific intent, are yet more fearful of our triggering a nuclear conflict than the Russians to whom they attribute motives less noble and lofty. They are simply terrified by our impatience for solutions, for a better situation, our optimism that this can be achieved easily, and by our general tendency to reduce the complex into digestible formulae.

One of the main sources of concern, frequently commented upon, is our tradition of self-help with violence. If the Law did not provide justice quickly and adequately, the Western hero took matters into his own hands, seeing to it that justice was done. Nor did justice seem terribly complex. Right and wrong were as far apart as day and night. The Western hero helped his group and himself by persuasion if possible, but by impatient ultimatum and violence if necessary. Unfortunately, he tired quickly of persuasion and was fast with his gun. Critics point to a tradition ranging from the vigilantes to Sen. McCarthy, who were the special self-appointed, folksily democratic executioners of a justice that was as quick as it was doubtful.

Now self-help with violence is being perpetuated in the novels of Mickey Spillane, and television's private eyes and Westerns. At least half of the action shows on our TV screens follow the same behavior models and encourage this particular brand of self-reliance. The adult youths and the young who regularly watch these programs may be conditioned to have recourse to action as the norm for handling disputes. And they may also impute to disputes a simplicity, and either/or quality which only the fewest possess.

Some of this tradition is said to be reflected in the approaches to foreign policy. Rather than explain patiently and in detail the nature of an international crisis, US mass media—and even responsible leaders—have relied heavily on the radical utterance, the pungent phrase, the victory or defeat motif. All impress themselves on the public mind and inflame almost indiscriminately. From the brinkmanship doctrine of John Foster Dulles to the incendiary remarks of US senators, attempts have been made to excite rather than to describe, to simplify rather than to interpret. Both molders and critics of policy in and out of government have demonstrated impatience with complex relationships, reducing them to dangerously elementary alternatives. No wonder that there is a violent reaction to communism, appeasement, even mys-

ticism. Little wonder then that for the masses, the world today consists of the Good Guys generally known as the Free World and headed by us, and the Bad Guys, alias the Commies, led by two red evils, China and the Soviet Union. In the national impatience for neat solutions the bad guy is seen as consistently making trouble for the good guy. The latter is being imposed upon all the time, taken for a sucker, and mistreated until the situation becomes intolerable. Sometimes it even seems that those in the middle are constantly aiming their fire at the good guy. The good guy, so violated, must finally resolve to take matters into his own hands.

The impatience for a better world, a world without bad guys, has had other consequences as well. It explains American displeasure and even disgust with the UN. The latter is labeled a debating society producing few results and these all bad. Rather than bring about destruction of the bad men, the UN postpones it and sometimes even favors them in some way. In fact, the whole world seems to be in cahoots with the UN. From this we are only one step removed from the widespread notion that there is a giant conspiracy afoot with the US as its target. There must be Communists here who keep the government from doing the right job; and, of course, we know how many there are abroad. The takeover by the Reds in China or in Cuba was the result of such a conspiracy—never the result of social problems and failures.

It is against such oversimplified understanding that foreign policy must often be developed and executed. The results are hazardous. The American people never did really understand the Korean war and why involvement was necessary. Now they appear equally puzzled by the Vietnamese conflict. After all, in the Western the hero never goes gunning for those who front for the Chief Villain; he always tries to get the Big Man himself. Why bother with Korea and Vietnam? Why not go after the big boys? Thus, persuasion by the government to go to war with Russia or China would fall on more fertile ground than any attempts to urge peaceful negotiation or bargaining. A single fear, mercilessly instilled, can become more obsessive than many fears thinly distributed. Because of the impatiently awaited triumph of Light over Dark, there is distrust of the means of slow, diplomatic intercourse and the available international instrumentalities. America may actually be less well prepared psychologically for the continued strained international relations than America's opponents. Impatience here, one may argue, is a real threat to peace and security.

There are several other pet theories which suggest the pragmatic need for movement toward a better world. There is the belief that most difficulties can be overcome by simple, material means: that, if we only try hard enough, we can reeducate a recalcitrant world in our own image; that democracy exists in fact only if there is a downgrading of value to folksy democratic levels; that anybody who is against Communism is and should automatically be our ally. The list of glib, quick-solution formulae is nearly endless.

The literature on America from De Tocqueville through André Siegfried has thus built an alarming case for American impatience as it manifests itself through the insistence on quick results, simplifying the intricate, problem-solution thinking. It is an impatience which reveals itself in personal habits, the cultural sphere, in international

relations. But is it really all bad or as bad as it has been made out to be?

Let us assume that these comments about our impatience are justified. Let us assume further that these views of our quickness, superficiality, image substituting, technical thinking are all warranted. Should we even then be hopelessly dismayed and dissatisfied with ourselves? Or are there attached, to what are admittedly frailties in our way of doing things, compensating qualities of note?

It is the unique quality of American life not to be afraid to move, forward if possible, backward if necessary. It is this dynamism, which, while it makes for some of the more droll and sensational aspects of American living, also accounts for our imaginativeness, our diversity of living, our varieties in nearly everything, our ability to lead in so many fields and to come from behind where not leading now disturbs us.

The axiomatic assumption that one can speed toward a happier world may be naive, as charged, but isn't it also beautiful for the hope, the optimism and vitality underlying it? Despite our inferiority feelings which Europeans, with their older culture and established ways have given us, we should never forget that the most sweeping, idealistic and promising plans for world peace and recovery have been advanced by Americans in our time. The 14 Points, the Dawes and Marshall Plans, the League of Nations, and UN will always be a credit to the American name. These programs and plans may all have carried with them the excessive expectations which are the result of impatience, but it was this very impatience with old and dubious ways which brought them into being. In a real sense, these plans were revolutionary in Western history and reflect a particular brand of American political idealism in the international area.

But the desire to improve quickly is not limited to international planning. As one European authority has put it, the US is the only country where the conflict between the real and the ideal is less great than between one ideal and another. US optimism and rush for a better future—soon—causes new ideals to spring up like water from a well, with all competing merrily for supremacy. This society labeled by some as the most materialistic of all time is also, by a curious coincidence, one of the most idealistic in history.

While foreign visitors to these shores have deplored our "technical, simplified" thinking, many thoughtful Americans abroad have praised this very tendency, as they have observed the difficulties of overly theoretical Frenchmen and Germans to come to the point. Again and again, our attachés abroad have praised our ability to see the essential nature of a problem, where others are forever busy in the peripheries of the situation. "Europeans complicate everything," a highly stationed American in Germany told me some time ago. "They intellectualize and cerebrate so much that they seem to avoid making a decision or taking an action. Sometimes, it seems to me we have solved the problem in action when they are still determining whether there is a problem. When you're in a jam, give me an American any time—especially if what you need is more than verbal analysis and what seems almost like idle talk."

The importance of image, decried by many, also has a positive and even vital quality. The image itself reflects

(Continued on page 54)

# EDITORIALS

AVE\*

## REGIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

THE June issue of the Department's NEWS LETTER quotes the Inspector General as advocating the assignment of officers on a regional basis—at least in Africa. As we get the idea, Ambassador Wilkins is suggesting that larger posts in Africa, such as Lagos and Nairobi, be stocked with a pool of utility infielders who could be shipped out to fill in as need be in smaller posts as political, economic, consular or administrative officers for periods of a few weeks or months. "Such assignments," he explains, "would make it possible to pick posts where conditions are favorable, thereby simplifying administrative backstopping and at the same time enabling us to cut personnel to a minimum at posts where there are difficulties."

Obviously in Africa where we have a number of posts that rate only three substantive officers (Ambassador, DCM and one FSO-8) there will be crises or emergencies requiring additional help. The case of Ouagadougou in 1961 when both the Ambassador and DCM were medically evacuated is an example. Also it has often been necessary to send additional personnel to help certain posts cover important international conferences taking place in their capital.

Such "emergencies" are "normal" to the operation of our missions in Africa and it is well that Washington be reminded of the need for such flexibility. However, the Inspector General's "suggestion" seems to carry the idea further than is either necessary or practical. He implies that "pool" personnel in Lagos or Nairobi would, by occasional visits to such places as Ouagadougou or Kigali, somehow perform the regular work of those missions and that this would permit cutting their "personnel to a minimum."

We happen to think snow will cover much of Africa before any Chief of Mission agrees to turn over his reporting or even basic administrative responsibilities to someone living at another far away post. He and his DCM already do the political and economic reporting in the small posts anyhow so it is difficult to see who would be eliminated by the roving practitioner unless it were the FSO-8—and, heaven forbid, that would eliminate the post's only "indian!"

Certain "inside" jobs in the field of administration already are handled by regional offices. Perhaps there could be more of this. But as everyone knows, most "outside" jobs involve a long, sometimes difficult process of building personal relationships before an officer can be really effective. A circuit riding political or economic officer would find it very difficult to build up the kind of relationships needed for meaningful reporting.

These considerations aside, Inspector General Wilkins deserves credit for focusing official attention on the imperative need to keep our representation in difficult climes to a minimum necessary to get the job done. Come to think of it, why shouldn't that policy be applied world-wide! ■

A VICIOUS cancer has developed in the American body linguistic in the past generation. The majestic language of Shakespeare, Jefferson, Churchill, Mencken, and Buchwald is evolving rapidly into a mishmash of Acronyms, Variations and Euphemisms. We dutiful modern managers intend not to waste strength on such entrenched, and fairly benign manifestations as "radar" or "jeep." We do, however, believe that every strength and resource must be marshaled to root out, to expose, and to destroy such gross extensions of the malignancy as have begun to occur in most recent years.

We have been upset lately by the appearance of serious symptoms in several areas. For instance, a recent national newsmagazine dealt with the "Arvins"—this is a hideous transliteration of an acronym for the Army of the Republic of Viet-Nam, or is Vietnam?, or is it Viet Nam? (Those variations put us slightly ahead of ourselves; we shall come back to them later.) Then too, we are distressed by the growing currency given to HIM as the subject of reporting sentences. We, of course, all know that HIM is an objective term, yet certain cables from Africa continue to use HIM as the subject. While the subject matter of many reports might make us wish to invoke the deity, there really seems no need to make such specific mention. Nevertheless, at least one post habitually refers to GOD in its telegrams. Such blasphemies should, of course, be eliminated. And really, is there any justification for continued use of FRG in otherwise dignified diplomatic correspondence?

At a recent global strategy review, confusion prevailed for some moments before officials were able to ascertain which of eight independent nations was the subject of a memo which referred to the GOI. GOA caused similar scurrying about, as did GOB and GOC, as well as GOL, GOM, GON and GOP, not to mention GOS and GOT.

Let's move on to the subject of variations. We have already alluded to the GVN. Or is it SVN?—would you believe RVN? Committees have agonized for years over whether it should be Djakarta or Jakarta, Tokio or Tokyo, Romania or Rumania or Roumania, Salonika or Thessaloniki, Peking or Peiping. Let us not underestimate the value of standardization in these matters. Could our relations with HMG possibly be as good if it were referred to as GUK by one report, GGB by another, GOE by a third? Such differences as remain to be settled seem to be concentrated among the "emerging" or "developing" countries, which use to be referred to as LDCs and at one time even bore the ignominy of being known as "underdeveloped."

Until such Acronyms, Variations, and Euphemisms are referred to the UNGA for settlement, we join our voices to those in the department who seek to revolutionize our reportage by introducing CCPS—the clear, comprehensive, precision syndrome. This magazine heartily endorses their bold efforts. Once this is universally accepted the only great fault in State Department drafting which will remain to be corrected is the use of clichés, which must then "be avoided like the plague . . . !" Ave!

*\*Truly a suitable word for contemporary usage. It means not only hello but also goodbye. Of course, we have technically applied the word here in its ever-growing sense of an abbreviated form of Acronyms, Variations and Euphemisms.*

# WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

ON that chill evening of Friday, April 14, 1865, the poster in front of Ford's Theatre read "Last Night of Miss Laura Keene—Tom Taylor's Celebrated Eccentric Comedy—Our American Cousin."

It was indeed a last night. It was the last night of Miss Laura Keene's engagement. It was the last night of "Our American Cousin." There would be no more roistering comedies, no more of those solemn, declamatory Hamlets and Lears. It was the last night the silken curtain would rise in Ford's. Gloom would swallow up the stilled, dark interior. Yes, the last night. It was Abraham Lincoln's last night on earth.

In the history of the crime, fact and folklore present competing versions. Folklore has it that "a shot rang out" and "pandemonium" broke out instantly. The facts, however, are different. The crime was well planned. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin, had played in Ford's more than once, and knew the theatre perfectly inside and out. He took advantage of the house in general and of Box Number Seven—the Presidential Box—in particular. He adjusted his timing to the gusts of laughter that periodically rocked the house. He was aided also by the absence of the President's one body-guard who had left his post outside Box Number Seven and hid himself off for a drink. The assassin had the passage in back of the box all to himself. At about 10:15 a line in the play caused an explosion of laughter. Looking at the line in print today it is hard to see why: "Wal, I guess I know you well enough to turn you inside out, you sockdologizing old mantrap."

That was the moment. Booth noiselessly entered the box and, since the President was occupying a chair nearest to the door, he was able to press his derringto to the back of the President's head without being noticed. Owing to the laughter, the sound of the gun went unobserved. Even Mrs. Lincoln, perplexed by the eruption of an unknown man, did not perceive for several minutes that her husband had been shot.

Meanwhile, the play went on. The audience became aware that something was wrong when Booth leapt

from the box. Legend says that he shouted "Sic semper tyrannis" in resounding tones. Actually, only a few people near Box Number Seven heard it. Lunging across the stage, Booth almost collided with the star, Laura Keene, who was waiting in the wings to make her appearance.

Mrs. Lincoln noted that her husband looked strange; he sat blank and rigid. Still, several minutes went by before the wound was discovered. It was several minutes later that the audience learned of the shooting. Then, indeed, did pandemonium break out.

When the President was removed to the house across the street where he died at 7:22 the next morning, Miss Keene went along to soothe Mrs. Lincoln, who was verging on hysteria.

False rumors spread that members of the cast and the owner of the theatre, John Thomson Ford, were implicated in the assassination. Ford spent thirty-nine days in jail before his innocence was established. Miss Keene said, sadly, "My name will always be linked with this dreadful crime." Her career went on, however, till her death in 1873.

Ford's Theatre ended its life as a theatre. It was the scene of public disturbances when the men who had conspired to murder Lincoln were hanged in July, 1965. The government confiscated the building, but John Thomson Ford obtained a payment of \$100,000. It was then used as a government office building. In 1894 some forty square feet of the third floor collapsed into the basement, killing twenty-two government clerks and injuring sixty-five others. After repairs, the building was converted into the Army Medical Museum, then the adjutant general's main office, then a warehouse for storing documents. In 1932, it was turned into a Lincoln museum and so it remained until recent days.

In the century following Lincoln's assassination, the suggestion was often heard that Ford's should be reconstructed—meaning to look as it looked on Lincoln's last night. It was not until June, 1964, however, that Congress accepted the idea and voted \$2,076,300 to translate idea into reality.

The reconstruction of the old build-

ing has been a complicated process and has already become an engrossing page in Washington architectural history. An admirable article on the subject appeared in the March, 1966, issue of CONSTRUCTIVE CRAFTSMAN, the official publication of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO.

Last month, the spotlight once again turned on Ford's. Two major national theatre organizations propose that Ford's should be set up as a permanent year-round repertory theatre. The two groups are the American National Theatre Academy and the National Repertory Company. Washington last saw the National Repertory Company in a stunning revival of "The Mad Woman of Chailot" with Eva Le Gallienne at the National Theatre in November and December last year.

Up to now, the aim of the reconstruction has been to present the theatre exactly as it looked on April 14, 1865. That scheme would have made it an inert shrine, something like the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris before somebody in the thirties decided to make it come alive with masses and ancient music.

If the Ford's scheme is modified to make the building a functioning theatre, some alterations in the blueprints would be necessary. A modern theatre would require amplified dressing room facilities, improved lighting and additional stage equipment. Experts say that the changes would be possible.

Tentative plans for making Ford's a real theatre once more have gone so far as to consider suitable plays. Most proposals deal either with plays that were well known in Lincoln's time or plays dealing with Lincoln and the Civil War. In the first category are the whole range of Shakespeare, Sheridan, Congreve and early American works such as "Fashion," "The New York Idea," and the "Contract." The second category could include "John Brown's Body," by Stephen Vincent Benet, John Drinkwater's "Lincoln," "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," by Robert Sherwood, and "The Last Days of Lincoln," by Mark Van Doren.

Will "Our American Cousin" one day appear at Ford's?

### Set to Music

There is nothing, apparently, that Broadway producers won't turn into a musical. So far they have fitted up a string of classics with tunes and wisecracks. For instance, "Don Quixote," "Oliver Twist," "The Cherry Orchard," "Pickwick Papers," "Pygmalion," "Cold Comfort Farm," "Sherlock Holmes."

To spur on the musical show industry the "Washington Letter" proposes the following new projects:

Ibsen's "Ghosts," with Ethel Mer-

man.

Euripides' "Electra," with Julie

Andrews (or any other Julie).

Racine's "Phèdre," with Claudia

Cardinale (actual singing recorded on

the tape by Angela Lansbury).

Shakespeare's "Banquo" (a revision

of Macbeth) with Jack Lemmon.

Tolstoi's "Anna Karenina," with

Ginger Rogers.

### Award for August

The award is going abroad again. John Taylor, the Editor of TAILOR AND CUTTER, an English publication, was told that some Americans think that present day English clothes may make men effeminate. Mr. Taylor let them have it between the horns: "A man who wants to show them what sex he is shouldn't wear clothes."

### Peaks on Parnassus

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

... he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and all the dead.

James Joyce: *Dubliners*

### Diverse Dangers

Washington is threatened by many dangers. There are crime waves, buzzards, excruciating heat waves. And if that weren't enough, the starling and pigeon population goes up by the day. The last starling census, taken in December, 1965, indicated a total of 95,177. There are enough of them to clutter up Pennsylvania Avenue between Sixth Street and the White House—and this includes the White House grounds. They also penetrate the suburbs and instead of eating those nasty little pods from ash trees, they devour the most expensive grass seed. Plans are afoot to eliminate them from Washington by wiring roofs or by more violent means. It is notable that no bird expert has a single good word for the starling.

Pigeons are also a Washington menace. In Lafayette Square they are so thick you are lucky to escape with your eyebrows intact.

And yet you can see, every noon, bands of cretins circulating around with bushels of seed for the starlings and pigeons.

### Understatement and Sexual Depravity

Strange doings in West Irian are reported by Reuters which reports more strange doings than any other news agency including Tass. A tribe of women, says Reuters, dragoon men into sexual intercourse. This over, the men are put to death. And so are male offspring. Commenting on this rowdy behavior, Police Commander Hadipe Suhandi summed it up with, "This shows there is a part of our country where the people are really backward."

If "Washington Letter" gave a citation for the understatement of the month, Suhandi would get it. But so few people engage in understatement: We could never collect enough unders to make a monthly feature.

### In Praise of Verbenas

When you first encounter the *genus verbenas*, you think, perhaps, that it doesn't deserve a second glance. Verbenas are humble, unas-

sertive flowers and it takes a little while to appreciate their particular charm. They feel ill at ease with the proud roses, chrysanthemums, dahlias and peonies. They shrink from the showy snapdragons, gladiolas, calceolarias and delphiniums. But if you give them a chance, concentrate them in one corner of the garden and surround them with a border of myosotis or portulaca or alyssum, particularly the "carpet of snow," your verbenas will reward you well. From June till frost you will have a brave show of white, rose red, violet, purple with entrancing variations of all these. Washingtonians should feel particularly pleased with the verbenas because it flourishes in the acid soil.

Incidentally, the genus verbenas, which gives its name to the family *verbenaceae*, comes in about one hundred species, mostly from tropical and subtropical parts of the Americas. About twenty species are native to the United States.

### Significant Statistic

Closer tabulation of the last Foreign Service List revealed that nearly half of the Foreign Service officers promoted from class 3 to class 2 (notoriously one of the hardest hurdles in the career) received executive training in the Foreign Service Institute.

## Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"... But nothing says a Chief of State can't declare his wife persona non grata. . ."

# Germany's Other "Berlin"

**I**TS name is the Enclave of Büsingen, and it is Germany's one and only "possession" abroad. Though separated from the Fatherland by only two miles, it is nevertheless completely isolated, a small piece of Germany severed and separated from the main body.

Located inside Switzerland about twenty miles west of Lake Constance, Büsingen has about a thousand inhabitants. Though they know they are living on German territory and that politically their town belongs to the south German state of Baden, they like to consider themselves Swiss. For economically Büsingen is all but a part of Switzerland.

The Büsingen enclave is a historical curiosity left over from the turmoil of the Middle Ages when almost the whole of Europe was split up into dozens of kingdoms, duchies, counties and tiny estates. It owes its survival partly to the stubbornness of its people and partly because of a violent Hapsburg reaction to this stubbornness.

Büsingen had belonged to the Hapsburgs since the year 1465. In 1651 the Swiss town of Schaffhausen, on the River Rhine, bought the entire town for 20,000 gold guilders. A nobleman named Eberhard im Thurm was entrusted with the job of managing Büsingen's affairs and collecting taxes and tithes. But he disgraced himself in the eyes of the Schaffhausen Protestant Evangelical City Council by suddenly and without explanation turning to Roman Catholicism.

This enraged the council, and they decided to punish him. At first they decided to throw Eberhard into the Rhine, for he was understood to be a non-swimmer. They had second thoughts about this however, and locked him up in a tower for six years instead.

The council hoped this would cure poor Eberhard, but it didn't. He stubbornly remained a Catholic for the rest of his life, even though he did spend it in prison.

The Hapsburg family who had owned the town originally sympathized deeply with Eberhard, for they themselves were Catholics. In 1732 they decided to revenge Eberhard's memory by repossessing Büsingen with their own paid troops.

But soon after they had taken over the town again, the powerful Hapsburg family ran short of cash. They resold land surrounding Büsingen to Schaffhausen, but not Büsingen itself, which they solemnly declared was "to remain German to the eternal annoyance of Schaffhausen."

In 1803 Büsingen was given to the state of Baden in the reshuffle of many of the intricate and confusing frontiers of the feudal estates.

The Swiss have repeatedly made moves to incorporate Büsingen into their confederation, but have never got around to actually doing so. In 1918 more than 96 per cent of Büsingen's people voted for union with Switzerland, and the result of a vote today would probably be much the same.

The enclave's position between two countries is quite as nerve-racking as Berlin's although the citizens of Büsingen are so used to it that it doesn't really worry them. Apart from the double paperwork the Burgomaster and the town council have to cope with, there are a number of other complications.

The Deutsch mark, Germany's legal currency, has long been crowded out by the Swiss franc. While the three

school teachers and two priests of Büsingen are being paid by Germany through a special banking account, the town clerk and the people operating the various public services such as street cleaning, licensing, garbage collection, fire protection, must be paid by the community—in Swiss francs.

Some insurance policies have to be paid twice—to Switzerland in francs and to Germany in marks.

Büsingen workers, most of whom are employed in Schaffhausen factories, have no social security or union protection such as their colleagues have in Switzerland and Germany. Unemployed workers do not draw unemployment insurance.

The comfort-loving people of Büsingen speak a Swiss dialect of German which to German ears sounds about as foreign as cockney English does to North Americans. They are amiable, friendly people, and they dislike unnecessary talk—though they have produced some of Germany's finest storytellers and poets.

One of the great curiosities in picturesque Büsingen, and one which the natives always show to visitors, is the German post office. German stamps are sold there for Swiss francs. A letter from Büsingen to Kiel, at the northern end of Germany, costs less than a letter to Schaffhausen, which is only three miles away.

Schaffhausen is in a "foreign" country. Kiel, though separated from Büsingen by two borders and hundreds of miles, is still in the "same" country.

Life is tranquil and visitors are always welcome in this small piece of Germany set in a foreign land. Chief recreations of the Büsingen people take place out of doors, and include boating, fishing and walking great distances along winding paths that lead through lush countryside of great pastoral beauty. ■

*View from the river Rhine of picturesque Büsingen, West Germany's one and only "possession" abroad.*



# American Schools Overseas

THE whole question of how you educate your young when you leave home base can be a vexing one, especially if you move very far away or very often. We have been deeply involved in this problem of education overseas for the last nine years.

It all began when we moved with our two children, aged two-and-a-half and almost four, to Rangoon, Burma, for a two-year assignment. At the time we left Puerto Rico to accept this job in Burma, our oldest child had been attending a very good bi-national nursery school and we felt that it was important for him to continue to have an experience of this kind. With the usual amount of misinformation, or lack of information, which seems to be fairly prevalent in the world, we were under the impression that nursery schools were unknown in Rangoon; therefore, if our son was to have this opportunity, it was obvious that we would have to provide it. It occurred to me that I would need a good deal of help if I were to undertake such a project, so before our departure a letter went off to the Vassar Child Study Department asking for a bibliography and any words of wisdom they might be willing to provide. Back came pages and pages of bibliography and advice; I ordered many of the books, studied the advice, added more toys to our shipment, and we were off.

Of course, when we arrived in Rangoon in June we discovered that there was an excellent nursery school, run by an inspired woman, which had a multi-national student body and a long waiting list. However, the Burmese school year begins in June, and we found that we would have to wait a year before we could enroll our child. The moment of relief when I heard that this school existed was sweet indeed, but it appeared that I was not to have a choice.

The house we had been given was studied to see what part of it could be used for a playschool; there was a small room which had an outside entrance and was fairly close to a bathroom. The furniture in the house included three low, round tables, large enough to seat four children at each one; available in the city markets were *morahs*—low, wicker-type stools which were exactly the right size for both the children and the tables. Available also were Chinese carpenters who proceeded to manufacture (courtesy of pictures in various catalogues) easels, a rocking boat, a teak sandbox, a teak slide, and a teak jungle gym. We had brought a swing set, tricycle, puzzles, cars, dolls, books, etc., etc., and, most wonderful of all, one of the large sets of kindergarten-type blocks. When I began thinking in terms of ten children instead of just two, I realized that more blocks would be needed, so once again the Chinese carpenters were called on and we acquired the equivalent of three sets of blocks for less than it cost to buy one in the United States. The next step was to find paper for the easels, paper for cutting, paints, crayons, and so forth. It sounds so easy as I write it here, but it was not.

During this long process of collecting equipment and supplies I had been working my way through the piles of books which were to fill me with knowledge and skill. Gradually, the piles dwindled; gradually I felt somewhat more confident; finally it appeared that there could be no more postponing: school would have to open.

And open it did, with ten children, ranging in age from three-and-a-half to four-and-a-half, coming three mornings a week. Theoretically, every mother was to take her turn acting as an assistant so that the children would not have to be al-

ways together in one place but could be in the garden or in the house with supervision in both places. From my reading I had learned that the mothers in a cooperative play school were usually more of a problem than the children, and this proved to be true for our school. It is one thing, a difficult one at that, to explain the principles of learning-through-play to a group of mothers who share a similar background and culture, but, I discovered, it can be almost impossible with a group who come from such dissimilar backgrounds as Burma, Israel, England, Holland, America! Nonetheless, I learned, the other mothers learned, the children enjoyed themselves, and I think they learned something too.

There were occasions when I wondered about this last point. The particular problem was a four-year-old Burmese girl who spoke no English, although she understood a great deal, but I soon realized that she apparently did not understand me when I tried to explain, "Now it is rest time," or "Those are Ann's blocks; here are blocks for you to build with." Puzzling over this, I finally realized that she understood the words but was unable to understand how to act. Why, I did not know. Eventually she was absent for a week that seemed very peaceful. Upon inquiry, word came that she had been withdrawn from the playschool because she wasn't learning enough. It turned out that three mornings a week she attended our school, where a learning-through-play program was attempted with the minimum of restrictions, the other three mornings she went to a school which her parents understood and praised where, for a period of five hours, she sat at a small desk, as did 40 other children, all doing the same thing, learning nursery rhymes, numbers, letters, etc. The contrast was too great: she felt that absolute license was permissible at our school because the atmosphere was so different from that at her more formal school. This was my first exposure to the problem that children have when they are accustomed only to rigid discipline imposed by outside authorities. It raised a number of questions in my mind; after all, my background was history and political science, not nursery school education!

As the school year drew to a close and the hot weather approached, parents' watches began to disagree more and more. Children would be delivered half an hour or more early and they would be collected 30 or 40 minutes late. I began to feel by noon each day that I never wanted to see anyone under 21 years of age and that I most certainly would never be involved in running a playschool again. This was the hardest work I had ever done! Fortunately, as the school year ended, our son went on to kindergarten, our daughter entered the wonderful nursery school, my other pupils went on to other schools, and I thought my brief career in education was over.

Before we left Burma, however, I discovered that this was not to be. One morning, the wife of the President of the Board of the International School was waiting for me as I returned from taking our children to their respective schools. Asian flu was prevalent all over, the first grade teacher had it, would I take over the class for the week? Protestations of ignorance did me no good—in fifteen minutes I was back at the school, and the first grade and I were taking stock of each other. The situation was resolved before too much damage had been done to either side, although I claim the greater wear and tear: in the class of eight, there were three who

spoke no English at all, and I was not very proficient in their languages: Japanese, Swedish and Polish. How, I wondered, did the regular teacher cope with this problem? What plans did the school have for helping students who spoke no English when the whole curriculum was taught in English? Apparently at that stage in its development, there were none; at least no help was offered me in my week there.

I had not had really time to forget my experience with the first grade before the summons came again. We were improving: this time I was asked to take on the third grade while the teacher was unavoidably out of the country. My relief was so great on learning that it was to be the third grade (after all, they were supposed to be able to read), that I said yes immediately. I was shocked, however, to learn that their story hour after lunch had most recently consisted of listening to the *Three Little Pigs*—surely 8-year-olds could stand more stimulating fare? After I introduced the *Just So Stories*, the *Jungle Books*, Barbara Leonie Picard's version of the King Arthur stories and others, it was usually hard to tear ourselves away to move on to the arithmetic period. The school had no library then, so the regular teacher could hardly be blamed for the scarcity of appropriate reading material but, I wondered, what would have to be done to start a library for the school? Surely these children weren't going to have to do without one forever?

Truthfully, what horrified me even more was the third grade social studies book, part of a series widely in use in the United States. Perhaps the book was valuable in the United States, although I had and have serious doubts about that, but it was almost ridiculous in Rangoon. What reality did hardware stores, or even the corner grocery store, in that visionary American, middle-class, middle-sized town, have to a group of children of many nationalities living in Burma? Why couldn't the same basic idea of studying about communities be applied to where they were—why couldn't they learn about Burmese community life and also contribute what they knew about communities in their home countries? Of course there were no books on Burmese community life aimed at eight-year-olds, but, couldn't it be done? Shouldn't this be a basic educational decision of this school, something towards which they worked until it was an integral part of the curriculum? These were some of the questions which bothered me, but I retired gracefully when my stint as a substitute was over.

In spite of the accumulating questions, once again I thought I had left the school world. We were returning to the States: our children would attend established schools where trained people would cope with all of these problems. It might even be possible for me to acquire some more education which would help me to know how to resolve such questions.

Four months later, somewhat to my amazement, we were comfortably established in the ancient city of Lahore in West Pakistan. And there began our real concern for our children's education. Within several months our oldest child was ready for first grade. We seriously considered sending him to one of the local boys' schools run on the English pattern, in which the language of instruction was a version of English. However, the more closely we looked into these schools, the more we doubted that they would provide our son with the education we thought he should have. The classes averaged between 60 and 70 pupils; the atmosphere was one of tough-

ness, and the English used was often barely comprehensible. In addition, the curriculum was a relentlessly rigid one.

It seemed important, too, to consider the effect our frequent moves from country to country would have on the children. How could they acquire a fairly unified and cohesive type of education? After much pondering, we decided that it was impossible to know where we would be from year to year and that therefore the only thing we could do to provide some sort of continuity for our children would be to enroll them wherever we might be in a school which offered an American-type curriculum. Knowing that in most parts of the world such schools had not been long established, we fully realized that we would probably have to contribute a great deal of effort to each school to help it develop and, we hoped, to make the curriculum more international.

There was an American school in Lahore, a cooperative venture started by parents. Because there were very few children involved, and very few trained teachers available among the mothers, the school had begun by using the Calvert System from the Calvert School in Baltimore, Maryland. The system consisted of a year's plan, divided into each school day, plus the necessary books, paper, etc. A tutorial system successfully designed for use by a mother and child when regular school attendance was impossible, it was never intended for use in a classroom situation, and this the Calvert School had been trying to tell the many American schools around the world which started by using it after World War II. It was perfectly understandable that the school *had* begun this way. Here at least was a blue print for an academic year which told an inexperienced teacher what to do each day and what books to use.

Our son began first grade at the Lahore American School under the Calvert System. At that time there were only some 20 children, scattered through the first eight grades, so the Calvert System seemed somewhat appropriate. By the end of the year, however, there were nearly 70 children in the school; some classes had twelve or more students. The Calvert System was a good deal less appropriate at that point; it became apparent that some changes were in order.

During that year I had observed the school and its many, many problems from a relatively quiet island in its center. This school, too, had no library and I had undertaken to begin one. No money was available in the school's non-existent budget, so it was a question of begging for books, from anyone and everyone. I knew something about organized libraries but I did not know how one chose books to start a basic library, or how one catalogued them. So off went another letter to Vassar. An answer came immediately, and soon I was once more surrounded by books, weighty tomes such as Sear's Subject Index and Wilson's Children's Catalogue. Bit by bit the beginnings of a library began to appear.

Toward the end of that year we had almost 600 books in the library—something of an achievement without money from the school. Then the School Board asked me if I would consider serving as principal of the school for the following year: the present principal was being transferred with her husband to another part of the world. Although frightened by my ignorance, I said that I would be willing to try. I would, after all, be better than no one! As we went into details, however, the

Board was dismayed to discover that I had no degrees in education; that my Vassar degree was in political science. They were very polite, but decided that they would have to find someone with a degree in education. I hoped that they could, but I, in turn, was more than dismayed when the person finally chosen proved to be one with a degree in physical education. There were many problems confronting the school which could not be solved with a background of physical education. As a very concerned parent, one of a number, it appeared that I would have to find myself a job in the system which would enable me to contribute. Other concerned parents convinced me that I should be a candidate for President of the Board of Directors. This I did, and it turned out to be a successful campaign. By no possible stretch of the imagination could I have envisioned what the next two years would have in store for me!

The problems facing the school were almost uncountable. The building which had been in use for the last two years was definitely too small. The Calvert System had to be given up and new books ordered, complete with teachers' manuals. The school's supplies were almost non-existent, so decisions had to be made as to what quantities to order and from where. With the increase in enrollment the desks and chairs were hopelessly inadequate. More books had to be ordered for the barely begun library, now that money had been allocated in the budget. The school had had no bookkeeping system, but one was essential now that the school was growing. The tuition fees had to be adjusted to meet the costs of running a good school. Teachers had to be found for the coming year (always a gamble in overseas schools), and some estimate made of the size of the student body. This is almost impossible in a constantly shifting population.

How do you plan the size of a class or the space needed for it? If a building has been built for use as a school, with rooms of standard sizes which can accommodate most classes, these questions are not vital, but when a school is located in a house, as most overseas schools are when they begin, store rooms, hallways, kitchens, as well as garages, must become classrooms when the growth surge is strong. And teachers—what do you do if you have fifteen children enrolled for the fifth grade and no teacher? Or, even more terrifying, seventeen excited children registered for the first grade but no one in the community with the skills necessary for a first-grade teacher? I knew only too well that one does not walk in off the street and start to teach reading! On and on went the list of what had to be done.

The search for a suitable house to use went on until one week before school was due to open. We considered renting tents. We considered a crash building program. We considered putting each grade in a guest room in private houses. The only thing we could not consider was not having school open.

Finally, one week before the deadline, a two-story building was found which had been built for use as two apartments. In the seven days that remained the building was transformed into a school.

During the chase for a building, equally strenuous work was going on in choosing books and ordering supplies. Fortunately for the school, Lahore had a number of education experts temporarily there on Ford Foundation and ICA (now USAID) projects, all of whom were generous with

their time and knowledge in helping us to make decisions and in guiding us toward what they considered the best choices.

The year went on. New problems arose and some of the old ones stayed with us. Numbers of students arrived unexpectedly; the school opened its doors to children of other nationalities, so there was the question of a program for those who spoke no English. No Pakistani children could be admitted, both because the school had not yet been recognized by the Government of Pakistan and because the school did not have a strong enough financial base to be able to offer scholarships, but we began to try to raise money for scholarships; and on and on and on.

That December I represented the Lahore American School at a conference in Bangkok of the overseas American schools which were scattered in the arc between northern Japan and Afghanistan. We found that many of our problems were similar but that each school had its local variation on the general theme. We exchanged solutions and suggestions and felt heartened by the knowledge that others were struggling in the same way we were and that everyone seemed to be making progress. During one meeting we made a rough count of the number of children at schools of this type within the geographical area represented at the conference. We found that there were approximately 10,000 children, not including the children of the American military in dependents' schools. This was horrifying, not because these children were overseas, but because no single agency or group was taking any responsibility for their education. Whether these children were educated well or badly or at all depended (and still depends) largely on the parents who were at a certain place at a certain time, except for the children who were attending the older, missionary-run schools. If these parents were knowledgeable or interested or determined, things were apt to go reasonably well. If the parents felt it didn't matter or that everything was up to the school, then things went badly or not at all. This was a sobering reflection, although we had become quite excited at the thought that the International Schools Foundation of New York and Washington, which had called the conference, was beginning to take an interest in these scattered schools. The Foundation, however, had very limited financial resources and, of course, no authority, only the capacity to be extremely helpful within its budgetary restrictions. When, we wondered, would the United States Government or some appropriate agency thereof realize that great numbers of these thousands of children were not in these schools for a few months or a year or even two years, but would be attending them for years, perhaps for as many as ten years? Was the United States really going to let these children arrive in American universities and high schools handicapped by inadequate preparation when, by inheritance and opportunity, they should be among the better prepared?

The next year I relaxed by being a member of the Board rather than the president. The problems were still with us and many were the same ones: a new building would be needed because the enrollment had rapidly grown to well over a hundred; some parents wanted to add a four-year high school even though there were only 20 students in those grades; the landlord wanted to raise the rent; a teacher with so many degrees that she found it difficult to talk with the other teachers had failed most of her sixth-grade students without consulting the principal; the school needed to approach some of the American engineering firms (which had come to Lahore to work on the Indus River development projects) for financial contributions so that some capital developments could take place; an application should be submitted to the US Government for a grant of money under Public Law 480 so that scholarships might be offered to Pakistani students; a start must be made on gathering material so that learning about Pakistan could be incorporated into the curriculum, etc., etc. And constantly there was the gam-

ble: will we have the same number of students next year, or fewer, or more?

Nevertheless, by the time we moved to Karachi that spring we knew that the school was well on its way. As I packed for the move, I reflected on the great amount of effort that this community had put into the school, on the hours and hours of dedicated work the women who served as teachers had given the children for practically nothing in the way of pay, on the fact that an experience such as this one was really an example of the best in the American tradition. By this I meant that a group faced with nothing, or almost nothing, had worked endlessly to create something which was good and useful and needed, something that met not only the need of the American community but that was going on rapidly to meet a need for many other nationalities as well. In fact, not only would the school become a demonstration center for American educational practices and techniques, but its very creation was a demonstration of something very similar to the American pioneer efforts.

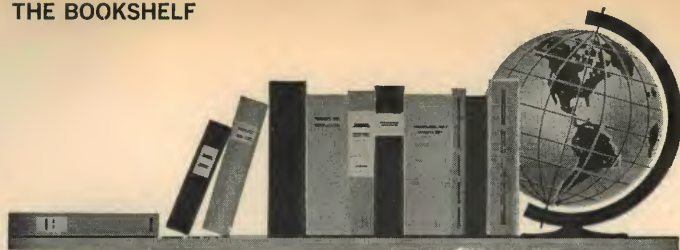
We had agreed to be in Karachi for only one year, and I was tired. I decided that I had done my great public works, that I would take this year off, see something of our own children and, hopefully, begin to work seriously on this question of preparing materials on the area which could be used by students below the college level. I was hoping that I could find the time and the talent to create a book on Pakistan which could be used in schools, this being the direct, although seemingly devious, outcome of my experience with the third grade in Burma.

The Karachi American School was both older and larger than the one in Lahore. In 1961 it offered classes from kindergarten through the twelfth grade with an enrollment of approximately 400 students. A grant of funds had recently been applied for under US Public Law 480 in order to make it possible for the school to build proper buildings and to offer scholarships to Pakistani students. Assurances had been given that some kind of a grant would be forthcoming and the school was doing everything it could to make itself eligible to receive one. One of the requirements under P.L. 480 was (and is) that the recipient school must offer an American curriculum and also teach the language and history of the area in which the school is located. Urdu was being taught in a fashion at the Karachi school at that time, but nothing successful had yet been achieved in teaching about Pakistan in particular or the Subcontinent as a whole.

Before I quite knew what had happened, I had agreed to develop and to teach the courses needed to fulfill this part of the requirement. It was decided that the school should try to expose each student to such training at least once. With the vast majority of the student body only at the school for a two-year period, it was evident that something would have to be taught at every other grade level. We realized that the first few grades should not have a special unit on Pakistan but rather should relate as many of their activities as possible to the area. Therefore, the fourth grade would be the first level at which a six-week unit would be taught, followed by one for the sixth grade and one for the eighth grade. The high school would offer an elective in the form of a full-year advanced history course on the Subcontinent; this would be limited to juniors and seniors because the level of maturity of the materials which would have to be used was more advanced than that usually offered high school students.

Having these decisions made gave me a framework within which I had to work, but that, of course, was all. Then began a summer of intensive searching, ordering, buying and reading, in order to collect materials to use at the various grade levels and to prepare myself to teach them somewhat coherently. Fortunately, it later turned out that I had two years in which to work out these courses, so they could be developed somewhat more fully the second year. The first year I taught all

*(Continued on page 52)*



### An End to the Cold War?

THERE has been a pattern in modern European history to have long years of conflict followed by peace settlements which for better or for worse determine the course of inter-state relations until the next cycle of wars begins. Thus, in 1648 and again in 1815 intensive and protracted periods of hostilities were concluded by treaties opening the way to more normal and in some respects at least more hopeful times.

The arrangements worked out by the warring parties in each of these earlier periods showed a certain promise of an end to sterile and hopeless antagonism among nations which supposedly represented the most advanced trends of world civilization. History, however, willed it otherwise. As C. V. Wedgwood has commented of the Thirty Years War: "After the expenditure of so much human life to so little purpose, men might have grasped the essential futility of putting the beliefs of the mind to the judgment of the sword. Instead, they rejected religion as an object to fight for and found others."

Finding other objects to fight for has seemed to be a preoccupation of our age. The past fifty-odd years of history are remarkable for the number of causes for which millions of human lives have been sacrificed in order to bring about allegedly genuine conditions of freedom, justice, and equality. Whether such goals are closer to realization remains to be seen. It is hard for mankind to believe that its sacrifices are in vain. The fact nevertheless remains that there is still no settlement in prospect for the more than half century of turmoil and bloodshed that began in 1914.

Time is, however, contributing to a solution of the problem. Most of the protagonists in the continuing struggle are beginning to see the futility of impersonal hostility and indiscriminate attacks on institutionalized enemies. With luck we may hope that these insights will eventually lead to something constructive in the field of foreign affairs.

There are now in fact hesitant signs of recognition that we are entering a new and different phase of history, one in which the values of the past 20 years may no longer be applicable. So far there are only toddling steps into this new realm and more questions are raised than answers are provided. Inquiry is, however, the first essential to a re-examination of customary but not necessarily satisfactory ways of doing business.

A brief but important contribution to this inquiry is Professor Marshall Shulman's "Beyond the Cold War." The book begins with an excellent review of the origins of the East-West confrontation, goes on to describe the changes in the world-wide alignment of forces since the struggle began and outlines the evolution of domestic and foreign policy in the USSR. The author argues for a shift of emphasis away from the simple-minded alternatives of one ideology against another and from the day-to-day preoccupations with gaining this or that advantage. As Professor Shulman phrases it, there is a necessity to recognize that "Cold War as a term and as a conception does not provide an adequate framework for thinking about the kinds of problems that need our attention. Not that the Cold War is over, but it has been transformed and merged into a larger and more complex setting."

The book may be criticized for not offering a prescription for settlement of the Cold War, but this seems to me to be to its credit rather than otherwise, since it points the way to a difference of approach instead of getting lost in what one might and might not do to arrive at solutions that are now only on the distant horizon. If one were to find fault with the work, it would be with the contemplative, philosophical view of the unfolding of contemporary history. The pace of events in our world is such that time will not wait for us to gather full evidence for policy judgments. The need these days is for imagination and skill in evaluating the intangibles of the twentieth century world and in bringing a certain de-

tachment to bear on the automatic conclusion which vast accumulations of facts force upon us.

A work which does offer detailed suggestions to deal with Cold War problems is Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski's "Alternative to Partition," a book prepared for the Atlantic Policy Studies Program of the Council on Foreign Relations. Brzezinski, like Shulman, approaches the question from the point of view that the attitudes and standards of today are no longer adequate to cope with the increasing complexities of a fast-changing East-West relationship. He cites as evidence the gradual Europeanization of the USSR, the loss of revolutionary leadership by the Russians to the Chinese, the resurrection of nationalism in Eastern Europe, and independent strivings on the part of Communist governments in the latter area. Within the context of these changes Brzezinski sees the possibility of a rapprochement between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe. It should be the function of Western foreign policy, he argues, to assist this development by furthering in appropriate ways the process of evolutionary change. The US role should be one of spearheading such an effort rather than of insisting on the overriding priorities of military security, thereby assuring the perpetuation of the European partition.

While Brzezinski's basic thesis appears to be a sound one, the same cannot be said of some of the measures he proposes to implement it. At this stage of history it is, for example, extremely unrealistic to advocate that the West institute a quarantine of East Germany. Aside from the fact that such a proposition is, technically speaking, no longer feasible, it would pose a direct challenge to the Soviet Union which could not be overlooked. The net effect would most likely be not a decrease in tensions and greater rapprochement between East and West but rather the reverse. In this connection, it might be noted also that the book provides no clear answer to the overriding problem of accommodating Soviet security preoccupations in respect to Eastern Europe. It should be clear by now that any design to reintegrate the latter area into the fabric of Continental life cannot be realized so long as the Russians have reason to suspect it is being done at their expense.

These negative comments should not, however, detract from the value of a presentation containing many useful suggestions which ought to be examined in detail by those interested

in working towards a settlement of the European tangle.

A further work on the same general topic of Cold War maneuvers "Changing East-West Relations and the Unity of the West" does not live up to its title. As a volume authored by nine different experts, it has both the advantages and disadvantages of a collective effort. Among the former are a good variety of views, some of them opposed, and a wide-ranging spectrum of interests. On the other hand, the book suffers from a lack of focus, is uneven in quality and in part touches on the main subject only tangentially. Perhaps its greatest worth is in documenting the fact of change in the East-West confrontation and in the alignment of forces in each camp. As might be expected, the book is much less successful when it comes to suggesting specific ways in which we could take advantage of changing conditions in order to bring about a more stable international political order.

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

BEYOND THE COLD WAR, by Marshall D. Shulman. Yale University Press, \$3.75.

ALTERNATIVE TO PARTITION, by Zbigniew Brzezinski. McGraw-Hill, \$5.95.

CHANGING EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE UNITY OF THE WEST, edited by Arnold Wolfers. Johns Hopkins Press, \$6.00, paper, \$2.45.

### Nightmare Revisited

READING Elie Abel's "The Missile Crisis" is like revisiting a particularly terrifying nightmare. Abel himself has commented, "How close we came to Armageddon I did not fully realize until I started researching this book."

In "The Exercise of Sovereignty," Charles Burton Marshall observes: "[Consent and coercion] are not necessarily opposed to each other. It is wrong to think of them as antithetic in such a way that the more there is of one, the less there can be of the other. Successful statecraft uses each to enhance the other." The trick, of course, is to find just the right mix. And in this age of push-button, instantaneous, mass annihilation, you do not find it by a trial-and-error method. Karl Deutsch, in "The Nerves of Government," says that prestige is to power as credit is to cash; that physical force is to power as gold is to paper money, savings accounts, and checks. It happens from time to time that you have to show some cash to keep your credit rating up. And sometimes you meet somebody who wants to see the color of your money, not the name of the bank on your check. But you do not

—if you can help it—draw out all your money and close your savings account.

We have passed the midpoint of the twentieth century. In Dean Rusk's words (quoted by Abel) to George Ball on Tuesday, October 23, 1962, the eighth of the thirteen-day crisis: "We have won a considerable victory. You and I are still alive."

The balance between consent and coercion, between reason and reaction, and between diplomatic and military maneuvers is going to become more, not less, sensitive. It can never again be an either/or choice. Between them, the Department of State and the Pentagon (and their counterparts in other countries) will constantly have to know what constitutes just the right mix. Nor can the task be turned over to computers.

This book should be high on the list of recommended reading at West Point, Annapolis, Denver, and the Foreign Service Institute.

—S. I. NADLER

THE MISSILE CRISIS, by Elie Abel. Lipincott, \$4.95.

### Travelogue, Slightly Dated

THE WRITER who decides to make a book out of magazine articles published over a number of years faces a problem: Shall he print them exactly as they appeared, or bring them up to date? In this compilation from the files of the NEW YORKER, Christopher Rand and his publishers have taken the former course, using footnotes to record significant changes since the original publication. (In these uneasy times even footnotes sometimes lag behind events. In a discussion of Singapore we find an asterisk directing us to the amendment: "Malaya and Singapore have now been absorbed in the new nation of Malaysia.")

Since these travelogues cover the decade 1949-59 and discuss such turbulent areas as China, Southeast Asia, Afghanistan and the Israeli-Syrian border, this method has both advantages and disadvantages. It is interesting to get a look at west China, hard up against the Tibetan frontier, as it was just before the Bamboo Curtain came down. More than once Mr. Rand's insights and conjectures are prophetic. But his idyllic picture of life in the Vale of Kashmir reads strangely today. There is only a brief reference to the political conflict that recently exploded into warfare, and in that reference the author's crystal ball is somewhat clouded.

As always, Mr. Rand is a delight

to read. He has a sharp eye and an apt phrase for significant detail, and his deceptively casual prose is felicitous.

—TED OLSON

MOUNTAINS AND WATER, by Christopher Rand. Oxford, \$4.95.

### Memories of Finland

AMBASSADOR GRIPENBERG, who for many years was the Finnish Minister in London and then after a brief tour of duty at the Holy See was transferred to Stockholm during the latter part of World War II to serve as the Finnish Envoy to Sweden, has written a most readable book of his experiences in these three posts at a time when his country was immersed in two conflicts with the Soviet Union, the Winter War of 1939-40 and the second war in which it joined with Germany to attack the USSR in 1941.

The present reviewer was *en poste* in Helsinki during the period covered by Ambassador Gripenberg's memoirs. He is therefore in a position to vouch for the authenticity of the narrative and in particular the highly interesting account of the delicate and protracted negotiations which led to Finland's eventual break with the Germans and negotiation of a hard peace with the Soviet Union. As a study in wartime diplomacy, coupled with the effect of military operations, Gripenberg's memoirs deserve scrutiny by Foreign Service officers.

—ROBERT MCCLINTOCK

FINLAND AND THE GREAT POWERS, *Memoirs Of A Diplomat*, by G. A. Gripenberg. Translated from the Swedish by Albin T. Anderson. University of Nebraska Press.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Ambassador Gripenberg's book gives considerable space to two American Foreign Service officers Ambassador McClintock and Ambassador Edmund Gullion.]

### Encounters with History

HANS Kohn's "Living in a World Revolution" is the seventh volume of *The Credo Series*, which "explores the many ways by which man, in a world increasingly materialist, conformist and abstract, searches for meaning and inspiration." The series is specially concerned with the relationship between what a person is and what he does.

Kohn, a historian, sub-titles his book "My Encounters with History." These encounters take place over a long time and in many places: in the serene and cultured Prague of the

Hapsburgs; as a soldier in the Austrian army on the Eastern front; as a prisoner of war in Russia during the Bolshevik revolution; in post-war Paris "resplendent with its recent victory"; and London with its "afterglow of Edwardian magnificence"; in Palestine as a Zionist in the late 20s; and finally in the United States "... with its open, pluralistic society (which) promised a greater measure of freedom and diversity than was possible in Europe."

He manages to view the cataclysmic events of the last half-century, events in which he was both witness and victim, with an extraordinary objectivity, perhaps because he is by outlook and training an historian, but even more so because he somehow has been remarkably at home in the world, even a world of war and revolution. "In my encounters with history, my faith in man's destiny has grown," he writes. "These seventy years, despite their barbarism and destructiveness, their bitter nationalist struggles and their repudiation of traditional norms of social and political behavior, have resulted in a better life for most peoples. For this reason, at the climax of this era of revolutionary change and at the twilight of my life, I assent, hopefully and gratefully to both of them—to the world revolution and to my life."

This is a sane and balanced view of a world striving for universal order and equality in the midst of nationalistic struggles, racial prejudice and economic imbalance.

—STEPHEN CAMPBELL

LIVING IN A WORLD REVOLUTION: *My Encounters with History*, by Hans Kohn. Trident, \$4.95.

#### Latin American Border Disputes

PROFESSOR WOOD reviews in exhaustive detail (I counted 891 footnotes) the lengthy diplomatic negotiations which arose from three border disputes in Latin America from 1932 to 1942. Only one was a declared war. Bolivia, having lost its outlet to the Pacific when Chile seized Antofagasta Province in the War of the Pacific, attempted to regain an outlet to the sea through the east coast of South America. In 1933 it invaded Paraguay in an effort to acquire the port of Bahia Negra on the Paraguay River, to which Bolivia had some historical claims. The Chaco War resulted in a hundred thousand deaths which, given the small populations involved, is a very high percentage of the armies then in existence.

The other two conflicts—between Colombia and Peru when a band of supposedly private citizens attacked Leticia, on the Amazon River; and between Peru and Ecuador concern-

ing territory north of the Marañón, the name given to the Amazon west of the Peruvian port of Iquitos—were incidents rather than wars, though both led to extensive diplomatic negotiations and efforts on the part of the American states to find and establish peace-keeping mechanisms.

The three cases covered in this book are illustrative of the type of dispute which has plagued Latin America since the nations gained their independence. Despite the subsequent ratification of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance of 1947 and the Charter of the OAS of 1948, the same or similar border problems still persist.

Professor Wood shows clearly that relatively insignificant issues become the basis of success or failure in diplomatic negotiations. Though they are not of over-all historic importance, it is certain that they are of great concern to the individuals and governments involved in them at the time, including the United States, inevitably. The author also described the difficulties experienced in achieving acceptance of consultation and in devising appropriate mechanisms within the Inter-American systems for solving disputes. This matter is again a problem as the nations of the hemisphere negotiate revisions in the OAS Charter.

Since much of the research documentation consists of Foreign Service dispatches and reports published in "Foreign Relations of the United States," the lesson for an FSO to remember is that he is writing the raw material of history. Any "old-timer" reading this book will be struck by the number of former colleagues, both FSOs and Latin Americans, who are quoted.

—MILTON BARALL

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICAN WARS: 1932-1942, by Bruce Wood. Columbia University Press, \$11.00.

#### The Unloved Germans

DR. HERMANN EICH has written an interesting and well balanced "apology" for the German, his history, his nature, and his politics. Dr. Eich was editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt* before World War II, and since the war he has served as editor of the *Duesseldorf Nachrichten* and presently is Editor-in-Chief of the *Westdeutsche Zeitung*.

The book was published in German in 1963 under the title "Die Umheimlichen Deutsche," perhaps better translated as "The Sinister Germans" rather than "The Unloved Germans" which is the title of the English edition. The

translation is good and the style is highly readable.

The book concerns itself with presenting and interpreting the various views of Germans and Germany from many national viewpoints, including the German. Dr. Eich is primarily concerned with demonstrating that the clichés and oversimplifications which purport to characterize the Germans are not applicable. He rejects the idea that there are typical German physical characteristics as well as typical German mental processes. The famous characterizations of the Germans are presented, the Churchillian remark about the Germans being either "at your feet or at your throat." The author also points out that Germans have often been highly critical of themselves—for example, Goethe, Nietzsche, and Thomas Mann.

Although some reviewers have apparently faulted this book for being nothing other than apologies, I found the author quite willing to accept German responsibility for much of the brutalities of recent world history. For example, "Dresden is the end of a chain whose links we ourselves forged"; and on Germany as a source of the world's misfortunes: "There is, God knows, enough evidence in support of this view."

His judgment on Nazis strikes one as being reasonable. He asserts that total involvement under a dictatorship is only possible "in the cradle, in prison, or in emigration." His judgment of Globke is typical: "Taken all around Globke was not in a position to prevent anything from happening, just as he probably did nothing to prevent anything from happening."

On the general question of good and evil Dr. Eich feels that we are gradually beginning to realize that good and evil are "not confined by time or frontier and that they are not to be found in one nation alone."

"Good Germany is as much to be found in the present-day Federal Republic as in the GDR—as also is evil Germany." On the subject of higher administrators in the Nazi regime, Dr. Eich gives the example of Foreign Office State Secretary Ernst Freiherr von Weizsäcker who claimed to have had a "personal code" and to have been keeping "two sets of books." The pompous and inflammatory statements were only camouflage so that his position could be maintained "to prevent the worst from happening." Dr. Eich maintains that "juggling and dissimulation are a component of every dictatorship . . . (and) an inescapable fact."

Eich sees the present German as in an historically confusing situation. In

the last few decades Germans have seen three changes of regime, two currency devaluations, division of their country, loss of one fourth of their national territory, and destruction of the expansionist dream into Russia. Under each of the three regimes German history had to be re-written with a different philosophy in mind. This has lead to an unstable situation where the young German feels himself to be without history.

Concerning the future of Germany Dr. Eich says little. One note of light pessimism is perhaps expressed in the statement that "order and prosperity are mutually supporting; opinions differ as to whether the one would persist if the other were removed." More than one German would share this vague misgiving as to the future course of Germany.

—JAMES H. MOSS

THE UNLOVED GERMANS, by Hermann Eich. Stein & Day, \$6.95.

#### Covering the Capital

IN this anthology, which originated as a lecture series at the American University, 16 newsmen tell how they cover their Washington assignments. All are informative, most of them thoughtful, some witty. The general tone is one of tolerant irreverence

for the statesmen and bureaucrats from whom they must coax the facts they feel the public has a right to know. Edward R. Murrow told Marvin Kalb the best preparation for a State Department beat was a few years in Moscow, and Mr. Kalb admonishes: "When covering the State Department, he [the reporter] must work with the same degree of skepticism that he used in assessing the enemy. He must take the State Department apart, measure it, hold it up to the light, examine it, and always bring the most profound skepticism to bear on every pronouncement."

So now you know.

—T. O.

THE PRESS IN WASHINGTON, Ray Eldon Hiebert, Editor. Dodd Mead & Company, \$5.00.

#### A Dissenting Voice

AS JOURNAL readers know, Dr. Hans Morgenthau (Professor of Political Science and Modern History at the University of Chicago) has for some years mordantly criticized US policy towards Communist China and Vietnam. In the Great Debate and Great Dissent regarding Vietnam he has been in the vanguard

of those demanding a drastic change in policy.

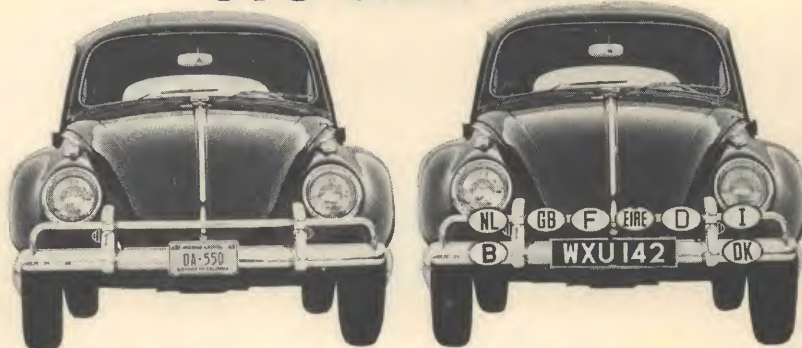
In challenging the basic premises on which US policy rests, he has warned that we are on a collision course with Communist China. He holds that Chinese predominance in Asia is as much a fact of life as American predominance in the Western hemisphere; therefore, if Chinese predominance is to be contained, the United States must strike at the very sources of Chinese power and "must destroy that power itself. Thus the policy of the peripheral military containment of China leads with logical necessity to war with China."

Whether Dr. Morgenthau's views are shared or not, they merit respectful study—not only for their cogent argumentation but also for their influence on many Americans, especially those in US colleges and universities. A collection of his writings during the past decade, as well as a detailed chronology of events in Vietnam 1948-1965, may be perused in the 100-page brochure, "Vietnam and the United States."

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES, by Hans J. Morgenthau. Public Affairs Press, \$2.00.

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# The Navy and Foreign Policy

*This speech by Mr. Nitze was given at the April 28 luncheon of the Foreign Service Association.*

IT is a pleasure for me to be here back in the State Department after eight years. I think I saw more old and true friends in the fifteen minutes before lunch than I've seen in any fifteen minutes for years and years and years. I have a particularly close feeling for Alexis Johnson as well. In the days of the Policy Planning Staff the job of supervising or working on the political-military problems was part of Policy Planning Council's job. It was that part of it that became a fascinating part of the job to me—relation with the Pentagon and inter-relationship of foreign policy and Defense policy.

Alexis suggested that what I was going to talk about was the Navy, and that is what I propose to talk about. I think this group, having served abroad and having seen our foreign policy in action and the support which is necessary from our armed services, has seen the Navy in operation all around the world. Basically there is very little that I can add to the point of an obvious necessity for Defense support for the execution of foreign policy. But I thought I might start off with the difference in the way things look as one moves from the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department to International Security Affairs in the Department of Defense, and then to be the Secretary of a Service.

In the Policy Planning Council we felt that our job was to look at the totality of our policy in an historical concept, looking back, looking at today, looking in the future. We were trying to come up with those ideas which, taking off from the past, would give us the best prospects for the future so that we could bring those ideas to bear upon the decisions of today. Many of those questions were political-military questions.

In ISA, the job was just the political-military part of the same larger problem, and to work this out with the State Department.

When you move over to the Navy, you find that it is an entirely different kind of a problem that you are dealing with. You're not dealing to the same extent with the nation's broad policy problems; you're dealing with every concrete problem that has to do with the 750,000 Navy people that

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are in the Navy, the 250,000 Marine Corps people and the 350,000 civilians we have in our shipyards and in our overhaul and repair establishments and elsewhere. When one deals with the totality of problems that come up from an organization of that magnitude, they cover a larger range of things than you can imagine. There are, obviously, the gut issues—pay, promotion, training, education, discipline—things of that kind. Then there is the array of problems that have to do with the development of the appropriate weapons systems—our laboratory structure, our research and development problems, and the specific questions of technology underlining each one of those weapons systems. Of course, you have the problems of procurement. You have to deal with money, with systems analysis, with cost effectiveness. And you do get into the questions of doctrine, of tactics, and of strategy. This brings you back to the field that I used to be interested in, the political-military field. We find this is the foundation for all the other things we do.

Of course, life with the Navy involves relations with Congress. This is the fourth day in a row I have been before the Armed Services Committee on the Hill.

There is much talk about civilian control of the military establishments. If one looks at our organization of the Navy, the top civilian part of the Navy consists of the Secretary, the Under Secretary, three Assistant Secretaries and two Special Assistants to the Secretary. There are, then, really only seven of us. With an organization of 1,350,000 people, seven people constitutes a small group. The implication is that you really have to rely—and you can rely—upon the uniformed elements of the Navy.

Now, I think it is worthwhile saying a few words about the Navy. I think of it in this context: it is a unique institution of officers and men. Perhaps one can say it is conservative. It has to be conservative in order to produce the reliability which is vital to success in constant contention

against the elements, the sea, and perhaps an active enemy. It feels itself to be a corporate body. Certainly, the officers feel themselves to be judged by their peers. They feel themselves to be a team. I think there are very few exceptions to that rule. If the Navy officers cannot come to a consensus, obviously the Chief of Naval Operations working with the Secretary is the principal person who helps them resolve these issues. But when you once get a consensus of opinion behind a course of action in the Navy, the officers rally together and support that course of action. You then have complete support of the policies as they are decided.

Also, I think the Navy officers have developed an extraordinary competence in the technical field. I'd like to dwell on this for a minute because I have become more and more persuaded that the Navy covers a wider range of technical problems than do the other two Services or perhaps any other institution in the world.

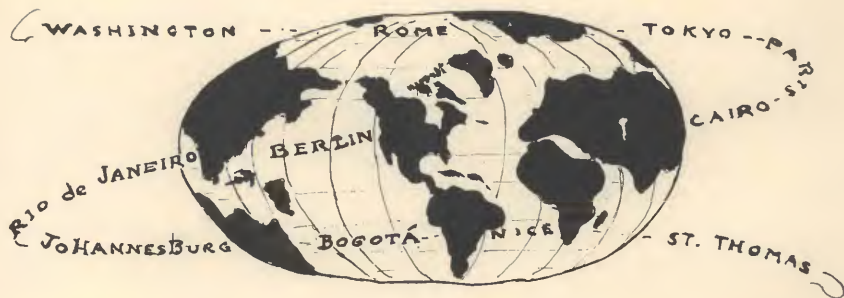
In order to make this point, I think it is worth looking first at the air. The Naval Air Arm has all the problems that the Air Force has, but, in addition, they're under a special constraint. The constraint is that you have to do these air operations from a carrier. To do this sort of thing from a carrier, under the constraints of carrier compatibility, requires somewhat different techniques and complicates the problem for the Navy beyond the complications that the Air Force faces.

If you look at land operations and the amphibious operations that the Navy and the Marine Corps together undertake, these operations are comparable to the land operations of the other Services except for the constraint that you have to do this across a beach against opposition. This is inherently a more difficult job than the normal way in which land operations are undertaken.

Then, as you look at the antisubmarine warfare part of our problem, this is in a way comparable to guerrilla war-

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fare on land. Again there is a constraint: you fight this war under the surface of the ocean in a medium where you can't see, radar doesn't work, and where sound channels are bent by differences in temperature, salinity, the ocean bottom, depth, things of that kind. This becomes a very difficult medium in which to conduct an operation which compares to guerrilla warfare on land.

And then, of course, we've got the additional problems of nuclear propulsion which also require a technical expertise unique for the moment to the Navy.

The Navy has a panoply of in-house laboratories. I think we have 54 laboratories, some of them very large indeed. We do more of our work within the Navy, less of it perhaps outside by contractors, than the other Services. The upshot of this is to support my first point, which is that the Navy has within itself a degree of technical and management competence which is very hard to duplicate in any other agency or institution anywhere in the world.

Now, let me talk for a minute about the missions of the Navy. The first one that comes to mind is the contribution to the nuclear deterrent. There, the criterion obviously is to have a survivable force—a force that wouldn't put us in a position where we would have to strike first in a contingency. Also, we need a force that is reliable and one that can penetrate enemy defenses.

In the Polaris system we have such a force. It was developed and created at great expense. Thirteen billion dollars is what we have put into the Polaris system. I think we have developed the mechanism which the nation required. And, as to reliability, the A-3 Polaris missiles have had 36 successful shots out of the last 38. When it came to working on a more advanced system for our nuclear security as a whole, the fixed site systems and our submarine based system were in competition. It became clearly evident that the thing to do now was to develop further our Polaris system with Poseidon. We are putting three hundred million dollars this year in research and development on that system.

The next mission—and the one that I think is the most important one because it underlies all the others—is our antisubmarine warfare program. Unless you can defeat a DSR submarine threat, unless you can maintain control of the sea in time of war, many of these other things that one talks about doing are impossible.

I didn't mean to refer to Vietnam at all today, but I think it is pertinent that 98 percent of our material moving into Vietnam does move by sea. I think we just assume the fact that we have the use of the seas and that this ability to use the seas cannot be challenged. In fact, this ability comes only because people are working hard to maintaining the capabilities to defeat any threat to our free use of the seas.

The next mission is the carrier-strike capability. The carriers have mobility. A considerable degree of their survivability comes because of that unique mobility. Over the last two or three years we have had a number of studies dealing with the cost effectiveness of carrier-based attack wings versus land-based attack wings. Our studies show—maybe we are biased—that the greater cost effectiveness rests with the mobile carrier platform. I don't think many people bought this idea some years ago. I think, now, most people agree with us. When one adds up all the various considerations, it becomes clear that a mix of land-based and sea-based platforms is necessary. We were given authority to ask for another nuclear carrier in this budget and one in '69 and another one in '71.

I remember that Alexis asked me, two or three years ago, whether we couldn't put a carrier into the Indian Ocean. I said, "Certainly, it could be done if you want to consider the cost of doing this because you don't have these forces for nothing." We put about four and a half billion dollars

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*Secretary of the Navy Nitze addresses AFSA members.*

a year into our carrier forces and the escorts and things that go with them. And, if you work that out to what it costs to maintain a carrier on station for a year, with another that could quickly join it, that works out to about 900 million dollars a year. I remember talking to Alexis and saying, "Sure we can do it, but will you see to it that we are given the additional 900 million dollars a year?"

The next mission is a mission I referred to before, that of having the quick capability of mounting an amphibious assault at any time. Here the important parameters include first of all the reaction time. We want to be able to do this within a certain number of days from the time that the President and the State Department tell us that the operation is necessary. This means a unique degree of readiness which the Marines have developed. I don't know of a single incident where the Marines have been asked to move and haven't been ready to move that very day. Now, this isn't easily done. The Marines keep at hand every item of equipment which they might need in an amphibious assault. They keep this available, packed, and ready to move on very short notice. They can move; they can do what they are asked to do. And they can do it now and not tomorrow. Of course, this results in a situation where they have been ready to move when others, because of their different mission, might not have been so ready. We are tied down now in South Vietnam more than I would like to see the Marines tied down, because I look upon the Navy/Marine Corps team as a kind of quick reaction capability which we ought to keep more in a strategic reserve than tied down and committed.

Now, obviously, what we maintain all these forces for is support of foreign policy. One important thing that the Navy has consistently kept in mind is the necessity for having a capability for a tailored response; to be able to do a little more—or still more—up to any level that the President on the advice of the Department of State would ask for. And I think we have maintained that. We can operate with

small coastal patrol vessels. We can operate with a company or a platoon, with one aircraft sortie, with a carrier, with a whole host of carriers, with amphibious landing forces, with Polaris deterrent force. It all depends upon what instructions we are given.

I think another thing that the State Department is interested in is quick response. Occasions do arise where it makes a difference. We can react within a day or two days. I think we have maintained that capability and I think we have it today. And I think that is an important thing for us to maintain.

And then, from our standpoint, it is important that when we do react that we are able to sustain whatever action we undertake—to keep it going for as long as necessary. I think we have been able to do that. I am extremely proud of the way the Navy has handled itself during this Vietnam situation, particularly in its capability to sustain a continuity in all the actions it has undertaken.

Of course we do have problems. I will dwell for a minute on what our problems are. I think our main problem goes back to one of the points I made earlier. That is the wide range of technical problems which are involved in the maintenance of the capabilities we have to have. Today, we have complicated sonars, complicated guided missile systems, and complicated propulsion plants. You need people with experience—with training—and you don't get that in a short period of time. After their first term enlistment, experienced technicians are in demand in private industry. In order to maintain career enlisted personnel adequate to the systems we have, we must have a higher first term reenlistment rate than we have today. We have been putting a lot of attention to this problem of trying to get our first term reenlistment rate up in order to achieve a higher average competence in the people who must maintain these complicated systems.

Now, of course, this is associated with a host of other problems. People who serve at sea are separated from their families for a long period of time. This gets you into the housing problems, facilities problems, and lots of other things we have to do in order to increase the attractiveness of the Navy to the people who work in it, so that we will be able to maintain over years the type of personnel that are necessary to run these systems.

Related to that, of course, is the problem of visits for our ships. If we can't get our ships into foreign ports, this increases the "disincentive" of our service at sea.

Another major problem that I see is that some people think the US Navy alone can do the entire naval job around the world. Granted, we have done most of it through these years. Still, in our planning, we have counted on appropriate contribution from our allies, and we would welcome that contribution. I hate to see the attitude developing anywhere that the US Navy ought to do it all; that it isn't important for other countries to contribute to the general security and to the foundations of general security which involve wartime control of the seas.

Another basic problem is that the Soviet Union is paying more and more attention to the sea in their development programs. Their Merchant Marine is growing by leaps and bounds. Their foreign trade is going up. Their submarine force is enormous and is improving in quality. They're developing other kinds of ships to go along. They're very rapidly increasing their deployments, their continuous deployments out into the open ocean. This the Navy has expected for many years, but it is still a fact to be borne in mind.

In conclusion, the point I want to make is that the Navy is dedicated to the support of foreign policy, but I don't think the Navy and its capability should be taken for granted. It is important the Navy be supported; it needs support in order to do its job. ■

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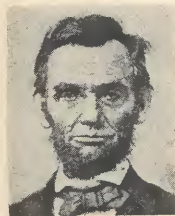
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by HELEN K. BEHRENS

### CARBONNADE (Flemish Beef Stew)

In the Congo in 1961, we addressed our invitations to "Monsieur Mbote et Mesdames." Since we did not know in advance how many, if any, wives would come to dinner, it was quite out of the question to serve a small steak per guest or to expect one chicken to do for six. There was another difficulty: Because their own parties often lasted three days, the Congolese were sometimes casual about what time—or what day—they arrived. Our solution was to serve a very good stew which could be expanded with additional potatoes, which kept warm very nicely, and which was even better when reheated the next day—the Belgian Carbonnade, which all Congolese cooks already knew how to make. Here is how they did it:

- 2 pounds chuck beef, cut in 1" cubes
- 3 tablespoons mixed bacon fat and butter
- 2 cups coarsely sliced onions (4-5 large onions)
- 2 tablespoons flour
- ½ cup bouillon or beef broth
- 2 cups of beer
- 2 cloves of garlic, minced or crushed
- 2 lumps of sugar, or 2 tablespoons brown sugar

The following vegetables and herbs, tied in a bunch, or any available combination of them:

- thyme
- bay leaf
- parsley
- 1 turnip
- 1 leek
- 1 carrot
- 1 celery stalk

(Although this is a Flemish recipe from Belgium, the French have added their own touch which you may like; they include tarragon and chervil with the herbs, and add sliced French *cornichons* (pickles) at the end.)

- 1 tablespoon vinegar
- 1 teaspoon salt, or more to taste
- three turns of freshly-ground black pepper
- Potatoes, according to the number of guests—two medium per person.

Heat the bacon fat and butter and brown the onions in it lightly. Salt and pepper the beef and add it to the pan, searing all sides. Sprinkle with the flour and stir until brown. Add the bouillon, scraping the bottom of the pan. Stir in

half of the beer and simmer gently until the liquid starts to thicken. Add the garlic and the sugar, mixing well into the broth. Add the herb and vegetable bunch, and the remaining beer to cover the meat. Bring to a boil, then cover and allow to simmer gently 2 to 2½ hours, until the meat is tender. (This can also be cooked in a 325 degree oven for the same length of time, after it has begun to simmer.)

An hour before the meat is done, start to boil the potatoes in their skin until fork-tender, peel, and cut into cubes. They should be mixed with the meat and broth at the time of serving.

When the meat is done, add the vinegar before removing from heat. If there is a large quantity of broth, drain (after having added the potatoes to the pot) and serve the sauce apart.

In the Congo, we always served green beans with this, and so did everyone else, mainly because this was the only vegetable which was in plentiful supply then the year around; but don't let our lack of variety stultify your imagination!

Beer was the logical accompaniment to this dish, but a nicety of protocol arose: the rival political parties had each adopted one of the two good Congolese beers as their particular drink, so the guest list had to be carefully made up indeed!

## MANAGEMENT

(Continued from page 26)

FR/PRZ is staffed entirely by Foreign Service personnel. The operation is small—less than 100 people—and the responsibilities are clearly defined. It has been our experience that these Foreign Service people possess a certain *je ne sais quoi* which has made placing them in Departmental slots rather difficult. For one thing, they bridle at the clearance process, which we acknowledge requires as many changes in a draft as there are men of equal rank to clear it. They protest that this process tends to obscure forthright determinations and to delay enlightenment from reaching the field. For another, they seem not to fully grasp the significance of meetings and conferences, which, as we know, are means for establishing a frame of reference for dialogue, rather than for making decisions.

We in Operational Appraisal and Systems Development have reached the consensus that since our Foreign Service colleagues must, by law, serve tours in the United States, they should be placed in jobs and circumstances which are analogous to the field, thus not disrupting Departmental continuity and morale.

In FR/PRZ, these people are very happy indeed—job-wise, field travel-wise and representational-wise. They get out to the grass roots to pulse-feel, and they are on a first name basis with congressmen, captains of industry and leading cultural figures, due to a generous apportionment of representational funds.

Another side effect of FR/PRZ has been that the Department of State's image has considerably improved since these field-oriented FSOs have been placed in their own beehive. It's hard to believe, but we were called "red blooded" by a columnist the other day. You may have read the story that brought this about. Beatnik rioters marched on the FR/PRZ building bearing placards reading "Up Ho, Down Dean." They threw rocks and ink bottles and otherwise conducted themselves in an unseemly manner, whereupon the ambassador and his staff strode out and gave them a sound thrashing.

I don't want to brag, but I think FR/PRZ is the greatest thing since the Hays Bill. ■

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## AMERICAN SCHOOLS

(Continued from page 40)

of them, somewhat to my confusion I must confess, but the second year I taught only the high-school course, having developed and put into writing the units for the fourth and sixth grades so that the regular classroom teachers could present them to their students.

Karachi has an excellent museum which concentrates mainly on the era of the Indus Valley Civilization, so students could visit it and see, for example, bricks fashioned in 2,000 B.C. or toys of the same period, all in remarkably good condition because they had been preserved in desert sands. With the younger grades, too, physical and political geography was touched on as well as some of the basic points about Islam, vitally necessary to know and to try to understand if one is to comprehend a great deal of what happens every day in Karachi. In the high school a large portion of the time available was spent on a study of Islam and Hinduism, with some time devoted also to Buddhism and Sikhism, since it is not possible to understand many of the political developments in that part of the world without some knowledge of the fundamental philosophies held by millions and millions of people.

The excitement these students felt at finally understanding, in part, the area in which they had been living for one or several years was reward enough for the enormous effort which had been required. I regretted that I had had only two years in which to work on this project. If I had begun on this particular piece of work when we had first arrived in Pakistan, some five years before, I might really have achieved the quality of development at which I aimed.

Now it was time for us to leave Pakistan. It began to seem that just as schools reached a reasonable level of development we moved on! This next move was to South America, to La Paz, Bolivia. Here, too, we found an American school which had followed the pattern of so many of the overseas schools: a beginning with the Calvert System, rapid turnover of principals and faculty, equally rapid growth in the size of the school which no one had caught up with. There are a number of unique problems involved in running a school at an altitude of 12,000 feet (an oxygen tank in the school office, for example) in a country which has had its share of political instability including strikes and demonstrations by bus drivers, local teachers, and university students, not to mention a recent revolution. But the school goes on and improves each week because of the determination and dedication of the men and women who have decided that their children and all the other children involved must have a good education.

This account has been set down to try to paint a partial picture of the situation in some 200 schools in all parts of the world. Fortunately, conditions are improving for many of them, partially because of the efforts of what the International Schools Services calls "the overseas schools community members," and partially because of the growing interest and support of the United States Department of State and of the US Agency for International Development (US-AID). Funds for buildings, money for scholarships, textbooks and equipment, technical advice from visiting specialists—all these are of vital importance and are gratefully received, but the ever-present problem which will remain with overseas schools as long as they exist is that of teachers and administrators. Although the pattern of groups establishing schools cooperatively for their children wherever they may be whenever it is necessary or possible, is uniquely American, the influence of such schools is gradually widening because of the students of many nationalities enrolled in them and because of their widely varied locations. Their influence is also beginning to be felt in the United States because of the students and teachers who return. This exchange will undoubtedly increase with the years and will be more and more valuable as overseas schools become more and more able to offer an education which reaches toward excellence.

## New AFSA Director



ROBERT B. BLACK is serving on AFSA's Board of Directors for the second time. Mr. Black served in the Navy during the war and afterwards worked in the Budget Bureau and Office Program/Planning (AID predecessors). His further line of progression was: Deputy Director of the AID Mission in Tunis, Director of the AID Mission in Dakar and a year in the National War College. He is now Chief of the Military Assistance

Division of the Program Coordination Staff of AID. Mr. Black is married to the former Jeannetta Rado, AID's desk officer for Mali.

## New Editorial Board Member



JO W. SAXE received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania. After service in the Army in World War II, he became a member of the staff of the American Embassy, Assistant Economic Commissioner, Economic Mission. In 1958 he received his Ph.D. in economics from Oxford University, under a Ford fellowship. He served as consultant to the French Ministry of Finance, as a Research Associate and Advisor to the Fellows, Harvard

University Center for International Affairs, as economic adviser (UN) to the Government of Togo, as consultant to the Ford Foundation, before joining the AID Survey Mission to Tunisia in 1961. Mr. Saxe is associate administrator for multilateral aid programs.

## THIS/AAFSW

A DANCE for "young diplomats" held at the Fort McNair Officers Club on the evening of June 22nd represented the combined effort of the Association of American Foreign Service Women and THIS (Hospitality and Information Service for Diplomatic Families in Washington). Co-chairmen were Mrs. John E. Horner for AAFSW and Mrs. Francis Lethridge for THIS. The concept of a joint dance had been suggested by Mrs. Dean Rusk, who has taken a strong interest in both THIS and AAFSW. The two sponsoring organizations are hoping to organize future joint projects following the outstanding success of this first venture. Foreign Service wives who have teenaged children and who are not now members of AAFSW may wish to consider joining and taking part in its activities.

Included among the thirty-four nationalities at the gala were children of the ambassadors of Ceylon, Gabon, Guinea, Israel, Mali and Uruguay.

Music was played by "The Confusions," made up of boys just entering college. The young people themselves handled the bulk of the program. Douglas Yriat of the Uruguayan Embassy was Master of Ceremonies; Hunter Nadler organized the dance contests and handed out the prizes. He was ably assisted by George Banlaki of Hungary, H. A. Baskiville-Robinson of New Zealand, and Ernest Wilson and Bruce Katsinos of the United States.

The co-chairmen report that, although the dance is over, the phones still ring in their homes. "Could you please give me the name of that tall girl, from Sweden or Germany, I'm not sure, who lives in Alexandria, or is it Chevy Chase?" Strangely enough, by resort to the lists of those attending, queries like this have been answered with reasonable satisfaction.



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## IMPATIENT AMERICANS

*(Continued from page 32)*

an ideal with which an individual or organization eagerly tries to associate itself, to which it wishes to be related in the public mind. It is, to be sure, the easy, painless way to identification with the good or the popular, but at least it strives avidly for that identification. Image building, while mostly illusory in its effects, has nevertheless resulted in valuable community enterprises of merit with especially distinguished results in the field of charity.

Thus, the various aspects of American impatience, while doubtlessly bad in some respects, have not been entirely without blessings in others. Perhaps, in fact, impatience is a prime ingredient of that very dynamism which is the hallmark of American life. Properly modified and controlled, American impatience can be a tremendous source of national strength and energy.

But there remains the one area where impatience is not only a flaw, but a distinct and terrible threat. This is the Cold War, or its future extensions and equivalents, where patience is the chief prerequisite to the prevention of a hot war of total destruction. Many historians have increasingly come to compare the uneasy quiet since World War II to the centuries old tensions between Catholics and Protestants—tensions which are only now showing the first faint signs of dissolving. It is only now, these historians point out, that these two camps, previously requiring a vigorous ideological adherence, have discovered hope and prospects for an easier co-existence. Do Americans have the patience to withstand numerous provocations, solve the same silly and seemingly needless problems over and over again, listen to insulting, offensive statements, discount one deliberately produced incident after another. Or will impatience allow tempers to become short, allowing demagogues to find a responsible following and to call for the only quick solution which is possible—the solution of war and death? The Cold War, or its future equivalents, is one area where impatience in any form has an infinitely greater potential for bad than good.

Finally, in appraising the element of impatience in American life, the factor of the nation's youth demands attention. We are youthful, relatively unencumbered by tradition, hopeful, impetuous. Thus, American goals suggest unreasonable expectations. The methods of achieving them generally seem sensational and even zany, the people moving toward them childish in their naive commitment and primitive faith. But must we not ask which is better? Immobility, staying put, as do the older cultures, because the obstacles appear so large that the goal is assumed beyond reach? Or so powerful a yearning for the goal as to cause people to reflect inadequately upon the obstacle involved? Isn't there, after all, always a chance for success? And, if not total success, then some slight measure of progress? Our many tries have a respectable batting average of at least such limited success. Americans, it must be admitted, have often had huge hopes and have just as often settled for something less that still signified achievement. American impatience must be closely linked to the experiment in hope, in optimism, in self-confidence which has been the history of this country. In a real sense, America is the original country representing the much vaunted revolution of rising expectations. ■

# LETTERS to the EDITOR

## That Missing Obelisk

**A**M enclosing a follow-up photo on the search for the obelisk which was initiated on the ground—or rather underground—after the JOURNAL article last November. The photo shows Dr. Richard Linington of the Lerici Foundation and myself (with flashlight) at the bottom of the 18-foot service tunnel along which we searched for indications of the buried monolith, using an instrument known as a “geohm” which sends weak electrical charges into the soil which are then plotted on a graph. The results were most encouraging and the Foundation is submitting a report to the city and the Senate under whose property the object is located.

Finally, I think that readers of the JOURNAL, often cited as the group with the most favorable retirement provisions, would be interested in the conditions the Italian Press Guild had obtained years ago for its thousands of members. In capsule form, retirement from age 55 at 90 per cent of pay with severance benefits ranging up to five years pay for managing editors with more than thirty years in the profession. Then there is a string of amazing fringe benefits.

GEORGE G. WYNNE

Rome

## The Search for the Missing Obelisk



**T**HE May issue of the JOURNAL featured a letter to Senator Albert Gore from the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association. The letter expressed the views of the Association on H.R. 6277, a bill under consideration by a Senate subcommittee of which Senator Gore is Chairman.

Inasmuch as my name was listed as a member of the Committee on Career Principles, which studied and reported on H.R. 6277 in behalf of the Association, I wish to indicate where my own views on the bill differ from those of the Association. Let me first state that I did not actively participate in the study on which the report is based; nor was I asked formally or otherwise to endorse the report or the letter to Senator Gore.

I am fully in accord with the purposes and objectives of the bill, particularly those sections which would provide the basis for a unified foreign affairs personnel system. There are, in fact, only two features of the bill as now drafted which trouble me. Firstly, and this is of deep concern, is the exclusion of Foreign Service Reserve officers serving worldwide in unlimited appointments from participation in the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. Secondly, the provision which would require that an employee who transfers to one of the new foreign service categories must give his written consent prior to his being assigned abroad, even though he was already committed to worldwide service at the time of transfer. The Agency for International Development

has officially taken exception to these two provisions in statements to the Senate subcommittee and has requested that they be amended.

As to specific issues raised in the Board's letter, my personal views differ from those expressed by the Board in the following respects:

Although flexibility is certainly one important purpose of the proposed legislation, to cite it as the “principal” purpose is, it seems to me, an overstatement. The proposed single personnel system would serve other equally important purposes. Among these are: equitable conditions of employment for persons engaged in similar work; greater efficiency in the management of the personnel programs; and the establishment of a statutory base for a recognized career system for the foreign service employees of AID and USA.

The last section of the Board's letter expressed concern over “large scale integration into the FSO Corps.” It is not clear, however, what is the basis for this concern. I, therefore, find it difficult either to agree or disagree with that section of the letter, and I would question the relevancy of this kind of discussion within the context of a position paper on H.R. 6277. The bill does not treat with the subject of lateral entry into the FSO Corps in any significant degree. It simply reduces the period of prior Government service from 4 years to 3 for lateral entry in classes 1 through 5; to 1 year, in classes 6 or 7. Any changes in the constitution of the FSO Corps as to kind or volume would, as the letter indicates, be made within the frame of existing legislation. For this reason, I would not agree that reports of Congressional Committees need to show a “clear statement of the intent of Congress” regarding lateral entry, as the Board has requested in its letter.

It is true that AID has held discussions with the Department of State regarding lateral entry for some of its FSR employees. These have been highly tentative and exploratory. The matter is still under study in AID as to the numbers and types of personnel who might be nominated for lateral entry. These determinations, indeed, the determination whether AID will in fact enter into a lateral entry agreement with the Department, will not be made until the study is completed.

I believe the Board has done a thorough and careful analysis of this important piece of legislation and has expressed its views on the whole clearly and forthrightly. In good conscience, however, I have felt it impor-

tant to state my qualifications of their position so that the record is clear.

C. WILLIAM KONTOS

Office of  
Personnel Administration, AID  
Washington

**W**E were fortunate that Mr. Kontos was willing to contribute to the deliberations of the Committee on Career Principles of the Foreign Service Association. He or his representative attended almost every session.

It is natural that a report on such a controversial issue as the Hays Bill could not reflect the views of all of the members in all respects. Mr. Kontos' letter clearly indicates that he is not in complete agreement with the report of the Committee to the Board of the Foreign Service Association. His comments should be interesting to all readers of the JOURNAL.

It needs to be borne in mind, however, that the letter sent to Senator Gore on April 20 was not the report of the Committee on Career Principles. It was based on that report; but it was, in fact, a letter signed by the President of the Foreign Service Association and the Chairman of the Board of Directors, after it had been approved by the Directors of the Foreign Service Association.

JOHN H. STUTESMAN, JR.

Chairman, Board of Directors  
Washington

### Echo of the Past

The Washington Post of February 1, 1966, printed an editorial page article by the Post's correspondent in India, Warren Unna, "Rajpath Parade Two Decades Later." The article stated the writer's misgivings about the Victory Parade of twenty years ago, in which Unna, a corporal serving with the US army newspaper in New Delhi, participated. The occasion of the commemorative parade reminded him that he had gone twenty years ago to see "one George Merrill" to protest American participation in bulwarking British colonial purposes in India, but had received no attention. Unna's solicitude twenty years ago, burdened with doubts about United States policy in India was commendable—but late and uninformed. Avoiding support of British colonial policy rode the nightmares of Americans from the minute United States forces entered Southeast Asia to help stem the enemy's advance. Among the worriers was the chief of the quasi-diplomatic American Mission at Bahawalpur House in New Delhi, to whom Unna quaintly alludes as "one George Merrill." To main-

tain American independence of British colonial policy in SE Asia, Admiral Mountbatten, Supreme Commander of Allied forces in the area, was denied integration in the SEA command of certain American forces. To answer enemy-spread rumors of American succession to British rule at the time that Americans building the Burma Road took over the Assam Railway, an official statement was issued from Calcutta; it included a previous statement by President Franklin Roosevelt—Americans were in India to fight the intruder and would depart when the enemy was defeated. The statement was widely printed in the Indian press, but the corporal on the "CBI Round-up" must have missed it. He must also have forgotten that the little band of US servicemen in the Victory Parade of twenty years ago were all that were left: the American command had gone home.

RALPH J. BLOCK

Washington

### The Span of the Past

Could you tell me where I can consult bound copies of the Foreign Service JOURNAL?

J. RUSSELL COLLISON

Mamaroneck, N.Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Complete sets of bound copies are to be found in the offices of the Foreign Service Association, the library of the Department of State and the Library of Congress. The New York Public Library has bound copies for 1951 to date. If any librarians of other institutions feel in the mood to amplify our answer to Mr. Collison's question, the JOURNAL will be happy to print the information.

### Another View of the Mystery Bar

**R**ICHARD H. HOWARTH's reaction to the Mystery Bar is all wrong—all wrong! He wants everything to be clearly defined, set forth in words of one syllable. There was once an eminent diplomat who talked like a horse trader in Lexington, Kentucky. He used to advocate "laying out your cards," "spelling out your position," "making them see that beyond this line we won't recede an inch." It did not work out well at all. Once his position was clearly charted by the adversary, he had no room for maneuver. Some vicious adversaries took advantage of some of those cards he was laying out on the table.

What the man needed was a "Mystery Bar." Lots of Mystery Bars. It would have improved his position in negotiations. Mystery Bars would also be good fare for many of our contemporaries.

MAXIMILLIAN PLUMPTRE

Provincetown

### Where Tears are Justified

Loren Carroll in a recent "Washington Letter" mentions that the misbehaving weather in the past summer was tough on Washingtonians.

We old hands know it gets hot in Washington and that it is rated as a hardship post by other countries. However, don't shed tears over Washingtonians or over tourists for that matter, but save them for a certain old death valley prospector. He told Arthur Frost of Menlo Park, that once he saw a coyote "chasing" a jack rabbit and it was so blasted hot that both were walking.

J. B. S.



"This treaty will make Bona-  
parte think twice!" "Only one signature missing  
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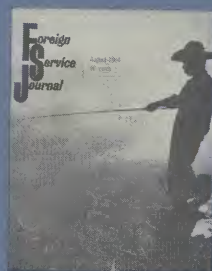
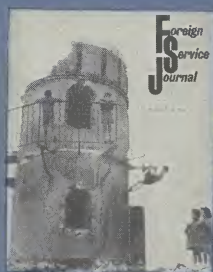
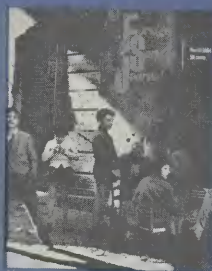
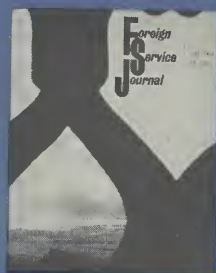
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