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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

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

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

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

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

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Marie Skora

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US Navy, photographs, "Operation Deep Freeze," pages 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29.

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Paul Child, FSO-retired, photographs pages 22, 23 and 24.

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

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

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

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

Ambassadorial Appointments

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, to Japan

ELLIOTT P. SKINNER, to Upper Volta

Marriages

BESHORE-BOONSTRA. Miss Margaret Beshore, former FSO, was married to Clarence A. Boonstra, DCM, Mexico City, on August 13, in Washington. Miss Beshore has been serving as Director of Talent Search at the Peace Corps.

KEMPENDORFF-TELLER. Mrs. Maria Kempendorff was married to Hugh H. Teller, FSO-retired, on June 28, in Heidelberg. Mr. and Mrs. Teller will make their home in Heidelberg.

PHILLIPS-RANSOM. Miss Joanne Helen Phillips, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Robert M. Phillips, was married to Michael Charles Ransom, son of FSS Muriel K. Ransom, on May 18, in Orange, California.

Births

FOCHS. A daughter, Sharon Kathleen, born to Mr. and Mrs. John Fochs, on June 17, at Torrejon Air Base, Madrid.

LEADER. A daughter, Jane Elizabeth, born to FSO and Mrs. James E. Leader, on July 7, in Washington.

SMITH. A son, David Robert, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert P. Smith, on June 11, in Falls Church. Mr. Smith is Nigerian desk officer.

SPIRO. A son, John Nicolas, born to Mr. and Mrs. Joel S. Spiro, on July 11, in Dakar.

VIETS. A daughter, Marynka Natalia Noyes, born to Mr. and Richard Viets, on June 9, in Kodaikanal, India. Mr. Viets is Consul in Madras.

Deaths

KECK. Irving L. Keck, FSS, died on July 29 at Addis Ababa. Mr. Keck had served in Addis Ababa since August of 1965.

PEASE. Mignon Pease, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Harold Pease, was killed in an automobile accident, on July 26, in Iowa City, Iowa. Miss Pease was en route to Washington to enter the Foreign Service.

ROMINE. Rebecca Romine, wife of FSO Woodward Romine, was killed in an automobile accident, on June 30, at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

STUTESMAN. Colonel John H. Stutesman, US Army-retired, died on July 14, at the Oakton Nursing Home, Oakton, Virginia. Colonel Stutesman's son, John H. Stutesman, jr., is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association.

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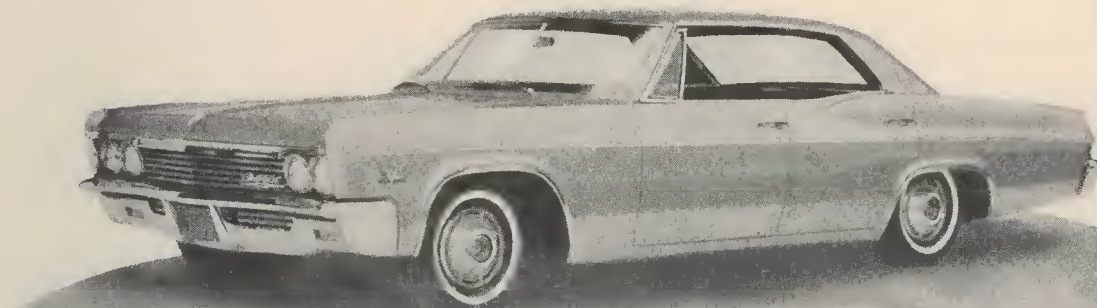
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Letter from AFSA President



DEAR COLLEAGUES:

I have recently written to all Chiefs of Mission seeking their cooperation in the Association's Membership Drive at Foreign Service posts abroad. Many people both here and abroad who are eligible for membership have never been asked to join. The campaign now being organized for September 1 through October 31 will endeavor to correct this situation. For this period new membership applications only will be accepted at the reduced rate of \$10.00 for the year ending June 30, 1967.

Increasing the size of our organization can make it a more effective representative of those who make the Foreign Service their career. To give better direction to this effort, the Board of Directors recently decided to constitute a Planning Committee which will attempt to look ahead some years and

make recommendations with respect to objectives and constructive changes in the Association. This group will attempt to find out what the members want and what services the Association should perform. It will particularly try to ascertain what the younger members desire the Association to be and plan accordingly. When constituted, the Planning Committee will be broad-based from the standpoint of age groups and agency representation.

As authorized by the Board of Directors, I recently wrote a number of persons outside the Government who had served as Public Members of Selection Boards and of Inspection Teams inviting them to become Associate Members of the Association. The initial response has been favorable and I take this opportunity to welcome this group of members.

I call your attention to the article which follows this letter on the subject of a Foreign Service Memorial. Its author, the Honorable Loy W. Henderson, has given much time and thought to this subject in connection with the efforts of DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired) to arrange appropriate cemetery facilities for its members. The DACOR project for a memorial is of interest to all those in the Foreign Service and I hope that there will be many thoughtful responses to Ambassador Henderson's invitation for suggestions.

I am sorry that, because of my transfer abroad, I will not be able to complete this term as President of the Association, and this will thus be my last letter in that capacity. I want to express in this way my appreciation for the cooperation I have received from the officers and membership of the Association during my two terms as President. Working together I think we have accomplished something very worthwhile. New projects have been set in motion, including our membership drive. The efforts to acquire a building are moving ahead; the Corresponding Members and Fellows in Diplomacy



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program has been approved; our scholarship fund has been expanded; a livelier JOURNAL is being published; and the Association is participating more in the decisions which shape our career. I feel we are moving in the right direction of building a more active association. To continue to do so is going to take more effort on the part of each of us.

Sincerely yours,

W. Alexis Johnson

Foreign Service Memorial Monument

DACOR is planning to erect in historic Rock Creek Cemetery, the oldest cemetery in the District of Columbia, a monument to honor the memory of those who over the years have dedicated themselves to the service of the United States in the area of foreign affairs at home and abroad in times of peace and war.

Members of the Board of Governors of DACOR would appreciate suggestions from both active and retired members of the Foreign Service and from friends of the Service regarding the design, form, size, and so forth, of the monument and the inscriptions that might be placed upon it. Suggestions regarding such aspects of Foreign Service objectives, life, or work as the monument might most appropriately stress would be particularly helpful. Should the emphasis, for instance, be placed upon the devotion of the Service to the cause of world peace; upon the global nature of the Service;

upon the efforts of its members to protect, and promote the interests of, the United States; upon their readiness, when called upon, to go to any place in the world at any time in order to serve in any capacity; upon the spirit of public service that animates so many of them? How could the monument best symbolize one or several of these or other aspects? Suggestions of this kind should be sent to the DACOR Graves Commission, DACOR HOUSE, 1718 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., in time to permit their receipt prior to October 1, 1966. It is hoped that these suggestions will be of aid to DACOR and to the distinguished American sculptor, Lewis Iselin, who is to assist in preparing the design, in determining what the character of the monument should be.

The Cemetery Committee of the Vestry of Rock Creek Parish has placed at the disposal of DACOR an advantageous site on which the monument might be placed. From this site the monument, which would be between perhaps 15 and 25 feet in height, would overlook the thousand or more graves that according to plans will eventually be reserved for members of the Foreign Service and their families. It is planned that the monument will honor the memory not only of those who will be buried in the Foreign Service section of the Cemetery but all members of the Foreign Service and their families regardless of place of burial.

Persons who have served the United States at home and abroad in the area of foreign affairs have been buried in every State in the Union and in scores of foreign countries. Some of them have been almost forgotten as the years go by and their graves have been neglected. Thousands of monuments have been erected to the memory of those who have been members of the Armed Services. Despite the sacrifices that the members of the Foreign Service and their families have made in serving the United States, and in spite of the notable

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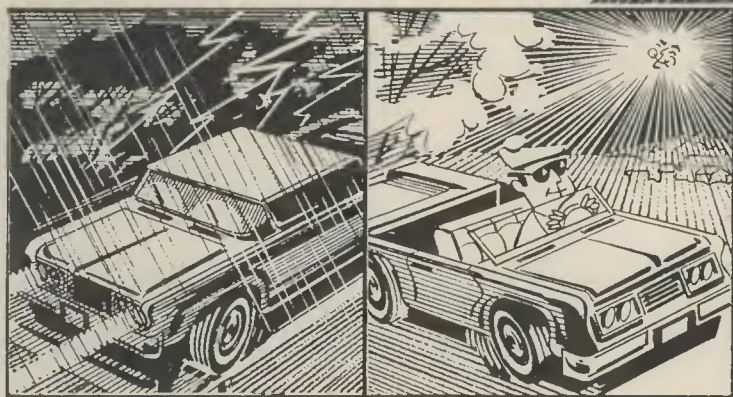
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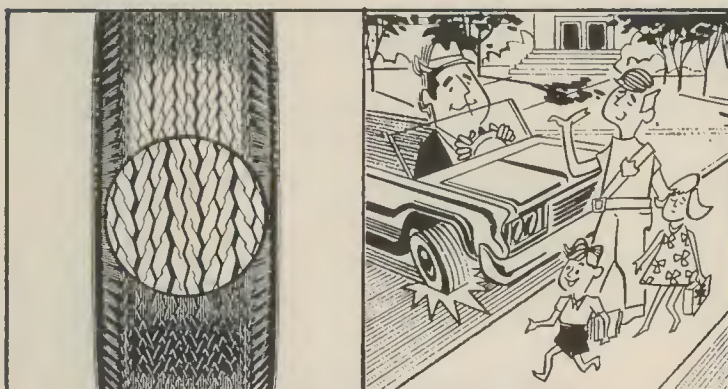
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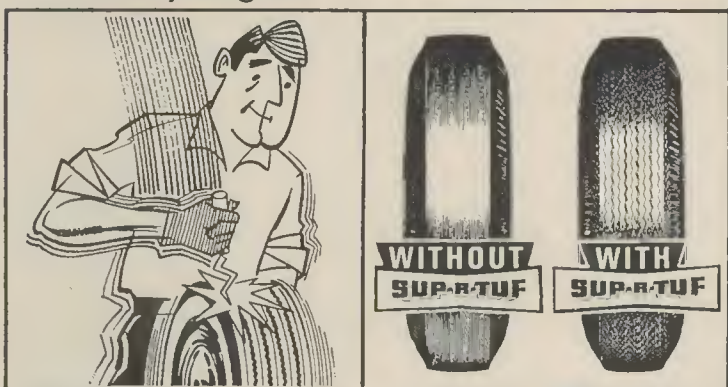
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contributions which many of them have made to their country, no monument honoring their collective memory has ever been erected. It seems suitable that such a monument should be placed in the City of Washington overlooking the beautiful area which during the years to come will serve as the last resting place of so many members of the Foreign Service.

LOY W. HENDERSON, *Chairman
Dacor Memorial Commission*

Continuing to Serve on AFSA's Board

WITHIN the government and outside the government Julius Holmes has had a wide ranging career. He began his working life in the insurance business (1921-1925) and entered the Foreign Service in 1925. After serving in Marseille, Smyrna, Tirana and Bucharest, he was assigned to the Department in 1934 where he became Assistant Chief of Protocol and afterwards Assistant Chief of the Division of International Conferences.



In 1937 he resigned from the Foreign Service to become vice president of the New York World's Fair. In 1941 and 1942 he was president of General Mills of Brazil. Following several years' peacetime service with the National Guard and Army Reserve, he served on active duty with the US Army between 1942 and 1945 with overseas service. He advanced to the rank of brigadier general.

The war ended, he returned to the Department as Assistant Secretary of State. When this assignment was completed, he returned to private enterprise and between 1945 and 1948 he was president or director of several companies.

Once again the Department lured him back. His first assignment was London. He remained there for six years, ending up as Minister. In 1950 he was named a career Minister. He returned to the Department to become Senior European Political Advisor to the US Delegation at the Ninth Session of the United Nations Assembly and Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. During 1955 and 1956 he was Diplomatic Agent and Consul General at Tangier. He returned to the Department as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State (1956 to 1959). He also served as Deputy US Representative to the United Nations Sub-Committee on Disarmament (1957) and Senior Political Advisor to the US Experts Conference on Measures to Reduce Danger of Surprise Attack (1958). Between 1956 and 1961 he was Consul General at Hong Kong and Macau. In 1961 he was appointed Ambassador to Iran.

Ambassador Holmes was born in Pleasanton, Kansas, April 24, 1899. He attended the University of Kansas between 1917 and 1922. He is married and has two sons and one daughter.

Ah, Sir Leoline

"The Secretaries of State never remembered one Day, what had been done the Day before, or never cared what would be done the next; so as to leave very often, for many Months together, an Embassy of the Greatest Importance, without any Instructions at all."

WILLIAM WYNNE, *The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins* (London, 1724)—as quoted in "The Diplomatic Corps Under Charles II and James II," by Phyllis S. Lachs.



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25 YEARS AGO

SEPTEMBER 1941

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Old Friend

Besides his responsibilities in the Division of Foreign Service Administration and later the Office of the Foreign Service, Harry A. Havens served in more capacities than can be enumerated. His help to the Association was made a matter of record when the Executive Committee Chairman, George Brandt, wrote to him on September 9, 1941, that the Committee had approved a motion directing him to express the Committee's gratitude and appreciation for the valuable services he had rendered to the Association. After officially retiring, Harry assisted the Protective Association for many years. Although he also retired from that work several years ago, Harry still lends a helping hand and members who receive receipts from the Protective Association still find themselves linked to this beloved personality by notes of greeting that he scribbles on the receipts.

Scarlett O'Hara

Robert Rossow has added a note to Thomas Robinson's account in Jim Stewart's column of January of how the entrancing Vivien Leigh so bewitched the young officers who were fixing up her visitor's visa that they never thought of collecting the fee. Robert tossed a coin with Dick Gnade

to see who would do the fingerprinting and won. He and Dick were obliged to pay up for the forgotten fee. Robert says it was a small price for the memory of holding that lovely hand.

Spanish Omelet

Guy Ray in his story of his 60-day, 30-post air travel with five Congressmen of the Appropriations Subcommittee inspecting Latin America, recalled one of the episodes:

Before undertaking the trip one of the Congressmen had taken a number of Spanish lessons and after the trip was well under way he undertook to explain to a waiter in a hotel in one of the larger cities that he wanted two four-minute soft boiled eggs. The waiter said yes, he understood, the gentleman wanted four eggs. It was explained that what was wanted was two eggs left in boiling water for four minutes. That was understood. The two eggs arrived duly fried. In answer to the inevitable protest, the waiter explained that he had obeyed orders without knowing why, but he had left the eggs in water four minutes and then fried them.

Canadian Club

After the John K. Davises retired they bought underdeveloped bushland overlooking Vancouver harbor. Writing from his house there, Mr. Davis informs the Association that his recreations include attending the Round Table Club Tuesday luncheons. Members are selected by secret ballot and must have had unusual success in their chosen fields. Members include a retired Major General who commanded the Canadian forces in World War II and the President of the Canadian Press. After coffee is served, all conversation must be addressed to the table as a whole. Mr. Davis is the only non-Canadian member.

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Since Mr. Davis says he comes to the United States each winter, it may be appropriate to use this vehicle to mention that a distinguished group of retired officers meets every Monday for luncheon at DACOR House, where he would find many old friends.

Foreign Service Junior

Friends of Philip P. Williams will be glad to hear that his son Herbert, a sophomore at North Fort Myers High School was chosen to represent Floridas' Ninth Division at the Coast Guard Academy's indoctrination session August 17-20. About 130 boys from all over the country are picked for this honor on the basis of scholastic standing, leadership, physical attributes and service to school and community and after a Division Selection Board has examined boys interested in becoming Coast Guard officers.



A daughter, Merriam, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Bragonier on September 13, 1941, at Montevideo.

Reginald, who is now Program Officer of the International Center, Meridian House, Washington, and lives in Alexandria, Virginia, reports that "Merry" was President of her class at the Ethel Walker School. She had a year of study at Le Fleuron in Florence, where the Merritt Cooteses kept an eye on her, then went to George Washington University for her A.A. degree. Now she is assistant to the head of the Romance Language Department there.



A daughter, Virginia Elizabeth, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Earl T. Crain on July 15, 1941, in Washington. Earl was then Third Secretary in Madrid.

Mr. and Mrs. Crain have sent from Milan, after the JOURNAL sought their help, a story of a wonderful family. Cerebral palsy has confined "Ginny" to a wheel chair but her life

has been one of achievement. She studied with tutors and at private schools, including a military school where she was on the honor roll. Between stays with her family in Ciudad Juarez, Santiago, Habana, and Paris her schools were in Maryland, Florida and New Jersey, then a year in Switzerland. She is now in Milan taking courses and for four years has been teaching English to a group of handicapped boys, helping newly arrived Americans with Italian lessons, attending La Scala performances of opera and ballet, traveling and taking lessons in painting. Three of her paintings have been exhibited. Her latest hobby is poetry. With a facility for modern languages (six), she makes interesting contacts all over the world.

Promotions

A promotion list, effective August 16, 1941, included the following:

Class 3 to Class 2: Loyd V. Steere
Class 6 to Class 5: James K. Penfield
Class 8 to Class 7: Waldo E. Bailey, Walworth Barbour, Jacob D. Beam, Merritt N. Cootes, Earl T. Crain, Tyler Thompson, William C. Trimble
Unclassified (a) to Class 8: Glion Curtis, Jr., Elbert G. Mathews, Woodruff Wallner, Ivan B. White

Changes of Post

Richard M. de Lambert, Antwerp to Tahiti as Consul
William N. Fraleigh, Athens to Istanbul as Vice Consul
Charles M. Gerrity, Frankfurt to Dublin as Vice Consul
Phil H. Hubbard, Milan to Zurich as Consul
Julius C. Jensen, Stuttgart to Zurich as Vice Consul
Eugene H. Johnson, Regina to Victoria as Vice Consul
G. Lewis Jones, Jr., Athens to Cairo as Third Secretary
Alfred W. Klieforth, Cologne to Winnipeg as Consul General
Foy D. Kohler, Athens to Cairo as Third Secretary
H. Gordon Minnigerode, Singapore to San José as Third Secretary
Carmel Offie, Vichy to London as Third Secretary near exiled governments

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From Department of State to the field:

Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., to Helsinki as Third Secretary
Reginald P. Mitchell to Port-au-Prince as Third Secretary
Lubert O. Sanderhoff to Ciudad Juarez as Vice Consul
Edward G. Trueblood, Assistant Chief, Division of Cultural Affairs, to Mexico City as Second Secretary

To the Department of State:

John M. Cabot, Second Secretary, Guatemala
Paul C. Hutton, Consul, Mexico City

Vice Consuls in field assigned to Foreign Service School:

Charles W. Adair, H. Gardner Ainsworth, Stewart G. Anderson, C. Vaughan Ferguson, Jr., John M. McSweeney, Claude G. Ross, Robert Rossow, Jr., Harry H. Schwartz, Bromley K. Smith, Henry T. Smith, John L. Topping, Andrew B. Wardlaw, Livingston D. Watrous.

FORTY YEARS AGO

The Editor asked a Vice Consul who had been there about a Consul at a tropical post renowned for noisy roosters. After the Consul complained he couldn't get any sleep, his neighbor's rooster stopped crowing. Thinking she had obligingly cooked the rooster for dinner he offered her five pesos. She explained she had merely returned the rooster to the owner, a cockfighter, who had been away, so could not accept compensation. He failed to understand her Spanish and insisted she take the money until she was obliged to accede. The Vice Consul replied that there was some foundation for the story but what had happened was that the honest soul who had finally accepted the five pesos hurried to market and bought three more roosters.

Angus I. Ward, then Vice Consul in Mukden, sent words and pictures of the Wells-Evans Round the World Trip—two fellows trying to break the round the world record. George Sokobin, Consul in Mukden, received frantic telegrams from them for help. He got Marshal Chang Tso-lin to send an airplane to meet them when they came on the Chinese Eastern after crossing on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. He signed a contract with the South Manchurian Railroad calling for 3,500 gold yen for a special train to rush the two from Mukden to Fusan at the southern end of the Chosen peninsula. Just before midnight, June 30, 1926, the two arrived in Harbin. Wells jumped on a special train to Mukden. Evans waited until dawn and took Marshal Chang Tso-lin's plane. Wells's train pulled into Mukden at 9:23 a.m., July 1, two hours after Evans' plane landed in Mukden. The two gave a greeting and shook hands with George and Angus and were off on the Mukden-Fusan special at 9:30 a.m., a stay in Mukden of seven minutes.

AND 2289 YEARS AGO

The Honorable Sheldon Mills' broad range of interests yields still another contribution of historical interest, the advice of Kautilya (Chanakya), Brahmin Prime Minister of Chandragupta, founder of the Empire of the Mauryas (323-322 B.C.) in Chapter XVI of his Arthashastra:

The Mission of Envoys. Whoever has succeeded as a Councillor is an envoy. . . . Having made excellent arrangements for carriage, conveyance, servants and subsistence, he shall start on his mission thinking that "The enemy shall be told thus; the enemy will say thus; this shall be the reply to him; and thus he shall be imposed upon." . . . Not puffed up with the respects shown to him, he shall stay there till he is allowed to depart. He shall not care for the mightiness of an enemy; shall strictly avoid women and liquor; shall take bed single; for it is well known that the intentions of envoys are ascertained while they are asleep or under the influence of liquor.



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THE PPBS AND THE SIG/IRG SYSTEM

Companion Tools for Foreign Affairs Management

Considerations on the Importance of the New Government-wide Planning-Programing-Budgeting System and the Senior Interdepartmental Group/Interdepartmental Regional Groups; and on the Need for a Planning-Programing-Budgeting System for the Entire Foreign Affairs Community

THE foreign affairs community witnessed implementation of two basic management innovations in rapid succession earlier this year. The first was government-wide adoption, pursuant to Budget Bureau Circular No. 66-3, of the Planning-Programing-Budgeting System (PPBS); the second was the designation, in a Presidential directive dated March 2, of the Secretary of State as responsible for "overall direction, coordination and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the United States Government overseas" and the establishment of new interdepartmental decision-making authorities (the Senior Interdepartmental Group or SIG, and the Interdepartmental Regional Groups or IRGs).¹ Significant innovations will doubtless continue to occur, but at least one new issue has already arisen as a result of the above two events: the foreign affairs community now confronts the active question of the need and feasibility of a special PPBS for all activities falling within the expanded purview of the Secretary of State.²

Many of us admit we do not yet fully comprehend how PPBS will work as a management tool even within a single foreign affairs agency like the State Department. Many also candidly reserve judgment on the effectiveness of the new decision-making apparatus embodied in the Senior Interde-

partmental Group (SIG), Interdepartmental Regional Groups (IRGs), and the new State Department positions of Country Director. While most will recognize that both the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System should deal with many of the same substantive issues (policy objectives, plans, operating programs, and decisions on allocations of resources),³ public announcements about the two systems so far treat them as unrelated. Consequently some suspicion has developed that potential conflicts, if not basic incompatibilities, exist between the two systems as presently conceived.

Superficial bases for such suspicion are not hard to find. For example, each system seems to envisage a somewhat different role for the individual foreign affairs agency. Circular No. 66-3 specifies a direct, vertical relationship between each agency head and the Budget Bureau and Chief Executive. The March 2 Presidential directive also establishes a vertical system, for the entire foreign affairs community, with authority passing from the President to the Secretary of State and thence to the Under Secretary and the regional Assistant Secretaries of State. For the other foreign affairs agencies this system has a powerful horizontal sweep, exercised through inter-agency forums operating formally at two levels below the Secretary of State, each run by the State Department member as executive chairman, assigned to resolve significant "interdepartmental" controversies (including those at agency-head level) and to reach a single coordinated foreign policy position on all important matters. Seemingly one consequence of its use could be to alter and possibly reduce the direct relationship between some agency heads and the White House. Secondly, there is a potential difference in the day-to-day preoccupations of the officers working with the two systems. Users of the PPBS must

¹Circular No. 66-3 appeared in FAMC No. 387, March 10, 1966; an adaptation of the Presidential directive appeared in FAMC No. 385, March 4, 1966 (see also the text of remarks by Gen. Maxwell Taylor to the AFSA March luncheon, May issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL).

²Departmental Circular Airgram No. 11929 dated June 7, 1966 announced the appointment of an advisory group under chairmanship of Dr. Charles Hitch (architect of the programing system used by Secretary McNamara in the Defense Department) to help develop a foreign affairs planning and programing system. The group will make a report to the Secretary of State in October.

³According to BOB Circular No. 66-3, these issues comprise the subject matter of the PPBS. In the SIG/IRG System, the regional Assistant Secretaries of State, for example, as executive chairmen of their respective IRGs, "will ensure the adequacy of United States policy for the countries in their region and of the plans, programs, resources, and performance for implementing that policy."

have some concern for the infinite details needed to assemble basic plans, outline programs, and construct budget proposals covering a multi-year period, while opportunity and temptation will arise for SIG/IRG System officials to concentrate primarily on momentous current issues, crisis-coping, and inter-agency consensus for immediate-action questions. Finally, both of these management devices will be subject to Congressional interest and even some manipulation by Congress, if it so chooses. For a variety of such reasons, some observers anticipate new inter-agency tensions and disputes—rather than increased cooperation and effectiveness—from the operation side by side of two such important decision-making systems concerned with similar (and often the same) questions.

It would be most unfortunate if the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System came into conflict or worked at cross purposes. Granted, the various foreign affairs agencies have absorbed and applied BOB Circular No. 66-3 and the March 2 Presidential directive only partially and even experimentally so far. It still seems none too early to explore the compatibility of these two far-reaching directives and to think positively about harnessing together the potential strengths in the managerial, decision-making systems which they establish. From the viewpoint of the State Department and the Foreign Service, it seems especially important to do this (1) if we are to make the SIG/IRG System (embodying a primary role for the Department and the Service) work effectively—as General Taylor warned last March that we must—and (2) if we are to progress noticeably toward “modernizing and streamlining the executive branch of government in the conduct of foreign affairs.” To this end, the following paragraphs examine the main features of these two management tools, suggest improvements which they should make possible, outline some potentially troublesome features in each system, and propose ways to overcome these features and make the systems mutually reinforcing. The final section addresses the question of the need and the possibility of operating a central planning-programming-budgeting system and facility for the foreign affairs community.

Meeting the Need for Management Improvement

Anyone who has read, even casually, about the problems of managing our foreign affairs in this era—the Jackson Subcommittee papers on the National Security Council and the Secretary of State and the Ambassador are useful texts—will recognize features in both the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System which seem designed to solve problems which have prompted repeated complaints and recommendations on the subject.

Stated simply, our biggest problems for top-level management arise from what one might call the multiplicity factor in our conduct of foreign affairs. More by historical accident than by design we have come to apply governmental resources (men, money, goods, talents, and services) in and to more than a hundred rapidly changing overseas locations and situations, through an array of agencies, channels, and activities, in pursuit of objectives which, in specific situations, are themselves not always easily reconcil-

able. In trying to achieve maximum benefits from use of our sizable, but not unlimited resources, we encounter ever-growing difficulties in planning, operating, and directing our endeavors both overseas and in Washington.

IN RECENT YEARS we have taken several important steps to achieve improvement, such as introducing the Country Team concept in missions overseas and charging chiefs of our diplomatic missions specifically to “oversee and coordinate all the activities of the United States Government” in their respective host countries. In effect, these measures made our ambassadors the peacemaking counterparts to our military area commanders. The measures had less impact than hoped for, however, because they did not go far enough. Like military area commanders, our ambassadors became responsible for coordinating a wide variety of special programs (paralleling in some respects our various armed service branches, weapons systems, and other military techniques for influencing situations, all of which are available to a military area commander if they can be justified) as well as for developing and applying plans, tactics, and strategy at their levels of responsibility. But our ambassadors did not receive two important things which military area commanders normally have: (1) real command and control over all the resources allocated under their general responsibility, and (2) coordinated staff support, guidance and direction such as the Joint Chiefs of Staff organization and the integrated Defense Department provide in Washington.

This is not to suggest that State and the other peacemaking foreign affairs agencies need to “copy” the Defense patterns or that our diplomatic and other efforts overseas need to be, or can be, “militarized,” subjected to rigid discipline, or integrated and amalgamated under one super agency for foreign affairs. But close students of the subject have concluded that we need to balance the changes introduced in our diplomatic missions overseas with suitable changes in our Washington arrangements. BOB Circular No. 66-3 and the March 2 Presidential directive, with implementing documents, represent significant steps toward accomplishing such changes.

Features, Promises and Problems of the PPBS⁴

It is not surprising to hear varying comments, some contradicting others, about an innovation as sweeping and complicated as the PPBS. One often-stated view is that the PPBS may have worked well enough when applied to Defense’s military hardware problems (as it has been applied since 1961), but it won’t produce useful results in connection with the less tangible, far more complicated issues confronting the foreign affairs decision-makers. This view is somewhat offset by another, also frequently heard, namely that the PPBS is really nothing new since the Department of State and the Foreign Service have been following its

⁴Useful background on the PPBS can be found in David Novick, “Program Budgeting . . . Program Analysis and the Federal Budget” (Rand 1964); Charles Hitch, “Decision-Making for Defense” (U. of Calif. Press, 1965), and an August 20, 1965 memorandum by Henry Rowen (BOB), “Improving Decision Making in Government.”

general precepts all along in coordinating overseas activities of the several agencies. The truth is that the PPBS, still largely untested as a tool for managing our foreign affairs,⁵ does not promise miracles or revolutionary results; but its adoption on a government-wide basis is already introducing important changes which deserve attention and exploitation wherever practicable.

The PPBS is a formula for management by objectives designed for the use and benefit of top-level decision-makers. While it does promise to help avoid wasting resources, it does not mean subjugation of policy matters to control by cost-accounting experts, computers, or budget and fiscal specialists. It is simply a systematic way of approaching and analyzing any problems we confront. It seems designed to meet many of the recommendations which David Bell made to the Jackson Subcommittee in 1961 in talking about "The Budget and the Policy Process." Its aim is to link the operational use of resources firmly to policy planning and policy control, by techniques enabling more systematic collection, arrangement, and assessment of data about the activity, "program" or problem at issue. The technique features a thought process applicable in all agencies, at home and overseas, and at all decision-making levels. The process begins with consideration of basic objectives, continues through assessment of alternative methods of achieving goals, and ends with decisions about means, including the development of future resources as well as the application of existing resources to specific problems. It employs "systems analysis" and "cost/effectiveness" formulae with emphasis on "effectiveness for what." It should help reverse a thought process prevalent in some agencies to date, whereby one starts from a survey of present means (or immediately available resources) and often concludes by adjusting both short- and long-range goals to fit either these means or those one hopes Congress will make available.⁶

The PPBS should help put all agencies on the same general policy wavelength by requiring them to adopt the above thought process. It should also put them approximately "in step" in a number of useful ways. Specifically it should synchronize the scheduling and framing, and to an extent standardize the phrasing (through gradually wider use of generally applicable terms) of the various documents required from all agencies in completing the planning-programming-budgeting cycle. No longer should AID program proposals and budget requests, for example, be prepared according to one calendar schedule, with a special frame of reference and a unique agency jargon and format, while documents covering overseas program proposals and budget requests on other activities—information, military assistance, educational, cultural and scientific exchanges, peace corps, agriculture including food for peace, health, financial matters, and intelligence collection, as well as the more traditional reporting, representation, negotiation, and participation in international organizations—emerge each according to some other schedule, often with equally special terms of reference and varying degrees of geographic focus, making unnecessary use of unique language, and probably employing specialized formats and arrangements of data. Under the PPBS all agencies must prepare their program-budget proposals according to the same calendar schedule; all should employ the same multi-year scope (five-year projection with a one-year commitment); and all should relate their program proposals to stated objectives, reflecting the costs and benefits of the various feasible alternatives for achieving these objectives.

⁵The Department of State has in recent years experimented with the Comprehensive Country Programming System, a related technique, with which some overseas missions and Departmental line managers are familiar.

⁶Franklin A. Lindsay outlined the general need for reversing this thought process in "Program Planning: the Missing Element," *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*, January 1961.

WHAT will all this mean in practical terms? From the viewpoint of the foreign affairs manager (confronting the above-mentioned multiplicity factor full-blown), use of the PPBS throughout the foreign affairs community should result in several definite gains. First, it should make possible at any stated time a complete and systematic inventory listing US Government resources being used and proposed for use by any and all agencies anywhere overseas: economic and military assistance, information and intelligence activities, personnel, installations and so on—a comprehensive list covering the entire range of our official activities. One should be able to assemble this inventory according to almost any criteria or set of criteria, reflecting countries of activity, agencies, categories of activity or resource, stated objectives, methods of utilization, estimated times to produce results, costs, estimated benefits, and the like. To date such a composite inventory has never been available—certainly not in usable form—to the Secretary of State or, for their areas of responsibility, to the regional Assistant Secretaries of State, or, with rare exceptions,⁷ to ambassadors or desk officers concerned with individual countries. Availability of this information should therefore be a definite gain.

Once the inventory or inventories become available, several other gains should be possible. The first concerns perspective and opportunity for fresh insights and exercise of judgment. The program proposals of all the agencies can be analyzed, compared and evaluated more easily than heretofore, both within a given agency and on a cross-agency basis (in terms of their consistency with basic policy directives, relevance to current plans and to Country Team recommendations for a given foreign country or area, compatibility as parts of a coordinated "package," relative merits as alternative methods of achieving feasible goals, and last but not least, their practical costs, both immediate and long range). Use of the PPBS should thus help sharpen the issues which come before the manager or decision-maker and enable him to reach better-informed, and hopefully wiser decisions than would otherwise be possible. Availability of the inventories should also create new opportunities or options in terms of eventual manipulation of the resources themselves, and thus allow for some new initiatives, innovation, and creativity in conducting our foreign relations. Finally, use of the system also promises to produce "feed back" in the form of periodic progress reports on operations underway. These reports should help decision makers maintain flexibility, the capability of adjusting more readily than they now can, to new data, more considered judgment, and/or the lessons of experience. Employing the PPBS should open new frontiers for the exercise of strong leadership in foreign affairs; it will not remove the element of executive risk-taking, but it should relate risk-taking more systematically and clearly than present methods do to objectives, advantages, and disadvantages.

As a tool for application to our Government's foreign affairs activities, the PPBS—at least as explained and applied so far—has two features which eventually could aggravate rather than help overcome the already enormous multiplicity factor. Both its focus and its dynamic are vertical (stressing intra-agency functions and the relationship of the particular agency head with the President) rather than horizontal (that is, stressing a particular foreign area and the interplay there of activities by several agencies under overall direction of a single authority). Months ago the Jackson Subcommittee found that major defects exist in our

⁷The exceptions are those countries in which the CCPS experiment mentioned in note 5 above was successfully applied. For an appraisal by one ambassador see the article by Ambassador Fulton Freeman in the July 1964 issue of the *Foreign Service JOURNAL*.

(Continued on page 50)

It Only Hurts When I Laugh, Comrade

A VENERABLE American joke of pre-Civil War vintage concerns a scout who has returned from a reconnaissance venture into Indian territory—scalped, slashed, burned, broken-honed, and shot full of arrows. His commanding officer visits him in the infirmary, extols his courage, and asks, "Tell me, son: does it hurt?"

"Only, sir," replies the scout, "when I laugh."

We are told that something which distinguishes man from the animals is laughter, an exclusively human reaction. This is probably true, although there have been times when I could swear certain animals have smirked at me (but that is another story, one I prefer not to tell).

What generally goes unnoticed, however, is that people are most likely to joke about—and laugh at—the painful, the frightening, and the unpleasant aspects of life. Consider the number and variety of jokes about death, war, illness, oppression.

That shattering segment of American history known as the Great Depression spawned, not surprisingly, countless jokes and anecdotes. At the satirical end of the spectrum, there was, for example, the late Heywood Broun's observation: "I have seen somebody buy an apple on a street corner for a nickel and think he has solved the whole unemployment problem." Near the slapstick end of the spectrum of Depression humor, there were jokes like the one about the down-and-out unemployed man approaching the fur-draped, jewel-bestudded matron as she steps from her chauffeur-driven limousine.

"Excuse me, ma'am," he says, "I haven't eaten for three days."

"Really," she responds, striding away, "you should force yourself!"

During World War I, when the flying machine was still novel and glamorous, but also downright dangerous, they told of the private who refused to go aloft with the pilot of an artillery-spotting plane.

"Look," he was told, "it makes no difference where you are—on the ground, in bed, up in the air, anywhere. When your number's up, you've got to go."

"I know," he replied, "but suppose I'm up in that airplane, and the pilot's number is up?"

The long bondage of the Negro in America generated its humor, too, and, given the specific gag, one can almost pinpoint the stage of the Negro's struggle for equal rights at which it appeared. Way back, for example, there was one about the pretty young brown-skinned girl who looked in the mirror and asked, "Mirror, mirror, on the wall: who's the fairest one of all?"

Said the mirror: "Snow White, and don't you forget it!"

In the past dozen years or so, however, there has been a shift. A popular subject (or object) is housing segregation, *de facto* or otherwise. One tale has it that a white family moved into an all-Negro neighborhood, and, at midnight of their first day in their new home, found a burning watermelon on the lawn.

Other minorities have created rich treasuries of humor about oppression they have suffered—generally directed against themselves. A joke from the Nazi era was recently revived in South Africa by the Jews living there. It tells of two innocent Jews facing a firing squad and being asked if they have a last request.

"Yes," says the first. "I'd like a cigarette."

And the second immediately cautions, "Don't make trouble!"

It is something all people do—anywhere and at any point in history—joke about and laugh at what bugs them. Tell me the current gags of a country, and I'll tell you the psychological climate. Public opinion polls, who needs them?

Not even an iron (or silken or bamboo or sugar cane) curtain confers immunity. People living under the communist way of life also make jokes about what bothers them. And what usually bothers them is the communist way of life.

Shortly after Khrushchev launched the de-Stalinization program, a "proverb" from Czarist times began once again making the rounds. It went—and revealed reams as it went—"When things were worse, they were better."

Inevitably, there were many jokes about Khrushchev, himself, but he was no slouch in the funnies department, whether it involved narrating comic folk tales or delivering stand-up one-liners. About the men behind various ideologies,



The contented Czechoslovak citizen.

Rohac (Bratislava, January 5, 1966)

Ще се произве
синтетичен ау
лов в днишки
в 10 000 т годи
замерят шпир
в гумената, к
тата и други

Такива произ-
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през 1970 г. и
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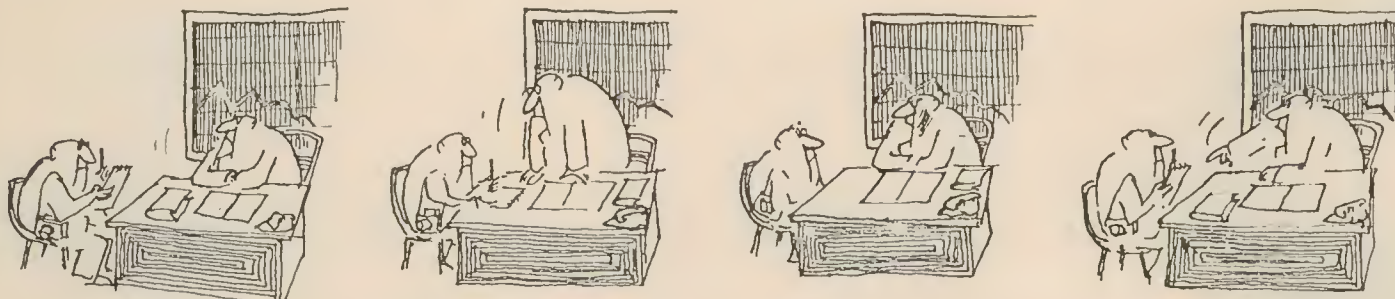
КОДА СУРОЯИ
 (ТО НА РЕДИИ
 'СТЕВ' ДОИЧЕ.
 ВЕСО НАИИ
 ДСА, СТИИИ
 ДОИЧЕИИИИИ

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то на редица
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високо надига
се, стига до
водоизправител

В ДД РАЗНУТО
НОМ ЯРОМ СЛОД
НО - ЧИЖИ
«Д. ДИКОРЕТ
ДМЖ, ДДУЧУ
ДЛЖ ДЛЖИ

And in Vienna, they spoke of the teacher who asked all those in the class who wanted to study western languages to

political party: persons who publicly support political policies and privately oppose them.



FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, September, 1966

This same Czech publication, few months earlier, took off on the prevalence of slogans, with this:

Before the war, writing on the walls played a more modest role than today. . . . After the war, slogans really came into their own. . . . Whether suitable or not, the five-pointed stars, hammers, and sickles were being displayed everywhere. . . . While the nation merrily celebrated and built its economy by the use of slogans, the stucco on the walls began to fall down quietly, and the slogan-masters began a planned retreat to the store-windows. . . . If you go through the city of Prague today, you can see pictures of the cruiser "Aurora" on boxes of candy, tags reading "twenty victorious years" sticking out of packages of socks, wrappers on brassieres marked "fight for peace," and plaques announcing "victorious nationalization" located between hot water bottles and boxes of contraceptives. If they were not there, we probably could not celebrate these events quite as appropriately.

Vlada Bulatovic-Vih, a humorist, had some comments on social science research, in an article in Yugoslavia's *Review*, January, 1966. Here is an excerpt:

Social science wants to find out what Yugoslav citizens have in common. This is what the researchers have discovered so far:

One citizen steals; the other keeps a check on him. What do they have in common? Neither interferes in the affairs of the other.

One is abnormal, the other normal. Neither has an apartment.

One works, the other advises people how to work. What they have in common is the number of days they have been employed (time spent giving advice counts double).

One is a Marxist, the other is an idealist. This equals one lecturer in the Department of Philosophy. . . .

Professional gag writers are familiar with the technique of changing a name, a time period, a locale, or a word or two, thus giving an old joke a "twist"—and newness and timeliness. This apparently goes on in the international political arena, too, and without the help of professional gag writers. Like situations seem to attract like laughter.

The June 7, 1964, edition of the New York Times carried an Associated Press item, datelined Cairo and headed "New Egyptian Jokes Get Russian Flavor." One of the jokes quoted—with Nasser and a political associate substituted, respectively, for Khrushchev and Stalin—followed these lines: The US President telephoned an acquaintance in hell and had to pay a fantastic toll charge. When President Nasser telephoned an old revolutionary buddy in hell, he was charged only a few piastres. Curious about the difference, Nasser asked the reason and was told by the operator that the US President had had to pay long-distance rates, while Nasser's was only a local call.

Another reported by the TIMES, again with Nasser substituted for Khrushchev in the Soviet original, had the Egyptian President being saved from drowning by a peasant and then identifying himself and offering to do anything for the peasant by way of re-payment. To which the peasant replies: "Please don't tell anyone it was I who saved you!"

And it was not so long ago that Castro shook up the social

life of his government officials, setting up rules determining who was and who was not to accept invitations to functions of foreign embassies in Havana. Seems he was concerned about the extent to which Cuban officials at such gatherings not only drank too freely, but also listened to—and told—anti-regime jokes, with a decidedly negative effect on Cuban morale. Odds are Fidel was considerably less upset by the liquor than the laughter.

Governments, especially totalitarian governments, have always been aware of the power of humor—whether satire or slapstick—as a deadly, two-edged political weapon. Discontent, resentment, and riots can be handled. Ridicule is something else again. True, the USSR has its *Krokodil*—the satirical periodical, founded back in 1922, which appears on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of each month—but it is, in effect, an instrument of the government. Although *Krokodil* has become an integral part of Soviet life, this does not mean, as Theodore Shabad has pointed out, "that anyone in search of what characterizes the Russian sense of humor . . . will be greatly helped by an examination of *Krokodil*." It is, in brief, used as an early warning system for and a weapon against inefficient managers and the like.

Two and a half years ago, *Izvestia* found it necessary to take a stand against political jokes, meaning, of course, the ones which travel the mouth-to-mouth route. It held that jokes current at the time in the USSR were stimulating "unhealthy interest" in the political opponents of the then-premier who had been ousted from the ruling group seven years earlier.

Izvestia featured a letter from a reader, urging a campaign against political jokes and asking that some differentiation be established between "freedom of speech and freedom to spread dirt." The writer even gave an example of the kind of story to which he objected. It revolves around a rumormonger who says, "Five ships of wheat arrived from America or somewhere. Then, ground glass was found in the wheat. Now, there's an investigation. And we paid for that grain—through a London bank and in gold."

"You mean," asks an incredulous listener, "that something was put over on the people on top? Impossible!"

Today, we learn—confirming our thesis that people tend to make jokes about and laugh at the painful, the frightening, and the unpleasant—that many jokes current in the USSR are about Communist China.

Several years ago, according to one of the earlier ones, Mao Tse-tung sent a telegram to Khrushchev, stating: "Starving. Send grain soonest."

Back went the reply: "Have not enough grain for ourselves. Tighten your belts."

Then, the clincher from Mao: "Send belts."

Another, more recent, referring to the anti-Soviet diatribes emanating from Radio Peking, holds that "Finally, we are certain the earth is round. For years we spat at the West, and now our spit comes back to us from the East."

In the technological field, the Russians tell of the launching of the first Communist Chinese satellite and give full credit "because it required ten million coolies to pull the slingshot."

Turning back to the USA, there is a classic routine which some dedicated, faceless agent—or two-faced double agent—might effectively plant in some of the developing nations which tend to flirt with communism. It was used in the old vaudeville days by the team of the late Willy and Eugene Howard—and that was a long, long time ago.

Delivering a "communist" talk from atop a soapbox, Eugene would conclude his pitch with "Comes the revolution, you'll eat strawberries and cream."

Willy, his audience, protests mildly, "But I don't like strawberries and cream."

And Eugene thunders back, "Comes the revolution . . . you'll eat strawberries and cream and like it!"

It only hurts when I laugh, comrade.



"It is our task to discuss what we will produce yesterday." *Hospodarske Noviny* (Prague, February 28, 1966)

The Sinophile

ALMOST ALL Americans seem to be Sinophiles. Is there another explanation than love of old China to account for the emotion the word itself evokes? Readiness to talk about it might suggest that we possess some unifying knowledge. But what is it? Or, indeed, is it knowledge at all? Is it not, rather, a feeling about time and place and people beyond knowledge? Some kind of faith?

Experiences and facts are not alike, even among those of us who have been there.

Would China seen mainly from an upstairs window of the Hong Kong-Shanghai Bank on the Bund and from tee and green at Hungjao Golf Course be the same as the China seen from City Hill in Hangchow, looking down over West Lake, the Needle Pagoda, and the Emperor's Island to the west, and the lazy expanse of the Chientang River to the east? Of course not. What echoes of special truth about China are heard in being reminded of Japanese bombers over Chungking and the ruins they left, the Generalissimo's rock-like profile seen through Chungking's smoke, or mysterious vision of junk gliding at dusk into Kaohsiung harbor. Some special quality of love of place and people cements almost all who have been to or read about old China. It casts a veil of poignancy over things shared and prized, because the place loved exists, and lies beyond reach. We cannot today touch, see, feel, smell, hear it. The wounding edge of this denial enhances our emotion.

The West's love of China goes back far. Marco Polo wrote about his in the thirteenth century, and Father Ricci, his, at the end of the sixteenth. Although neither went there, Wordsworth and Hegel wrote about theirs in the early nineteenth. And, more recently, poets and novel-



Cha Ling River, Chungking

by Paul Child



ists like Arthur Waley, Cranmer-Byng, Helen Waddell, Pearl Buck, Nora Waln, Ann Bridges, Preston Sehoy, Robert Payne, and many, many others, have tried to convey their love in rhyme and plot.

I read the other day Amaury de Ricncourt's "Soul of China." This brilliant young Frenchman wants to give us a sense of Chineseness through three millennia—but in the bibliography of his book, I noticed, there is not one in Chinese. He uses Bodde, Creel, Fairbank, Fitzgerald, Granet, Grousset, Hughes, Hu Shih, Latourette, Legge, Lin Yu-tang, Maspero, Meadows, Needham, Sun Yat-sen, Waley, Wittfogel. He did not, even then, exhaust the literature. And yet, he did give me an authentic sense of China—standing in awe of it, as did most of his sources.



Mother and daughter, Kunming

by Paul Child

From what deep springs flows notion of China? Lao Tsu and Confucius could not have put their imprint on China *ab initio*. They caught something in the air before them, shaped and passed it on. And other Chinese have been doing it ever since. In this cosmology we look at Lao Tsu as philosophical parent of both the Chinese poet and the Chinese autocrat—the romanticist and the absolutist—Mi Yiu-jen and Li Tai-po, Chin Shih Huang Ti and Han Fei-tsu. We can look to Confucius, on the other hand, for elaboration of what was already China's anthropocentric system of balanced humane order, and for definition of responsibility, manliness, honor, friendship, loyalty, and pride in being—Chinese.

That first and marvelous dynastic history, the *Shih Chi*, was written by Ssu Ma-chien, a Confucian moralist—who assigned Confucian praise and blame in his past—and his Confucian successors did likewise for 20 successive dynasties. But China's dynasties were overturned by Taoist non-conformists. Both elements—moralist and rebel—have been present always in China.

Let us listen to the poets. Can any of us tonight doubt that it is China and the Chinese we are hearing about in this poem?

*"How goes the night?
Midnight has still to come
Down in the court the torch is blazing bright;
I hear far off the throbbing of the drum.*

*"How goes the night?
The night is not yet gone.
I hear the trumpets blowing on the height;
The torch is paling in the coming dawn.*

*"How goes the night?
The night is past and done.
The torch is smoking in the morning light,
The dragon banner floating in the sun."*

Or:

*"We cannot keep the gold of yesterday;
Today's dun clouds we cannot roll away.
Now the long, wailing flight of geese brings autumn in its train,
So to the view-tower cup in hand to fill and drink again,*

*"And dream of the great singers of the past,
Their fadeless lines of fire and beauty cast.
I too have felt the wild-bird thrill of song behind the bars,
But these have rushed the world aside and walked amid the stars.*

*"In vain we cleave the torrent's thread with steel,
In vain we drink to drown the grief we feel;
When man's desire with fate doth war this, this avails alone—
To hoist the sail and let the gale and the waters bear us on."*

We listen, and hear an anonymous voice recorded in the *Shih Ching*, about 500 B.C., and another from the 8th century, A.D. They are Confucian and Taoist, and their mood is Chinese, and somehow contemporaneous. That is how China is.

But so, too, is this:

"If, in a country, there are the following ten things: odes and history, rites and music, virtue and the cultivation thereof, benevolence and integrity, sophistry and intelligence, then the ruler has no one he can employ for defense and warfare. If a country is governed by means of those ten things, it will be dismembered, as soon as an enemy approaches."

These harsh words were not delivered by Lin Piao. They are attributed to Kung-San Yang, or Lord Shang, chief minister of the State of Ch'in in the fourth century, B.C. Duyvendak tells of his administrative accomplishments:

"Shang Yang is said to have converted Ch'in from a loose conglomerate of small feudal territories into a highly centralized administrative unity. He seems to have retrenched the privileges of the noble families, even of those of the members of the princely clan, and to have instituted a hierarchy of officials who had distinguished themselves in warfare. Severe punishments were enacted against brigands and the private fights of the semi-independent feudal cities, and a rigid bureaucratic organization into districts was instituted. The unity of the old patriarchal family-system was attacked by discouraging people from living together, and mutual responsibility was introduced, with rewards for indictment of crime. Tilling the soil and weaving were encouraged, and measures were taken against trade. A new system of taxes was introduced and weights and measures were standardized. A land-reform was put into force."

But Lord Shang was a man fiercely dedicated to seizure and cutting use of power, and it is recorded in Chapter 68 of the *Shih Chi* that his state rewarded him finally by having his body torn to pieces by chariots and his family exterminated.

The American Sinophile is attuned to much about China that does not meet the eye. A Japanese Sinophile recognizes and clothes with other specific recollections what is contained in this hint of a T'ang dynasty China that Sir George Sansom tells us lies deep in Japan's racial memory:

"Politically, China was at this moment perhaps the most powerful, the most advanced and best administered country in the world. Certainly, in every material aspect of the life of a state she was overwhelmingly superior to Japan. The frontiers of her empire extended to the borders of Persia, to the Caspian Sea, to the Altai Mountains. She was in relations with the people of Annam, Cochin China, Tibet, the Tarim Basin and India; with the Turks, the Persians, and the Arabs. Men of many nations appeared at the court of China, bringing tribute and merchandise and new ideas that influenced her thought and her art. Persian, and more remotely, Greek influence is apparent in much of the sculpture and painting of the time and period.

"We need not discuss the extent of these various alien influences, we need only notice that their presence must have been a stimulus to invention and creation in many provinces of life, and at the same time remember that the bulk of China was so great, her strength so formidable that they could easily be absorbed without disturbing the balance or the individuality of her own culture. Along the streets of Chang-an there passed in those days Buddhist monks from India, envoys from Kashgar and Samarkand, Persia, Annam, Tonkin, Constantinople, chieftains of nomadic tribes from the Siberian plains, officials and students from Korea and, in now increasing numbers, from Japan. It is easy to imagine the effect upon the eyes and minds of these last of a capital so rich in interest and excitement, their despair at the sight of such profusion, their proud resolve to rival it if hands and courage

Chungking Street

by Paul Child



and restless ambition could eke out their country's material shortcomings. No doubt with that tireless curiosity and patient attention to detail which characterized their study of other alien civilizations, with which they later came into contact—those of Portugal, of Holland, and later of the industrialized Occident of the 19th century—the Japanese set themselves to observe and report on every aspect of China's life, and to consider what features they might profitably adopt in their own country."

The ultimate glory of China—in Han, T'ang, or Ch'ing times—has been its power to preserve through cycles of order and disorder, violence and tranquility, the centrality of man himself to which system has always bent.

A conviction that this is true, I think, ran through most of the testimony offered Senator Fulbright by the China specialists whom he exposed to the American TV viewing public a little while ago. Convictions belong to the world of feeling and faith—they cannot be proven. Let the witnesses themselves make their points. Only one shows anger with the Chinese as Chinese.

While the Chinese Communists like to think that they can control and manipulate all important, basic, social forces, it is increasingly clear that they, being human, are subject to many social forces and influences which they cannot control. (A. Doak Barnett)

In the course of time Peking should see a resurgence of the more humanistic and bureaucratic tradition of government by well-educated administrators who keep society in balance. While the past is gone forever, the present is not permanent either. Eventually we may expect the Chinese revolution to mellow down a bit. (John K. Fairbank)

The Party politicians are responsive to a degree of popular attitudes. They are well aware of the dangers of being alienated from the masses, as the people are called. (John M. H. Lindbeck)

Totalitarianism, authoritarianism and autocracy, conspiratorial politics, dogmatic subjectivity, the perversion of education into sheer indoctrination, the exaltation of political dogma and the corresponding debasement of technology, true science, and scientific expertise. They have chosen these emphases, and allied them with the religious subjectivism of Marxism, which appeals to them because it demands so little in the way of abandonment of those reprehensible features of the Chinese tradition that they have seized upon in their fanatical desperation and urgency to change China and the Chinese overnight. (David Nelson Rowe)

The glory of China is the Chinese. Chen Yi now tells us that there are 650 million of them on the mainland. There may be many more—or fewer. But not all Chinese are embraced by Mao's system. There are four Chinese systems today. One is ruled from Peking. But Taipei offers another, and so do Hong Kong and Singapore. Each is different. Monumental tasks face the Chinese in their own homeland. Peking offers harsh prescription for program, and has shown itself quite fallible. None can be sure what prescription is wise. But we know, from careful

(Continued on page 46)

Post Report on Antarctica

IN the US Foreign Service one could reasonably hope to visit all the continents of the world in the course of a career, except that continent which has no diplomatic posts at all—Antarctica. This should really be no disappointment to anybody, for it is a bleak place indeed for living, but its omission from the list of Foreign Service posts perhaps makes a *short* visit to Antarctica all the more attractive, at least for those who still suffer such occupational diseases as “travelitis,” “adventurism,” or “curiosity.” Thus, I was greatly pleased when the US Navy assigned me training duty this year with “Operation Deep Freeze,” which is the Navy’s unique support mission for the US scientific research program in the Antarctic. The two week visit revealed some fascinating technical and scientific activity, some fine international cooperation, and a look at what must be nature’s greatest back-of-beyond, the South Pole.

THE gateway to the Antarctic for the United States is Christchurch, New Zealand, affectionately known to Americans who have passed through it as “Chi-Chi.” This is where the advance base of “Operation Deep Freeze” is located, not very far from Lyttelton Harbor, Scott’s gateway to Antarctica, where he set off some 60 years ago to meet his grim fate on the ice.

Operation Deep Freeze sailors catch their breath before the statue of Robert Falcon Scott in Christchurch, New Zealand.



The author at Scott's Hut on Ross Island.

Today, arrivals and departures of US Hercules planes are a common sight at Christchurch airport. These giant transports that carry our men and materials to the Antarctic are especially equipped to land on either skis or wheels, which can be lowered as appropriate on the opposite ends of their unusual route. It is summertime in New Zealand when they roar down the hot pavements and head south for eight or nine hours and find a skiway on the ice, 2280 miles away. Typically, these planes are fully loaded with high priority cargo including perhaps 30 passengers, sailors and scientists, squeezed in with the boxes and bags. On one such flight Admiral Bakutis, Commanding the Naval Support Forces Antarctica, was aboard escorting his three special guests, the Belgian Military Attaché in Washington, the British Governor of Fiji, and one Captain Kelly, Naval Reservist, from the State Department.

After four hours of flying south, if the weather is clear below, the Antarctic convergence is visible. This is where the water turns to an inky blue at about 60 degrees latitude. Cold currents of the Antarctic meet the warmer waters of the Pacific here and churn up minerals from the ocean floor which darken the waters. It is a great place for hungry whales and seals, but it is rough on sailors who call these windy latitudes the “scream-

ing sixties.” Incidentally, this is also the point of “no return” for planes heading south. They must now fly on to the ice shelf, regardless of weather or other difficulty. It was in relation to this situation that we passengers were issued commemorative cards designating us as “Old Antarctic Aviators” when we crossed the 60th parallel. This memento was issued by “Penguin Airlines,” short for Air Development Squadron Six, which has been flying this route, and some very hazardous connecting routes, since 1955. Somehow this Navy squadron has maintained a remarkable safety record, though it operates off the Ross Ice Shelf to even remoter parts of the cold continent without the basic benefit of hangars or proper airfields!

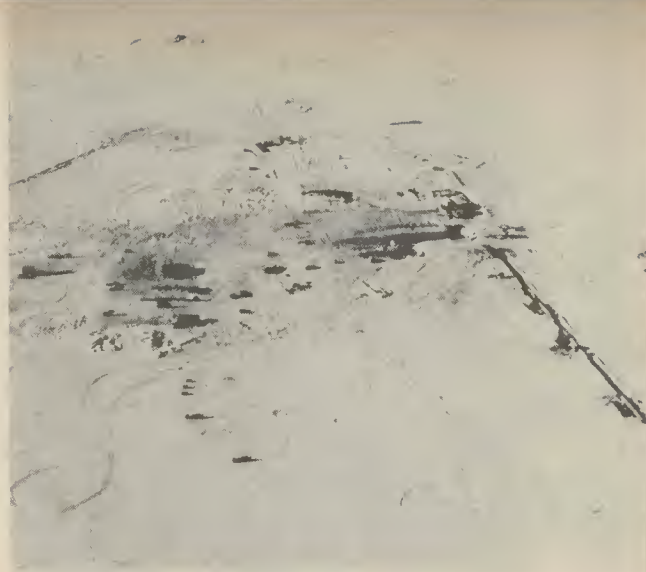
ICEBERGS began to spot the dark waters below and up ahead the mountains of Victoria Land emerged from among the billowing clouds. This is the first view of the continent and an awe-inspiring sight it is! Everything is wrapped in snow and stands cold, silent and majestic. There is no sign of man or his works. It looks bitterly cold and lonely below. In case of emergency there would be no place to land for the terrain is too rugged and the water too rough. If we had to ditch, how long could that heavy plane float? Man’s survival time in those frigid waters would only be a few minutes. But the turbo-props roared along perfectly and we had enough fuel on board for a couple of extra hours of flying should the weather delay our carefully scheduled landing.

Our landing was entirely routine, routine that is if one is accustomed to landing on skis atop 50 feet of ice, five miles from the nearest shore! That is the way it is done at Williams Field, a smoothed skiway marked out by red flags set before a cluster of huts for air operations, storage, repairs, and billeting. The field is named for a bulldozer operator who lost his life there when he and his machine fell through the ice. An enthusiastic welcome greeted us from the ground crews as we slid up to them and waiting tractors and helicopters. And why not, after all we “heroes” had safely brought in their mail!

MCMURDO station nestles against the lee side of Ross Island just where the ice shelf meets the sea. It is as far south as a ship can go. The Ross Sea was still covered with winter ice except for a path of dark water stretching off to the north, marking where an ice breaker had broken through to McMurdo harbor. But



New Zealand dog handlers from Scott Base, Ross Island, exercising their dog teams on the sea-ice runway at McMurdo Sound in preparation for long summer trail expeditions.



The Pole station viewed from 1500 feet.

from the helicopter one could see open water and icebergs far to the north. A week later, that open water reached down to Ross Island marking mid-summer. Temperatures were normal at around $+ 32^{\circ}\text{F}$.

Since the permanent ice prevents ships from penetrating any further towards the Pole, Ross Island became the site of Scott's base in 1911 for his trip by sledges and Siberian ponies. At that same time, Amundsen set up a base four hundred miles to the east of Scott, also at the edge of this huge ice shelf. Amundsen used dogs rather than ponies for his trip and was more successful. Both explorers made it, but Scott reached the pole a few weeks after Amundsen. On the way back Scott ran out of food when he was delayed by storms, and he died only a few miles from his supply cache. Little America was established in 1928 near where Amundsen had his base.

Even in midsummer, Ross Island is deeply wrapped in snow that fits snugly right up to the top of Mount Erebus, a magnificent volcano nearly 13,000 feet high. It dominates the island and emits a plume of vapor suggesting it is still active. McMurdo Station is built close to the shoreline where the snow melts in summer and exposes the volcanic rubble of the hillsides. The station is a motley collection of multi-colored buildings, fuel tanks, utility poles, wires, pipes and unpaved streets. It must resemble an Alaskan mining town at the turn of the century. Trucks and tractors kick up clouds of dust as they grind up and down the hillsides on their appointed chores. A year's accumulation of unburnable trash sits at the edge of the ice below the station where it has been gingerly piled by bulldozers, to break off in the thaw with an ice floe

and be carried out to sea. Occasionally, orange helicopters wheel overhead before fluttering off on some assigned mission.

A white steeple atop a quonset hut marks the Chapel of the Snows and the center of town. It is undoubtedly the largest church on the continent. Next to it, on a polished pedestal sits a fine bust of Admiral Byrd surveying the urban scene. The streets are lined with an assortment of huts of various sizes and shapes for offices, warehouses, and living quarters. The hut that houses the transient visitors is proudly marked "Ross Hilton Hotel—under new management." Close by is the Seabee office with a sign proclaiming it is the headquarters for the McMurdo "Urban Renewal Project." There is truth in this because the Seabees are now engaged in the construction of the first permanent multi-story building in Antarctica. It will consolidate the galley, mess hall and living quarters, and so replace those odd huts, including the living quarters marked "The Playboy Club" and another known as "Top of the Mark." These quarters at McMurdo typically have a large front room, rather comfortably furnished with lounge chairs, card tables, refrigerator, and perhaps a bar. Off this room is a community washroom, and a utility room to house the space heater and snow melter which makes water. The remaining two-thirds of the hut contains small double-decker bunk rooms, each with a desk and closet.

No woman has ever stayed at McMurdo Station, much less visited the Pole. The management down there seems uninterested in changing this situation, despite the many suggestions it receives to the contrary. Yet, house rule #5 of the BOQ, solemnly states, (but perhaps with a note of hope)

"No women are allowed in these quarters after 2200 hours." The hottest subject of conversation in Antarctica this year was the first tourist cruise to that continent. An Argentine ship with some ladies aboard reached the most northerly part of Antarctica, the Palmer Peninsula, on the far side of the continent from McMurdo, and it caused no end of speculation about the future. Of course, Operation Deep Freeze is strictly a scientific support mission, and serious business. The first American woman who makes it to McMurdo and visits the South Pole in my opinion, will probably be a no-nonsense lady scientist, who has carefully armed herself with an unmistakably serious project.

A short way up a hillside behind McMurdo Station are several green sheds which house the continent's only nuclear power plant and a brand new water desalinization plant. The nuclear plant was a prototype installed in 1962 before all the bugs were out of it, which has left something to be desired by way of reliability, although recently the performance has been much improved. Nevertheless, most of the station's power still comes from a 2000 kw diesel generating plant. Heating is by space heaters that burn fuel oil. When the nuclear plant does work it can provide *both* heat and power. Getting enough water for people and fire-fighting has always been a problem. It is made from snow trucked in from clean areas outside McMurdo, and it takes about 10 loads of snow to make one load of water. Using ice this ratio can be improved to about four to one. Even so, hauling snow or ice to the melters is a ceaseless, tiresome chore. But the newly installed desalinization plant, working in conjunction with the nuclear plant,

The USS Glacier, largest of the Navy icebreakers, prepares to recover her helicopter which has been seeking cut leads in the ice.

The USNS John Towle pulling into mooring positions which had just been cut and cleared by the USS Burton Island.

The edge of the glacier which flows off Mt. Erebus into Erebus Bay, McMurdo Sound.



promises a new degree of convenience and safety.

Despite the somewhat tawdry marks of man at McMurdo, the natural surroundings there are beautiful and awe-inspiring. In order to see the view from Observation Hill above the nuclear plant, I climbed to the top one fine Sunday morning and stood beside the cross put there in memory of Scott. It faces south towards where he died about 100 miles away. Standing up there in the cold crisp air, I was reminded of the title of the recent Broadway play, "On a Clear Day You Can See Forever." Mountain ranges 60 miles away looked as if you could walk over to them in an hour. Everything is clean, white, and silent. Only the clouds move. In these vast dimensions a man and his machines can seem awfully small. Erebus stood partly camouflaged in clouds, its white snows matching white clouds and its blue shadows matching blue sky. The effect was grand, mysterious and unreal.

On evenings when I dined with Admiral Bakutis in his comfortable flag quarters, I could see from his picture window Scott's pathetic little hut on a point of land not a mile away. Snow drifts still fold around it as if to protect it from the winds. This was Scott's base for his 1901-04 expedition and stands today pretty much as he left it then. There are some boxes of crumbled hardtack on the floor; a piece of black seal blubber hangs from a hook by the window, and tins of baking soda and marmalade line the shelves. A big iron stove, flaked with rust, squats in the middle of the bleak hut. Now it is cold and ugly, but once, I imagine, it was warm and beautiful. By the door hangs a pair of snowshoes and just outside under the low eaves of the roof are the frozen ear-earrings of two dogs, perhaps intended for meat. All this is a reminder of the

daring and the agony it once took to force human entry on to the forbidding continent, and a sort of benchmark too, showing how far man's technology has advanced today. It somehow seemed inappropriate to go to the hut by modern Sno-Trae, so I walked. While I did, I thought how remarkable it is that one can now travel from Washington, D. C., to the South Pole, some 14,000 miles, in but three days, and one need not walk more than a city block, nor eat a chill, nor change one's diet, to do it.

No, I could sit at the Admiral's well appointed table, warm and comfortable, and through his picture window see a 26 million dollar view of the Victoria Mountain Range, for that is approximately what it takes each year to operate "Operation Deep Freeze." A steward passed around the hot biscuits and then served a platter of stuffed pork chops, green vegetables, salad, and finally strawberries and ice cream. Times have certainly changed at McMurdo! The heroic age of individual courage and glory has given way to teamwork and technical triumphs. Nevertheless, this is still a hostile environment, and it takes nerve, skill and dedication to push back the frontiers of knowledge, and the work is not without danger.

The next era, I suppose, will see McMurdo and the other stations in Antarctica enclosed by huge plastic domes to keep out the elements and to provide temperate climates within for scientists, tourists, and the workers who will exploit the Antarctic's resources. There may then really be a Playboy Club, complete with suntanned girls.

Though such domes (and dames) may come to the Antarctic someday, today much of the life there, both animal and human, lives below the



surface. The seas, for instance, abound with life. Minute plankton, which thrive on the minerals in the water, are fed upon by krill, a small shrimp-like animal. These krill are so numerous in places, they color the water purple. They are food for penguins, seals and the Antarctic Blue Whale, the biggest animal that has ever existed. Man also lives below the surface to be more comfortable at such inland stations as Byrd and the South Pole.

I visited the South Pole station, known officially as the Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station. It is about 800 miles south and a three hour flight each way. I took the "Shuttle" as the resupply flight is called. The trip is equivalent to flying down to Palm Beach from Washington, D. C. We cruised south for about an hour over the enormous Ross Ice Shelf which gradually rises from 50 feet above sea level at its northern edge to around 400 feet near its southern extremity. Then we crossed the great glaciers which lead up to the lofty Queen Maud Range and bring down the vast quantities of ice that make the ice shelf. Across the 10,000 foot range lies the vast Polar Plateau, a flat desert of snow and ice some 9,000 feet high. When the mountains were gone from sight we began to descend for the landing at the Pole.

The South Pole is a dull-looking place, flat and featureless, but with plenty of snow and ice: in fact the ice is 8,850 feet thick at the Pole. The big plane came to a halt near some tracked vehicles, beyond which were the tops of buildings and a couple of radio towers. It was bitterly cold outside the aircraft and one engine was kept running to facilitate starting. Meanwhile our "taxicab" to the Pole drove up, a bucking, noisy Sno-Trac that took us the last quarter of a mile to the exact spot which was marked by a well guyed flagpole flying the Stars and Stripes. "Now, Sir," shouted the driver, "walk around that pole and you have walked around the world." So I did, in fact several times in less than a minute. There were two small signs on either side of the Pole, one marking the International Date Line, the other the Greenwich Meridian. It was great to be there, exhilarating, in fact, and we took pictures of each other looking unrecognizable in the many layers of cold weather clothes that we had been issued. Then the camera shutters began to freeze up in the -35 degrees F. and we returned to the taxi.

The entrance to the South Pole Station is down a snowy ramp and into a dark ice gallery some 20 feet below



The endearing Adelie penguins at Cape Royds.

the surface. Inside, lit by a string of naked bulbs, were a cluster of huts. Stacked neatly around them were boxes of stores—food, spare parts, supplies—enough of everything for at least a year. We left our heavy jackets in the lobby of one of the huts and entered into the station's bright and cheerful mess hall for a cup of hot coffee. The "natives," mostly bearded, were friendly and seemed glad to have some visitors. The Pole Station was established in 1957 and since then has been continually occupied by US scientists and naval personnel who serve there on a voluntary basis. This year the officer-in-charge is a serious young navy doctor who will winter over with twenty men. From April to November they will be completely cut off from the world except for radios. They are particularly fond of K4WDB, their amateur station which enables them to talk to their families. To demonstrate how it is done, a sailor interrupted a chat he was having with a "ham" in California, a grandmother named Betty whose picture hangs above the transmitter. Betty was asked to call my home phone in Washington. When she got my wife on the line, Betty connected her telephone to her transmitter and receiver, and presto, I was talking with home from the South Pole!

This communication link is by far the most important morale booster

Bill Douthitt, PM3, Scuba diver, and Louis Roane, PM2, second class diver, are making a recon dive into frozen ice hole to look for a D-8 tractor that fell through while pulling cargo sleds.





Street scene, McMurdo Station, during winter season. Buildings in immediate foreground are CPO Quarters and station galley and mess hall.

Paul Strouse, AC2, shovels snow from the door of the passenger terminal at Williams Field.



in the Antarctic, followed by the mail and movies. Then there are the ubiquitous pin-ups which can't be overlooked. They brighten many nooks and corners, girls in full color and little else.

ANTARCTICA must be the loneliest part of the world, being so remote and inhospitable, but it provides a good place for testing ideas and equipment for the harsh and barren places soon to be encountered on the moon, on Mars, and elsewhere in space. Not only is Antarctica now a proving ground for space exploration, but it is also one of the best places on earth to observe space phenomena such as the aurora, air glow, and cosmic rays. Locked up in this snowy continent are also many secrets about our own planet. This is why men go down there from a dozen different nations.

There is no mistaking the air of excitement among the scientists. You can see it in their eyes and gestures as they talk about their work. These men work in different fields and are of different ages and nationalities, but they share a great common enthusiasm for research. They work hard and long on their pursuits. Age is difficult to tell behind all the beards, but most of our scientists seem to be in their twenties, although some are surely in their sixties and yet are undaunted by the rigors and isolation of fieldwork in Antarctica. There is still so much to do, they say. Even after

nearly ten years of research programs, the scientists feel they have only scratched the surface of knowledge about the continent.

What sorts of things are they now investigating? Well, for example, they want to know how penguins can recognize each other among a million other birds in a rookery. The biologists are looking for the largest land animal down there. So far it is only a wingless fly. Geologists are trying to explain the presence of coal and petrified wood on the icy continent where hardly a blade of grass grows today. Others are working on the related question of whether the ice gap is getting larger or smaller. Still others are concerned with the great stream of cosmic rays that arrive near the pole, and the source of strange whistlers on the radio bands. A team of biologists is studying the secret life of an antarctic fish that has no red corpuscles to carry oxygen as would a normal fish. These are just a few samples of the many interesting questions with which our Antarctic Research Program is concerned.

Antarctica is not without special interest to the political scientist. It is now an internationalized area. The Antarctic Treaty, ratified by twelve nations in 1961, suspends all national claims to territory there and provides access to all parts of the continent by the signatory countries for peaceful and scientific purposes. It also provides for mutual inspection of stations, and cooperative programs such as weather reporting and the publication of new data. The common quest in Antarctica now for knowledge, rather than property, has made international relationships easier. Some American scientists have lived and worked at the Soviet stations, and the Russians in turn have worked at US stations. An Italian scientist led the US scientific party this year on a part of the giant traverse that is proceeding from the Pole to the edge of the Indian Ocean. There was a Norwegian in the party too. New Zealand gives us transit facilities to Antarctica and we help New Zealand resupply their scientific station down there. Such international cooperation characterizes the good relations there among all the countries involved.

Thus perhaps the most significant development of all on this remote continent will be the development of a tradition of cooperation and trust among nations for scientific, humanitarian, and economy purposes, that can be extended to the world's old problems and to the new frontiers of space. ■

Faith, Paradigms and Communism

COMMUNIST theoreticians proclaim that Karl Marx and later Lenin enunciated a new and revolutionary concept of society. Actually, there have been many revolutions in historic times and in both form and substance, communist theory follows a general pattern. When revolutions have taken place, the old gods do not die, but become demons. The old loyalties become superstitions, the old virtues become vices. The ancient rituals become signs of degencracy and counter-revolution. What really happens in a revolutionary age is the transfer of authority from a traditional elite to a new elite which must destroy the symbols of power of the old elite in order to establish their own. This destruction is by defamation. But the power structure itself does not radically change.

In all traditional societies, the theory of power is that it moves downward from the top. The displacement of one small group in a power structure by another group does not change the structure itself. Wherefore, when the new elite capture the controls, they must find new expressions to justify their seizure of power—but the form and substance of power structure persist. So a revolutionary elite will find new words to express ancient traditional ideas. We are living in an age of confusion because it is not generally understood that the “new” language of communism is really old—ancient in form and substance. Thus Russian communism claims to be Marx-Leninist and has a vocabulary which needs a special dictionary to explain its terms. But in form and substance, the power structure in Russia has remarkable similarity to the older “Holy Russia” prototype.

The British Revolution (1642-1688) still used religious terminology for its propaganda justification, because it was very close in time to the medieval concept of Christendom. The American Revolution (1775-1783)

was secular and borrowed concepts of Hellenic humanism for its justification—natural rights of man. The French Revolution was anti-religious enthroning Reason in the place of God. The Russian Revolution (1917) followed more closely the French model, probably because the atmosphere in Russia in 1917 was far more similar to that in France just previous to 1789. The Russian Revolution has almost pathologically followed an anti-religious path—yet borrowed older religious forms and substance. In other words, it is a new religion couched in pseudo-scientific terms which feels it must destroy its “father” who gave it birth. The clash is not between atheism and Faith—it is a clash between concepts of the Absolute, of one Faith against another—a case of dogma eats dogma.

Paradigms and Society. The Greeks coined a word for it: Para (alongside) and digma (to show). A paradigm is something which produces a copy of itself—like a seal with its imprint, a mirror and the reflection seen therein, or an idea and its counterpart in reality. Plato taught that ideas were Paradigms and had an independent existence in themselves. As these ideas were reflected in nature, they were distorted and degenerate. The Idea was the Ungenerated, Unchanging Absolute, found in nature only in a relative and imperfect form. But far earlier than Plato by many centuries, the ancient city civilizations of Sumer and Egypt had developed another concept of the Absolute. In Egypt it was a God of many names who was incarnate in the King (Pharaoh). In Sumer, the God was not seen but understood only through absolute obedience to the Lugal (the Great Man) whom the Gods selected to be their Vicar on Earth. In Egypt the God created motion by pronunciation of his words. In Sumer, the Lugal created order and motion by power given to him at the theophany—a dialogue between the King and the God.

The symbol of this power was the Royal Scepter. The common factors in ancient religion, Platonic philosophy and modern science are very fundamental ones—theories of Energy and Motion.

The Question posed by the ancient Sumerians, Egyptians, Hebrews, Greek Philosophers, Christians, Muslim and Marx, as well as modern scientists, is one: *"How does Energy (the Paradigm) express itself in the sensory world (the Paradigmatic reflection or imprint) and specifically in society?"*

The traditional monotheistic religions of the Middle East answered this by establishing two basic assumptions: (1) Energy (the God) is Transcendental (outside and beyond the world). (2) The world is at best inert (passive in power) or at worst a degenerate mass leading to chaos (depraved). This posed a dilemma: How can a Transcendental Power (God) function in an inert or chaotic depraved world? The answer was a third assumption: *There must be an intermediate factor by which power is transmitted to create an orderly (holy) society in a world of chaos.*

In 1687 Newton published his "Principia Mathematica." It turned out to be a cultural blockbuster bomb. His demonstration of inertia or momentum assumed that energy was a part of mass, not outside. His laws of thermodynamics, motion and gravity assumed energy was not capricious but functioned through systems best expressed in mathematical terms (geometry and mechanics). The result was philosophic Deism of the 18th and 19th Centuries. God was the Creator of the World but He then set in motion Newton's laws, so the World needed no further attention. He was the Great Plumber, the Great Clockmaker, the Great Mathematician. It has been stated that Newton made God a Constitutional Monarch a year before Parliament made the English King a constitutional ruler. Jefferson qualified the name of God with the adjective "of nature." Natural law and natural rights were made "absolute." Soon "natural selection" was to be credited with the theory of evolution. Plato's "idea" flourished and "Nature" as a word was supposed to reflect a Reality of independent being. "Nature" stole all the attributes of the traditional God—and LaPlace as well as others argued that the whole world of sensual phenomenon could be better explained "without the necessity to assume a God." This was the age of Marx.

Marx, borrowing from Hegel, was a Platonist. He set out to discover for society what Newton had discovered for the sciences. He accepted the concept of momentum—that energy was some part of matter. This led to the strange conclusion that if there was a morality, it would be a characteristic of matter. Marx's dictum that nature or materialism abhors exploitation of man by man is a moral problem, but in Marx it is the basis of his materialism. On this, he built his theory of history.

Energy in matter had to be harnessed to produce surpluses—and the harness he called "the means of production." In the Paleolithic primitive stages of human society, no important means of production had been discovered, so there were no surpluses and no exploitation. But when agriculture and implements were discovered, a few seized the "ownership" of these means and diverted the surplus to themselves, thus initiating

exploitation. Capitalism, the fourth stage, had found endless sources of energy and generated fantastic surpluses but also increased exploitation to the point of the dialectic—the emergence of an opposite force which would overwhelm its creator. This materialistic dialectic is the Force of Nature which makes the Logic of History. The dialectic is Newton's third law of action and reaction (thesis and antithesis), while the law of the inevitable destruction of capitalism by a violent revolution is the adaptation of Newton's first law—a body will continue indefinitely in one direction unless deflected by another body, etc. Capitalism as the ultimate means of exploitation cannot reform itself but will inevitably build up its opposite force—the proletariat—until the latter intercepts the former and destroys it.

The language of communist ideology sounds scientific, but its form and substance are identical with the ancient religions of the Middle East. Put these in the abstract forms of the Paradigm and the Paradigmatic society. Marx confuses Energy, Nature, the Materialistic Dialectic and the Logic of History. But relative to society, these terms are only 19th century equivalents for the older idea of an anthropomorphic expression of Energy (God). Society in Marx is inert or even evil in its historic manifestations (alienation) and is pushed around by the Logic of History. But while society is alienated from Nature, the inevitable increase in human misery brought about by capitalist greed will inevitably make the proletariat aware (conversion) of their rights and power.

This is the Messianic hope of the monotheistic faiths—originally expressed in Zoroastrian eschatology—the overthrow of the forces of the Lie (Druj) by the God of Light (Ahura Mazda), but taken over by late Judaism (Daniel and the Jewish Apocalypse), then found in Christianity (the letters of Paul and the book of Revelation and other teachings), and finally re-echoed in Islam—the Day of Judgment and the final Victory of Allah over Satan. In Marx, as in all faiths from which he borrowed, this Messianic event is not far off.

Marx, the idea-man, thought the materialistic dialectic had "chosen" the laboring masses to be the new elite. History deceived him. Marx had bet on the laboring classes of the West, particularly England, France and Germany, because there capitalism showed its greatest increase in wealth. On the contrary, instead of developing revolution, working men demanded reform and on a national basis. This led Lenin to conclude Marx was wrong. The proletariat were phlegmatic, satisfied with better wages and working conditions and would never revolt. It could not play the role of an elite to organize a world revolution. So after the turn of the Century, he built a new elite—the Communist Party. It needed little research to find a model, but the one assiduously studied was the 16th Century Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Communist Party could aptly be called the "Society of the Materialistic Dialectic." It demanded strict dogmatic indoctrination, intellectual facility, absolute obedience, total devotion, great sacrifice, great rewards and a militant willingness to reach the utmost parts of the world at any personal cost. It also had its Inquisition. Theirs was the task to seize control of the apex of the power structure by any

(Continued on page 45)

Foggbotham on Layering

Dear Editor,

I was so pleased with the reaction to my last letter ("Hopefully Topseclear," JOURNAL, April 1966) that I thought I would write you another one. The reaction, in case you're interested, included one letter from a Deputy Assistant Secretary. He didn't think my letter was very funny. Well, I didn't think *his* was, either, but then I never supposed a Deputy Assistant Secretary could have a sense of humor. Because if he did, he'd have to laugh every time he wrote out that title of his. Imagine what would happen if they used that kind of titling in other lines of work—it could produce things like Side-Rear Admirals, or Vice-Vice Presidents. And I suppose some titles could be dreamed up along those lines in the diplomatic field, too; but I shall rue the day when the first Half-Counselor heads for the field. And what do you suppose people are going to think when the Department decides to address FSS-14s as John Doe, Assistant Esquire?

Let me slowly get around to what really worries me. It is this new idea of having Country Directors in the Department instead of plain old country desk officers. Now, don't get me wrong; I know it's a good idea or the Department wouldn't have decided to think it up. Every idea of the Department's is a good one. However, this one kind of bothers me, because I'm still not very high up in the Foreign Service. And every time they start doing things like this I feel like I'm climbing up a pyramid and suddenly God heightens the pyramid another half-mile.

Let me explain what I mean. I know the Department says it's going to do away with geographic offices, and that this will eliminate the layer that lies now between a Bureau and one of its Countries. But what do you suppose is going to happen when the FSO-6 who works part-time as desk officer for Tonga is replaced by the Tonga Country Director, Career Minister Roe? Does the Department suppose Minister Roe will rest happy

and satisfied with a staff consisting of the stenographer that the FSO-6 shared with the liaison officer for Pago-Pago affairs? No, sir, that man will never rest until he has at least a squad of FSO-3s under him, and I can cite you chapter and verse of Parkinson to prove it; you know the Laws. What I mean is that we will end up with a Department composed of geographic Bureaus that, without Offices, somehow manage to be twice as big as they are now *with* Offices.

I realize that one can be criticized for raising a problem and not solving it. Therefore I have thought up a solution, which tentatively I would propose to call the Foggbotham Executive Domination Plan. What I did was to re-think the theory of the Foreign Service, the "scenario," as we say, of a typical Service career. Until now, people have usually thought of a man beginning this career as FSO-8 (more recently they think of it as FSO-7) and progressing slowly up-

ward through the ranks until he gets ahead out of a top job by some new FSR-1 who had always wanted to work on foreign policy during his twenty years as European editor for GRIT.

But is there any real need for us to hire FSO-8s, or FSO-7s, at all? I have decided that there is not. Let us not let people continue to lead lives of quiet desperation, at least not in *our* Department. Let us hire only FSO-3s, or FSR-3s, and above; that, simply stated, is my proposal. Let us add some ranks at the top, too, to give those FSO-3s room to advance; let us not stop with Career Ambassador, by any means. Forget my silly comments at the beginning of this letter; make every man a Vice Deputy Assistant Junior Secretary, at least, and give him a Country to Direct.

Or at least an island. I suppose there may not be enough countries for every officer in the Department to be a Country Director; but surely anyone could be at least an Island Director. No one yet, for example, has really taken charge of Elephant Island Affairs (that's in the South Shetlands), and then there's the Kuria Murias, and Sala-y-Gomez, and Puka Puka in the Tuamotus—and all the seven thousand Philippines. To hell with your FSO-8s, I say; every man a Chief.

Excuse me for getting worked up about this, Mr. Editor, but I did think it was time someone took a new look at things.

Your friend,
Ben Foggbotham



It's the one dialect I didn't master at FSI."

EDITORIALS

Call to the Membership

WITH the publication of this issue, the Association is inaugurating a campaign aimed at increasing its membership by fifty per cent to 10,000 persons. In terms of present membership this appears to be an ambitious goal, but in relation to the number of those non-members who are eligible for membership, it is not large. The addition of only a quarter of the 14,000 some odd eligible non-member employees of State, USIA, AID and other agencies would achieve our aim.

In working out plans for the campaign, the Association Board recognized that many employees had never been approached personally to join the Association and were probably unaware of its function and benefits. For this reason they decided on a plan of battle according to which potential members would be personally invited to join. Membership drive committees will be formed in each of the agencies in Washington which will be responsible for drawing up lists of non-members who will be contacted by a committee member. U. Alexis Johnson, President of the Association, is writing to each mission chief abroad to request the appointment of an Association member in the mission to coordinate the drive in that mission and see to it that every non-member is approached. AID Administrator William Gaud and USIA Director Leonard Marks are both planning to send messages to their field offices urging them to cooperate in the Association membership drive.

In the final analysis, of course, the success of the drive will depend on the effort made by the Association membership at large. A few people in Washington, doing a lot of work, will not be enough. If each of us does something, like urging one non-member to join, then the campaign will be a success.

This is, of course, as it should be because it is the individual members who will gain from this drive. An American Foreign Service Association with a membership of over 10,000 will improve the JOURNAL by increasing its attractiveness to advertisers. The Association's finances will get a boost, helping it with the various services it offers and solidifying its base for the possible purchase of a building. The burgeoning scholarship fund will be strengthened perhaps enabling it to disperse increasing amounts above its present annual \$40,000.

Then, of course, there are the intangible benefits which come from a strengthened Association claiming to speak in the name of a *majority* of the professionals in Foreign Service. The present membership can only gain from this drive. In many ways it will be a test of the vitality of our organization. The JOURNAL believes that the drive is well worth an effort by every member of the Association. ■

A Presidential Commencement Address

IT was a hot, muggy afternoon Thursday, June 9. The Rose Garden was nearly filled with Senior Seminar graduates, their families, some well-wishers and a few Presidential aides. The President's message was pointed yet sweeping.

He commented that the graduates came not only from the Foreign Service but also from the ranks of the armed services and of several other government departments, and thus reflected the revolution in the conduct of our foreign affairs in this past generation. He called for greater teamwork among all of us and lauded the example of cooperation that Secretary Rusk and Secretary McNamara have set for us.

He said:

The . . . special ties between the President and the Foreign Service should always be close, . . . The Foreign Service, like the Office of the President, belongs to no one department. It serves the whole of the government.

We agree fully that our relationship with the President must be extraordinary if we are to do well the jobs facing us in the area of foreign affairs. Moreover, we fully endorse the concept that ours is the Foreign Service *of the United States* (and not merely of any one organization or agency).

The President looked to us for answers to the questions of what we can do now "which will enlarge the prospects of life" for all peoples a generation and more from now. He urged us neither to grow impatient nor to be overawed by the tasks ahead—reminding us that politics or diplomacy is not magic and recalling that thirteen years witnessed the interval between our Declaration of Independence and our first President's Inauguration.

We applaud the President's remarks and join with him in congratulating the graduates of the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

The August issue of the JOURNAL was already on the presses when President Johnson signed the 3.2 per cent government pay rise bill on July 18. By this time you will have heard the news and indeed you may have seen the good news in the shape of a higher pay check.

The final bill as passed by the Senate followed the text originally passed by the House and described in the July issue of the JOURNAL. The general rise was 3.2 per cent which consisted of an increase in pay amounting to 2.9 per cent plus divers fringe benefits. The effective date was set retroactively to July 1.

The July 1 feature brought no joy to President Johnson who originally proposed that the rise take effect Jan. 1, 1967. At the signing, the President said the change in date effected by Congress was a "very serious cause for concern in terms of its possible inflationary impact."

Disillusionments

Life produces one shocking disillusionment after another. Only a short time ago all good Christians showed reverence for St. Philomena, who was, according to standard hagiologies, an early Christian martyr in Rome. There was a monument to her in a Roman Church containing a beautiful line, "*post tenebras spero lucem*." Many others who also hoped for light after the shadows, invoked St. Philomena's aid and it was generally believed that she was an active and effective intercessor in Heaven. And then the blow fell. From the Vatican came a brief statement that there was no evidence that Philomena ever existed. Her name had to be stricken from the rolls, and chiseled from the doors of many churches.

No more had we absorbed this bad news than we learned that robins—at least the males—are not the sweet, lazy, *gemütlich* birds we had imagined. Quite the contrary, reports a leading thinker on ornithology, who has specialized in the private behavior of robins. While it is true that robins exhibit the more pleasing aspects of their personality while they are hopping around your lawn on a sunny afternoon, they are really tough, scrappy, aggressive birds and won't

take any back-talk from any other birds, even hawks and lammergeiers. They are particularly belligerent at the beginning of the season when they are staking out their nesting and feeding territory. Thus goes one of our fundamental beliefs, sad as if we heard that Little Lord Fauntleroy seduced Elsie Dinsmore.

There was another belief we savored: the composer Couperin was supposed to have sent bales of letters to Johann Sebastian Bach. Bach's descendants, according to the story, used the letters as covers for jam pots. But now a ruthless musicologist proclaims that there is not a tittle of evidence that such letters ever existed and, even if they had, the rest of the story is silly: all the members of the Bach tribe were too savvy to use valuable documents as tops for jam pots. Little by little all our erudition will be stripped from us. Hélas, ahimé Leider!

"Blind as a bat," we say. Well, we used to say. The expression must now be banished because another investigator, Dr. Donald R. Griffin, of Rockefeller University, says that bats, far from being blind, have extraordinary vision. Some of the more talented can spot a familiar landmark, such as a mountain range, from a distance of 20 miles. In short, bats can see farther than Betty Beale.

Guide to Sinful Reading

The news from Rome is somber: the Vatican has decreed the abolition of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*—the Index of Prohibited Books. The last edition, containing about 5,000 titles, came out in 1948. No more titles will be added. In days gone by, some impious types used to use the Index as a guide to sprightly reading. What will the impious types do now?

Nickels—Wooden and Nickel

"Don't take any wooden nickels, now." This wasn't a joke after all. Wooden nickels actually existed. They were issued to celebrate historic anniversaries; they were locally accepted as legal coins.

This fact came to light last month when the American nickel celebrated its centenary. The first nickel, issued

in 1866, showed a heraldic shield surmounted by the words "In God We Trust." The most famous, and probably the most popular, nickel was the 1912 "buffalo." One side carried an Indian head and the other a bison. The current nickel, first issued in 1938, shows Jefferson and Monticello.

Everyone over 50 must remember the days when the nickel counted for something. It bought an ice cream cone, a bottle of pop, a stogy, a street car ride, a movie show. In a mood of justified sentimentality, the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York staged a display called "Happy Birthday, Nickel."

Proud of my Ignorance

"I couldn't tell the difference between a debenture and a common stock if I met both of them on Fifth Avenue. I don't know what selling short means, either."

Radiance came into his eyes. His lips twisted into lines of self-satisfaction.

Curious how certain forms of ignorance can bring so much happiness. So much, indeed, that gloating cannot be contained. Some more examples:

"Of course I must be the worst speller alive."

"I'm just like Charles Lamb—I can tell the difference between 'God Save the King' and all other tunes."

"I never learned to sew on a button."

"I can't tell one flower from another. Oh, perhaps I could tell a daisy."

"I can't cook a thing. As a matter of fact, I hardly know how to turn on the stove."

Club News

The T.G.I.F.—Thank God It's Friday!—Club has existed for a number of years, but until recently it has been managed by conservative interests. The conservative interests held that the week-end revelry must not begin until Friday noon when the celebrants lunged into three martinis before lunch. But now far-out elements are moving in. These start the orgies on Wednesdays.

Another Club, the O.H.I.M.—Oh Hell It's Monday!—Club was inaugu-

rated in June. The first to sign up were the far out elements in the T.G.I.F. Club.

"Sorry, Sir, He Can't Talk Now"

The most common reasons why people can't talk to you on the telephone are:

"He's in a meeting."

"He's on another line."

"He's taking a long distance call from London."

"He's just stepped out."

"He's gone out to lunch."

"He's got someone with him."

"He's dictating."

It all boils down to the fact that he will only talk when he's sitting at his desk doing nothing. It would be so pleasant to hear a secretary chirp: "He's just looking out the window," or, "He's sucking his thumb," "He's scraping mustard off his sleeves"—followed by, "Of course he will talk to you!"

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature? Two more candidates:

We are such stuff

As dreams are made of, and our little life

Is rounded with a sleep.

Shakespeare: The Tempest

La Vida es Sueño.

Calderón: the title of his masterpiece, "Life is a Dream."

Is She an Amateur?

Critics have said pontifically that Mrs. Barbara Tuchman is not "a professional historian." You conclude that she must be a dilettante, a dauber, and that she must be a little bit careless with facts. After you read her books, however, you wonder what "non-professional" means. The tensile strength of Mrs. Tuchman's prose makes her book as hard to put down as an Agatha Christie. Her brief portraits of World War I figures are as neat as characters in Balzac. She provides sharp insights into men's motives. She is one of the few women writers who has had the desire or the skill to describe a battle. Her descriptions of feckless military strategy remind one of certain pages of Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Would that more histories were written by non-professionals!

Incomplete Revelations

Plangent woman's voice in a restaurant: "Well, you say you are mad about Saudi Arabia. Well, I care as much about Saudi Arabia as I care about Ned Nussbaum."

Why can't a woman like this learn that her audience is craving a few details on Ned Nussbaum?

Transmogrification of Patio

A patio was, in the days when the Oxford Dictionary was being put together, "The Spanish name for an inner court or an enclosed space open to the sky."

Americans seem to fancy the word patio. As soon as they found the time to jolt it out of its original sense, they applied it to an expanse of cement laid out in a rear garden, covered with a canopy and used for loafing purposes. It next became any area used for loafing purposes such as a lawn. In its current phase it seems to mean any outdoor space. Examples: "They are going to plant watermelons in the patio." . . . "The policeman chased Pinckley for a mile up the patio."

Award for September

It was not because of seventy-two year old Mao Tze-tung's swim in the Yangtze River—ten miles in only sixty-five minutes—that he wins the September Award. It was because of the sensational background of the swim. He originated one of the greatest feats of history, or at least since Leander and Byron swam the Hellespont and Gertrude Ederle swam the Channel.

But whereas Leander, Byron and Ederle used their arms, Mao Tze-tung found another method. It is a scandal

that the press took so little trouble to get the facts. It was silly of them to present Mao frisky as a fruit fly after such a long haul. Fortunately, Washington Letter's Hong Kong correspondent has revealed how the trick was done: Mao was tied to two White Flag dolphins (*Lipates Vexillefar*) and two Caribbean manatees. Both of these monsters are known for speed. The dolphins did their training in Tung-ting Lake which flows into the Yangtze. The manatees (*Trichechus Menatus*) blundered into the Bay of Pigs one day in April and Castro thought it would be fun to ship them off to Mao. Moscow's reaction is not yet known.

Unsolicited Advice

Often, when you call a number in the Department of State, a chirpy secretary's voice says, "But Mr. Trilling is no longer with us," or, "Mr. Trilling isn't here any more."

Suspicion invades your brain: "Good old Trilling! Did he get selected out? Is he now a salesman in Garfinckel's lace doily department? ("They don't come in blue, madam".) Or is he raising guppies in Jamaica? ("But you wouldn't see guppies of this breed in Buffalo at any price, Sir.") Or has he merely been transferred to Rwanda or, to Conspiracies and Obfuscations?

Couldn't secretaries learn to say, "Mr. Trilling has been transferred to . . . I'll give you his new number?"

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Air priority pouch? In there."

Direct Democracy— A Swiss Luxury



The Landsgemeinde in action at Appenzell Inner-Rhodes

“WEM’S wohlgefällt, der bezeugt’s mit der Hand” (Whoever is in favor, let him so indicate by raising his hand). These words, or a slight variation of them, can still be heard each year in five of the older rural cantons of Switzerland at the *Landsgemeinde*, an annual assembly of all free citizens. The canton of Glarus and the half-cantons of Nidwalden, Obwalden, Appenzell-Outer Rhodes and Appenzell-Inner Rhodes, are among the few remaining places in the world where pure democracy is still practiced. The *Landsgemeinde*, which is an institution common to all of these cantons, is traditionally held on the last Sunday in April in all cases except that of Glarus where it takes place on the first Sunday in May. While fundamentally similar, each of the *Landsgemeinde* has its own unique characteristics, with forms and ceremonials handed down with but minor changes from generation to generation for the past five hundred years. Of them, the *Landsgemeinde* of Appenzell-Inner Rhodes is the smallest and was first held in the year 1409.

The author and his wife had the privilege of participating in last year’s ceremonies as official guests of the Canton. A description of this colorful event and the rites and ceremonies surrounding it may provide the reader with at least some appreciation for this venerable institution. In Appenzell-Inner Rhodes, all male citizens are eligible to vote beginning with their 20th year. From earliest times the indication or proof of the right to vote has been the wearing of a side-arm (Als einziger Stimmrechtsbeweis gilt das Scitengewehr). In the course of the last century this practice was at one point virtually abandoned in the name of “progress,” but when the question was put to a formal vote in 1879 the obligatory carrying of side-arms by voters was overwhelmingly confirmed. Since that date the custom has continued unchallenged. All kinds of side-arms are seen—neither custom nor the law restricts the type to be displayed—and in the case of citizens doing their annual tour of military service in Switzerland’s militia army, the bayonet is acceptable for the occasion. More often than not, side-arms are handsome, ornate family heirlooms handed down from father to son for generations.

From the beginning, the *Landsgemeinde* was preceded directly by a special religious service. The *Landbuch* of 1585, a precursor of the present-day Cantonal constitution, mentions a procession “after the mass,” and there are many later references as late as 1850. Somewhere along the line in later years some wise burghers with less stamina than some of their colleagues decided to insert an official meal or “snack” between the special mass and the beginning of the solemn procession to the town square where the *Landsgemeinde* is held. This is still the custom and was observed again last year.

At nine o'clock, the members of the Cantonal Government—the *Landeskommission*—and the Cantonal Court, dressed in black robes, entered the parish church for the special worship service and were escorted to a reserved section of pews. Preceding them into the church was an honor guard of approximately ten men and boys, all dressed in the picturesque military dress of the late eighteenth century and looking very much like the patriots who fought at Concord and Lexington. They carried the flags of the various "roden" or family groups of the Canton, whose origins can be traced to the pre-Christian times of the Germanic tribes. The honor guard proceeded to the area of the main altar where they remained standing throughout the service, which included a sermon prepared for the occasion and addressed both to the members of the Government and their fellow citizens.

Following the mass, the latter, together with their official guests, crossed the street to a modern hotel for a snack featuring Appenzell white sausage—one of the local delicacies—and then walked up the narrow, winding street to the ancient *Rathaus* which was originally built in 1458. There, in accordance with long custom, they and their guests were treated to a brief band concert and a selection by the Macnerchor of Appenzell. For the past 50 years the chorus has used the same beautiful melody which was at one time under consideration as the national anthem of Switzerland.

Promptly at noon, as the church bells tolled the hour, the members of the *Standeskommission* and the Cantonal Court and their male guests began the slow, solemn procession to the town square. Leading the marchers was the band, which was followed by the *Landweibel*, or Cantonal bailiff, dressed in the colors of the Canton and carrying a sceptre in his right hand. The incumbent *Landammann*, or governor, of the Canton and his successor and the other seven members of the Government, the *Landschreiber* carrying the silver-decorated Cantonal Constitution of 1585, and finally the thirteen members of the Cantonal Court, followed in measured step. In between each group were the color guards carrying the flags of the various "Roden." By the time the procession arrived at the square, known locally as the *Landsgemeindeplatz*, the latter was completely filled with the voters. On the fringes of the area reserved for the electorate and at the windows of the quaintly hand-painted houses which surround the square were the visitors and the non-voting public of Appenzell, including, of course, the women of the town and Canton. (Except for a few French-speaking cantons where they are permitted a voice on local issues, Swiss women are not eligible to vote in elections. This does not suggest that their influence on community affairs is not significant!)

Upon entering the square, the officials mounted a wooden platform equipped with a wooden railing. With the tolling again of the bells of the parish church the business of the *Landsgemeinde* began. Originally designed as a call to prayer, the tolling now merely signifies the start of the proceedings. First on the agenda were the traditional remarks of the outgoing *Landammann*. They were followed by a report concerning the financial status of the Canton—a subject of considerable interest to the citizens of the Canton. Then, as usual, the voters were asked to pass on the new members of the *Landeskommission* proposed to replace deceased or retiring officials. It is most interesting to note in this connection that members of the nine-member executive of the Canton, once elected to their respective offices, are not free to resign at will. Technically at least, they are expected to cite in some detail the reasons which have led to their decision to retire from their positions and to request relief from the electorate. There was one such case last year. The official in question stepped up to the speakers' rostrum and read a statement pointing out the bases for his request to be relieved of his duties. Like many Washington office-holders, this gentleman pleaded "compelling family reasons." A vote was then taken and he was permitted to step down. While theoretically the

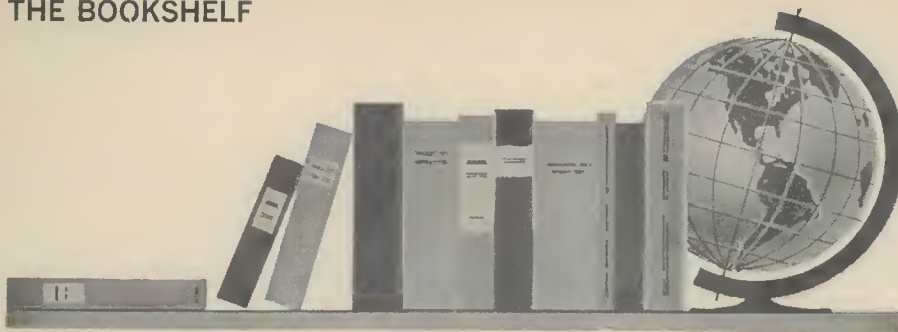
Landsgemeinde has the power to reject a request of an official to be relieved, in practice it does this infrequently if sufficiently cogent reasons are presented. Nominations for the replacement of retiring officials are offered by the *Landammann* but additional nominations are frequently made by the voters. In all cases voting is by a show of hands. Normally, it is possible for the *Landammann* to determine the winner in any vote. Where the show of hands is so close as to preclude a ready determination of the victor, additional "ballots" are taken until one candidate is the obvious winner. In those rare cases where a series of votes leaves the issue in doubt, the *Landammann* then calls for a tally, with voters asked to approach the platform in person and inform an appointed official of their preference. This occurred this year in connection with the election of the "Bauherr" or head of construction for the Canton. When the tally was completed, the winner had a margin of only four votes!

In addition to voting officials into office, the assembled electors must also pass on important legislation, drafts of which are distributed before the holding of the *Landsgemeinde*. Last year, in Appenzell-Inner Rhodes, the voters were asked to pass on a new law governing the operation of inns—where the principal issue was the conditions under which minors could be admitted—and a new amusement tax law. Both

(Continued on page 49)

The slow, solemn procession to the town square.





"So Many Africas"

AFRICA baffles us because there are so many Africas. In our effort to order the unordered, we often end up with such an over-simplification that our conclusions barely relate to Africa at all. These books reaffirm the diversity of the continent. They illustrate the many ways of looking at Africa. And they show how difficult it is to draw a clear picture of African reality.

In "Africa Before They Came," for example, Mrs. Welch has written an impressionistic description of the continent before the arrival of the western colonial powers. A journalist and African traveler, whose previous publications deal with parts of north and west Africa, she has produced an imaginative, sensitive collage of views and interpretations, which is stimulating in its sweep and annoying in its lack of documentation. "Man and Africa," on the other hand, moves the focus to the present, and through the medium of sixteen papers presented to a conference at Addis Ababa in October 1964 seeks to discuss Africa's geographic and human prospects. Experts don't reach general conclusions in such a forum but they make some interesting observations along the way. In "Financing African Development," the focus becomes more narrow. Ten M.I.T. fellows who served in Sub-Saharan Africa produced case studies on problems of economic planning, public investment and related questions in countries where they were posted. Without attempting to comprehend the whole scope of economic development, they tried with the success of graduate scholars to give insights into specific problems. The focus changes in another direction in Schwarz's study of "Nigeria" since the scope is now one country, but the content includes history, social organization and political analysis. A careful monograph by another M.I.T. fellow in Africa, it is well documented and, especially in its last chapter on the Mind of Africa and the Western World, tries to be interpretative and speculative. It is a good but not definitive book.

Whether flavored with journalistic ingredients or buttressed by academic research, these four books try for the balanced view. René Dumont in "False Start in Africa" has no such intention. A French agronomist of wide experience, he declares that independence has intensified the problems of black Francophone Africa and that only through an educational and economic revolution can these new nations conquer their underdevelopment. This book is radical, controversial and extremely interesting. While the emphasis of Dumont's book is implicitly on French-speaking Africa, Kirkwood's study, "Britain and Africa," is explicitly on those countries influenced by English conquest and colonialism. Historical in approach and careful in methodology, Kirkwood, who is a

and adds those north of the Sahara. His approach, however, is very different. Representing the emphasis of younger political scientists on power, national interest and policy formulation, he examines the recent history and political relations of nineteen African countries and deals conceptually with their problems of foreign policy. This is a serious and self-conscious study, buttressed with 205 detailed footnotes and atrociously printed by Prentice-Hall.

In "Africa's Search for Identity," Victor Ferkiss, a Georgetown University professor of government, tries to pull together many if not all of the threads of African development. Concentrating on the Sub-Saharan, he discusses both the old Africa and the new, emphasizing political developments more than economic or social. He concludes with a series of views on American policy, seeking to balance our interest in Africa with Africa's view of itself and the world. In trying to accomplish so much in 340 pages, he cannot do much more than skim the surface. Likewise, Schatten tries for the over-view in his survey of "Communism in Africa." Instead of an African emphasis, however, Schatten places Africa in the context of the Cold War. A German journalist, con-



Balancing Rocks, Southern Rhodesia

by Ralph Hart Fisher

doyen of English scholars on Africa, is bland where Dumont is sharp and justifies Britain's record while Dumont attacks that of France. Kirkwood is defender of the faith; Dumont is actively agnostic. In "International Relations in the New Africa," Zartman deals with countries discussed by Dumont and Kirkwood in West Africa

versant with communism and a traveler in Africa, he freely dispenses criticism of the East, the West, and Africans. Oversharp in some of his images, over-confident in some of his interpretation, he nevertheless concludes with a balanced series of observations and recommendations—clearly pro-Western of course.

If these books discourage even the Africanist in trying to order his views of Africa, they also enrich either the specialist or general reader in his knowledge of this continent. Moreover, they do this by a variety of methods, ranging from intuitive interpretation to factual, statistical presentation. And they do this by a variety of attitudes, ranging from hot anger to bloodless dispassion. As a result the reader may get no clear answer from these books but he will know a lot more about Africa when he finishes them.

—FRED L. HADSEL

AFRICA BEFORE THEY CAME, by Galbraith Welch. William Morrow and Co., \$7.95.

MAN AND AFRICA, edited by Gordon Wolstenholme and Maevae O'Connor. Little Brown and Co., \$7.50.

FINANCING AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT, edited by Tom J. Farer. M.I.T. Press, \$6.00.

NIGERIA, by Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr. M.I.T. Press, \$10.00.

FALSE START IN AFRICA, by René Dumont. Translated by Phyllis Nauts Ott. Praeger, \$7.00.

BRITAIN AND AFRICA, by Kenneth Kirkwood. Johns Hopkins Press, \$5.00.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE NEW AFRICA, by I. William Zartman. Prentice-Hall, \$3.95.

AFRICA'S SEARCH FOR IDENTITY, by Victor C. Ferkiss. George Braziller, \$6.50.

COMMUNISM IN AFRICA, by Fritz Schatzen. Praeger, \$7.95.

The Anguish and the Glory

A. J. P. TAYLOR is an English hot-rod historian who has two bases of operation: Oxford and the television. Taylor is one of those historians who generates opinions as fast as he accumulates facts. In his willingness to spout opinions he belongs with such English practitioners as Hume, Froude and Macaulay, such Germans as Mommsen, and such Frenchmen as Guizot, Taine and Michelet.

Despite the steady flow of opinions, Taylor shows himself in his current work more balanced and judicious than he had ever been in the past. Indeed, considering the staggering job he assumed, surveying those critical years 1914-1945, he achieves an admirable synthesis.

On top of the admirable substance, comes the admirable style. The book is 708 pages long, but its galloping rhythm and vivid epithets never permit the reader to slow up.

Perhaps the most arguable pages in the book are the historian's assessment of Hitler's aims. He had had his say on this subject before, and the result was the loudest explosion of polemics heard since the war.

On the other hand, there are those who will feel a touch of satisfaction

in Taylor's bland summing up of British behavior during the war and after:

"The British people were the only people who went through both World Wars from beginning to end. Yet they remained a peaceful and civilized people, tolerant, patient and generous. Traditional values lost much of their force. Other values took their place. Imperial greatness was on the way out; the welfare state was on the way in.

"The British Empire declined: the condition of the people improved. Few now sing 'Land of Hope and Glory.' Few even sang 'England Arise.' England had risen all the same."

Most Americans who were in England between 1940 and 1945 will probably find a pleasant tingle in this verdict.

—L. C.

ENGLISH HISTORY, 1914-1945, by A. J. P. Taylor, being Vol. 15 of the Oxford History of England. Oxford University Press, \$9.75.

Over and Through the Isthmus of Panama

IT is to be expected that the resurgence of interest in the Panama Canal: re-do or re-place, will inspire a run of new books on the area and its problems. This reviewer knows of one pending publication on the subject and has heard rumors of others. It is not likely, however, that we will see a work superior to David Howarth's "Panama, Four Hundred Years of Dreams and Cruelty" either for content or style. Howarth, a former mathematician, TV technician, war correspondent, naval officer and ship builder has an easy and charming style with which he presents the results of what must have been an enormous amount of research. His pure descriptive abilities when telling of the miasma laden jungles of Darien, the elusive Indians, the toil and the death toll of the railroad and canal workers bring the reality of Panama sharply into focus.

Howarth divides his presentation into easily assimilable periods: The Spanish, the Elizabethans, the Buccaneers, the railroad, the French Canal, the revolution, the American canal, the present republic and the nuclear plan. Happily these chapters can be read either separately or in the order presented although I heartily recommend the latter. But of all the chapters the most compelling and eye opening is that entitled The Revolution. The interest, but hands-off policy, of Roosevelt; the legal interest of

the New York lawyer Cromwell representing the rights of the insolvent French company and the romantic interest of the "mischievous" and scheming Bunau-Varilla are presented clearly and convincingly. The dream of Bunau-Varilla dominates the last half of the book. The American reader will discover, much to his relief, that, lacking the Machiavellian French engineer, the whole story would have turned out quite differently and our present day difficulties with Panama very probably avoided. One wonders why this story has not been given to us sooner unless, as the author implies, the variant selfish interests involved had no motive to uncover any of it and none of the actors saw the entire scenario.

The book ends as it begins, emphasizing the cruel barrier of the jungle which can only be explored and mapped effectively on foot, machete in hand, as in the case of every previous intrusion into its tangled depths. In the last chapter, The Nuclear Plan, the author slips from reality as he urges that the primeval jungle and its inhabitants, human and animal, be spared a nuclear onslaught. Still, his style, his descriptions and his ability to implicate the reader deeply in his tale, here, too, work their magic and one finishes the book wondering whether all our pother about progress will, after all, not exact a higher price than we ever envisaged paying.

It is rare to find this combination: a sense of history; a labor of research yet discrimination in citations; sensitivity in presenting a country and its climate so that all one's senses become involved, and a genius for story telling.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

PANAMA, *Four Hundred Years of Dreams and Cruelty*, by David Howarth. McGraw-Hill, \$6.50.

Overcoming Educational Shortcomings

DR. CHARLES FRANKEL, a Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University before his appointment some months ago as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, believes that educational and cultural relations with other countries have been unduly neglected by the United States government. He would help overcome this neglect by broadening the reporting and operating responsibilities of Cultural Affairs Officers, by giving them more money to spend, and by having them rank equally with Public Affairs Officers (i.e. at the Counselor level) in embassy hierarchies abroad. He

also suggests that CAOs be controlled directly by the Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs rather than by USIA.

The author's prescription is nevertheless not one of unlimited aggrandizement for the Department of State. He points out that the Office of Education of HEW may eventually be raised to cabinet rank and that in such an event "the case for locating principal responsibility for the operation of educational and cultural programs within the Department of State would be properly subject to reconsideration." The parallel here would be with the Department of Agriculture, which now has its own Foreign Service, rather than with the Department of Commerce, which has not quite managed to recapture control of a Foreign Service of its own.

The reasons why we as a nation need to have separate attachés for educational matters are, of course, unbeatable. Does a country have an educational system that in some respects is superior to our own? Then we need education officers there to help us learn the recipes for foreign success. Does a country have almost no educational system at all? Then an education attaché is clearly needed to pass on American expertise to those lacking in it. And so on. In short, we are led to conclude, there is practically no country where such an attaché (with supporting staff) would not be a useful full member of the Country Team.

Dr. Frankel's book was written before he came to the Department, but his conclusions are of more than academic interest. The International Education Act of 1966, already passed by the House of Representatives as this review is written in July, will authorize the appropriation of \$40,000,000 in fiscal year 1968 and \$90,000,000 in fiscal 1969. Since the Act also authorizes a warm-up appropriation of \$10,000,000 for the current fiscal year, it is almost certain that our Foreign Service establishment abroad will shortly be further enriched, as a starter, with the assignment of a sizable batch of newly recruited FSR-1 educational attachés to London, Paris, New Delhi, Beirut, Tokyo, Buenos Aires and other such posts. How, as such things go, could it be otherwise?

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

THE NEGLECTED ASPECT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL POLICY ABROAD, by Charles Frankel. The Brookings Institution. \$5.00.

In the Upper Ranks

LOREE A. R. WILKERSON is a graduate student majoring in Political Science at the University of Florida. Her thesis on Fidel Castro is the first of a series of Latin American monographs to be published by the University of Florida Press. It is a well written and well organized analysis based largely on an examination of published material.

The author has studied Castro's abundant utterances as well as his behavior from the time of his connection with Cuban reform movements of a democratic and nationalist character to his affirmation of Marxism-Leninism as the guiding doctrine of his one-man, authoritarian, but Soviet-dominated regime. Mrs. Wilkerson seeks, "through a chronological approach, the reasons behind Castro's divergence from his earlier program."

As in most writings about Castro, some of the opinions expressed by the author have their controversial aspects, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this brief review. But with the following conclusion there can be no disagreement: "Once the government of Cuba came into Castro's hands, the will to dominate appears to be the primary motivation behind every twist, turn, or outright reversal of the democratic-social program he had promised the Cuban people. In short, behind the seeming inconsistency of his political actions lies a highly consistent will to exercise virtually unchecked personal power."

More could have been said of another generally consistent element: Castro's anti-Americanism and the grotesque and vicious distortions of American purposes and actions with which he feeds it. Nevertheless, Mrs. Wilkerson's book deserves to be placed in the not too crowded upper ranks of the numerous works dealing with Castro.

—PHILIP W. BONSAI

FIDEL CASTRO'S POLITICAL PROGRAMS FROM REFORMISM TO "MARXISM-LENINISM," by Loree Wilkerson. University of Florida Press, \$2.00.

The Peace Corps— An Honest Appraisal

EDITED by a university anthropologist long a consultant of the Peace Corps, and containing critical analyses of the successes and failures of the Corps in fourteen developing nations, this book is in no way a public relations pot boiler written to create the correct "image." It is instead an honest appraisal by fourteen professors, former Volunteers and PC staff members of how men and women are

selected and trained, how they are received by their host villages and government sponsors, how they were able to make the adjustment to a new culture, to serve the needs of people, and to present America as it really is to their new neighbors. Criticisms of the Peace Corps are in no way blunted or papered over. Many Peace Corps directors overseas were found wanting. Many of the programs were judged to be poorly organized. And examples of the inadequacy of some freshling Volunteers are in abundance in this book.

Yet despite the candid and well documented criticisms by the various contributors to "Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps," this new instrument of American foreign policy comes off on balance with high marks on almost every count. Its selection and training procedures have noticeably improved. Its acceptance by developing countries outside of the Soviet and Chinese spheres of influence has been almost universal. Its bi-partisan support in Congress and its endorsement by the general public of the United States are now established facts. "For the first time in our nation's history," concluded the book's editor, Professor Robert B. Textor, "we will soon have in hand an adequate supply of Americans (that is, returned Volunteers) eager for further overseas service who are both technically and culturally qualified to do a patriotic job in any of a large number of [developing] countries around the world." Many Volunteers already have been employed by foundations and universities with projects abroad. AID has employed a few. But because of the existing written oral examinations system many qualified Volunteers, who had not majored in international relations or related subjects when they were in college, are not able to become Foreign Service officers. A few—too few—are now in the Department. Hopefully, as a growing number of Foreign Service officers begin to realize that the Peace Corps is producing men and women with proven ability to live and serve abroad, the number of returning Volunteers in the Service will increase.

—DAVID S. BURGESS

CULTURAL FRONTIERS OF THE PEACE CORPS, edited by Robert B. Textor. Foreword by Margaret Mead. M.I.T. Press, \$6.95.

"Look East, Look West"

A YOUNG AMERICAN who, having learned Serbo-Croatian, takes his wife to live and work in Yugoslavia for two years has had an unusual opportunity to examine intimately one of the most interesting countries of

the world, while it is engaged in a singular attempt to reshape its destiny. David Tornquist has presented the observations he gathered in readable form, and has tried also to put his experiences into context. If his success is greater in the first than the second endeavour, this does not detract seriously from the interest of his book, though it may well detract from its permanent value.

Mr. Tornquist's greatest virtue is his candor; his greatest defect is that he has not got the intellectual equipment needed to deal with the questions he is sensitive enough to raise. He is enthusiastic about Yugoslavia, though it is not entirely clear whether he is more in love with the country or with his idea of the country as, at least *in posse*, the first example of true socialist democracy. He is indifferent to broken eggs, aware that the mixture is (still) being stirred, and greatly attracted to the omelet. He is, and this is particularly unfortunate where Yugoslavia is the subject, insensitive to the history of the country, and to the effects of that history on the country. But it is greatly to his credit that he makes a conscious, and, on the whole, successful effort to distinguish between his observations and his conclusions, and to describe his reactions as an American separately from more detached judgments.

Any writer who tries to do a travelogue with commentary on Yugoslavia must be prepared for comparisons with Rebecca West; Mr. Tornquist is not in that league, either as a writer or as a thinker. But snapshots have different virtues from portraits, and if "Look East, Look West" is read with that in mind, it is a commendable book.

What would be really fascinating would be a commentary from Mrs. Tornquist.

—WILLIAM N. TURPIN

LOOK EAST, LOOK WEST, by David Tornquist. MacMillan, \$6.95.



Two African Nations: A Comparison

THIS is one of a series of Prentice-Hall books on Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. This volume compares and contrasts the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to the present-day character, problems, and behavior of two important West African nations: Ghana and Nigeria.

Mr. Flint, who was in 1963-64 Head of the History Department at the University of Nigeria, traces the development of the two countries through their similar historical evolution. He stresses the importance of geographic factors on the living patterns of the inhabitants and examines in some detail the historical origins of the peoples of both countries. Flint also explores the common Nigerian and Ghanaian European experience through the era of the slave trade into the establishment of British rule in both nations and the eventual development of African nationalism.

Although published only this year, Mr. Flint's introductory political commentary is unfortunately already somewhat dated, due to recent changes in the governments of both Ghana and Nigeria. The book is an historical comparison of the two nations, however, and the fact that the author's description of the Nigerian and Ghanaian political systems is no longer accurate does not detract from the interest value and usefulness of the book. In an area somewhat lacking in historical data, Mr. Flint's short essay will be useful, both as background information for the casual reader and as a starting point for those more interested in serious research.

—ROBERT P. SMITH

NIGERIA AND GHANA, by John E. Flint. Prentice-Hall, Inc., \$1.95.

Majidun-on-Owuru, Nigeria. This picturesque river village is about 20 miles north of Lagos. by Jack W. Juergens

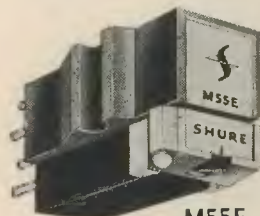
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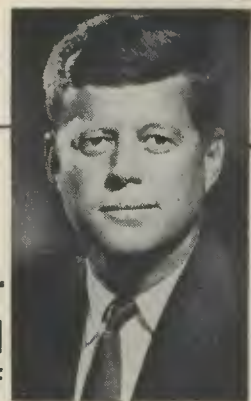
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I USED TO TALK TO MYSELF—
THEN I STARTED READING THE
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL
I STILL TALK TO MYSELF, BUT
NOW PEOPLE STOP TO LISTEN



AAFSW

HENRY S. VILLARD

Don't Miss the Bookfair

NEVER lend books, for no one ever returns them, wrote Anatole France, "the only books I have in my library are books that other folk have lent me." Conversely, this would seem to show that Anatole was one of the world's numberless borrowers of books—a specie once defined by Charles Lamh as "those mutilators of collections, spoilers of the symmetry of shelves, and creators of odd volumes." Someone has described a rare volume as a borrowed book that comes back; but if one takes literally a famous piece of advice—neither a borrower nor a lender be—a certain amount of replenishment for the mind is required from time to time, through the acquisition of more reading matter.

To fill the gaps on those ten-foot or longer shelves, what better choice is available to book lovers than to browse through a collection of old volumes offered for sale at a price less than half of what a new book would cost? This does not apply, of course, to those who must snatch, hot off the press, the latest package of mystery, history, biography, or fiction, but to adventurers along the well-trod highways and byways of literature, the seekers of reward in hitherto undiscovered sources of knowledge or in new understandings of old.

One such opportunity to enrich the soul, to soothe the spirit, or merely to satisfy the cravings of curiosity knocks annually at the door in the Book Fair held at the Department of State for the benefit of scholarships for Foreign Service children. The event this year, organized by the Association of American Foreign Service Women takes place on October 24, 25, 26 and, as usual, provides an excellent chance to pick up—in addition to a quota of used but useful books—interesting prints, paintings, phonograph records, and postage stamps. The occasion is a must for any book reader who happens to be in Washington—even if he already has a book—for he will recognize in the dog-eared pages piled high on every table a veritable gold mine that calls for exploration. And any prospector searching for a vein of special interest—be it travel, foreign policy, mountain climbing, higher mathematics, or nostalgic tales of the roaring twenties—knows the thrill of stumbling suddenly on a title that fits his price and purpose.

No one understands better how to ferret out such treasures than the sharp-eyed professional dealer who hunts for bargains with which to satisfy his regular customers. As any book dealer will tell you, the supply of rare, second-hand, or put-of-print books is not always equal to the demand—the specialized demand in particular. Hence the pro's come early to assay the yield, and late arrivals are apt to find their favorite author among the missing.

To a *bona fide* collector, the inherent charm of old books is exceeded only by their novelty, for as Samuel Butler has said, "the oldest books are only just out to those who have not read them." The Collectors' Corner is one of the main attractions of the show. Many of the items it displays are indeed collectors' items; some have bindings as good as new, while in some the contents, if not new, are priceless compared with the bindings. In any event, the fact that a book is out of print bears no relation to its intrinsic value in the eye of a would-be

owner. Even if the book is not old, it may be a rarity of its kind: example, a copy of "Huckleberry Finn" in Russian, acquired last year by a lucky connoisseur.

There is no discernible limit to the type of books, unwanted and donated for sale by some people—or to those wanted and eagerly purchased by others. The categories are endless: classics, semi-classics, text books, children's books, back numbers of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC and foreign magazines, paperbacks in profusion, novels of almost any vintage, turn-of-the-century Americana illustrated or unillustrated. Everything, in fact, from Plato to Baedeker—the latter is usually snapped up more quickly than the former, for there seems to be a morbid fascination for the modern traveler in comparing what it cost to do Rome in 1886 with what it costs now. Even sex in its myriad manifestations is not barred, although the line is drawn at pure pornography.

Unlike the antiquarian shops of Georgetown, prices at the Fair are well within the means of the average man or woman. The delight of finding a piece of antique furniture is often marred by the cost, but in the case of books the pleasure of discovery is doubled by the modest price tag. Aimed at a happy medium between a good bargain and making money for the scholarships (which must, after all, benefit from the operation), the deal is more than reasonable. Considering the labor contained between the covers of a book, one pays but a pittance for the thoughts of an author, great or not so great.

Business was brisk in 1965. More than 30,000 books and periodicals were sold in the three days of the Fair, a large proportion in the opening hours. As in the case of all other worthwhile affairs, those who come first are served best.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Among the authors who have agreed to come to the Fair to autograph their newest books, most of which have an October publication date, are: William Walton, "Evidence of Washington"; Craig Claiborne, "The Menu Cook Book"; Burke Wilkinson, "Cardinal in Armor"; Andrew Berding, "The Making of Foreign Policy"; Frances Parkinson Keyes, "I, The King"; Katie Louchheim, "With or Without Roses"; Allen Dulles, "The Secret Surrender."

Mary Stutesman, Sheila Isham, Myrtis Affeld and Ruth Coster, all painters of professional standing, have donated paintings to the "Art Corner."



Mrs. Samuel D. Berger, former president, AAFSW, presents the check from the Association of American Foreign Service Women for the scholarship program to Gardner E. Palmer, General Manager, AFSA. John H. Stutesman, Jr., Chairman of AFSA's Board, left, and William Culbreth of the Education Committee look on.

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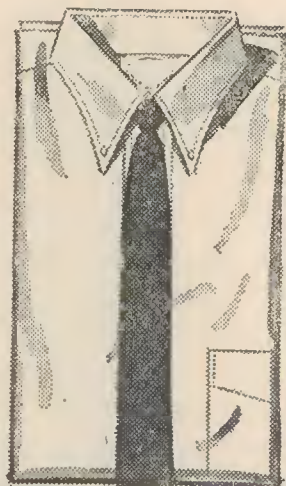
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ROBERT DEVEREUX

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS

In his “Essay on Man” (1733), the English poet Alexander Pope commented that

*For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered is best.*

The most appropriate comment on the couplet is, perhaps, that fools have been contesting long and bitterly since time began and there is still no universal agreement as to which form of government is best. At the present time, most governments in the world can be characterized as either monarchic or republican or, alternately, as presidential or parliamentary, democratic or totalitarian. (Admittedly, some of these terms, i.e., republican and democratic, which once conveyed very precise meanings, have been corrupted beyond recognition in the post-World War II era by the use made of them by communists.)

It should not be forgotten, however, that many other forms of government have been tried or advocated during the course of history, each of which has been accorded a distinctive name on the basis of the holder or holders of power in such system. Listed below are the names of 25 possible governmental systems, together with a second list of the holder(s) of power in those systems. The well-read individual should be able to match up all 25 components of the two lists. How many can you match up? (Answers on page 48.)

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----|--|
| 1. androcracy | () | 1. by a body of persons regarded as holy |
| 2. aristocracy | () | 2. by a single person |
| 3. arithmocracy | () | 3. by demons |
| 4. autocracy | () | 4. by ecclesiastics |
| 5. bureaucracy | () | 5. by governmental departments, often following inflexible rules or procedures |
| 6. demonocracy | () | 6. by men only |
| 7. duarchy/dyarchy | () | 7. by military people |
| 8. dulocracy | () | 8. by four persons |
| 9. ergatocracy | () | 9. by old men |
| 10. gerontocracy | () | 10. by one person with unlimited power |
| 11. gynccocracy | () | 11. by rulers influenced by the love of honor and glory |
| 12. hagiocracy | () | 12. by slaves |
| 13. hierocracy | () | 13. by technical experts |
| 14. mobocracy | () | 14. by three persons |
| 15. manocracy | () | 15. by two persons |
| 16. oligarchy | () | 16. by the best individuals or by a relatively small privileged class |
| 17. pantisocracy | () | 17. by the clergy claiming to be the representatives of God |
| 18. plutocracy | () | 18. by the few |
| 19. squirearchy | () | 19. by the land-owning class |
| 20. stratocracy | () | 20. by the mob or lower classes |
| 21. technocracy | () | 21. by the majority |
| 22. tetrarchy | () | 22. by the people in a utopian community in which all have equal power |
| 23. theocracy | () | 23. by the wealthy |
| 24. timocracy | () | 24. by women |
| 25. triarchy | () | 25. by workers |

means and, once having been successful, to be the New Elite to interpret the materialistic dialectic (with its sacred scriptures) and implement it in forming the socialistic society. It was not Marx's proletariat who captured Russia in 1917, but the trained infinitesimally small band of soldiers of the Communist Party. Once in the seats of the mighty, they adopted the old forms, substance, methods and bureaucracy of the Tsars but called it scientific. They have been loud in explaining or justifying traditional Russian methods and concepts, but in the name of Marx and Lenin. Russian communism is also Paradigmatic. The Paradigm is Natural Force as interpreted by the Revelation to Marx and structured by Lenin. The Communist Parties are the Elite who alone know the will of Nature and are selected to transmit both the meaning and structure to the whole world. The Moment of Truth will come when the proletariat, led by the Communists and aware of their historic mission, will destroy the hold of capitalists on the means of Production and usher in the New Man, the Natural Society which needs no government. Shades of Zoroaster, Plato, Moses, Daniel, Paul and Muhammad! ! !

Marxism-Leninism is a magnificent synthesis in the name of scientific materialism of all that is Holy in the ancient monotheistic faiths of the Middle East. It has its creed: "There is no God but only the Materialistic dialectic and Marx is its prophet." It has its sacred scriptures and interpreters, it has its elite which watches over the Truth once revealed to the saints, its rituals, its martyrology, its Paradigm and paradigmatic reflection in the world, its Messianic hope and promises of a new Utopia, its Holy (just) wars and Predestination (the "inevitable" which Marx used so generously). It assumes all that any religion or faith ever assumed but dresses it up in a jargon borrowed from Newton and the 18th century philosophers which, to the uninitiated, sounds modern or scientific. What communist theoreticians have done is to reverse the Biblical parable. They have poured old wine (form and substance) into new bottles (semantics). Mircea Eliade sums up the "mythological structure of communism and its escatological substance" as follows:

"Marx takes over and continues one of the great eschatological myths of the Asian Mediterranean world—the redeeming role of the Just (the chosen, the anointed, the innocent; in our day the proletariat) whose sufferings are destined to change the ontological status of our world. In fact, Marx's classless society and the consequent disappearance of historical tensions find their closest precedent in the myth of the Golden Age that many traditions place at the beginning of history [the Garden of Eden]. Marx enriched this venerable myth by a whole Judeo-Christian messianic ideology, on the one hand the prophetic role and the soteriological function that he attributes to the proletariat; on the other hand the final battle between Good and Evil which is easily comparable to the apocalyptic battle between Christ and the Antichrist, followed by the victory of the former."

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THE SINOPHILE (Continued from page 24)

examination, that under three non-communist systems, Chinese have responded to freedom with purpose, exhilaration, and achievement.

The economic growth rate of Taiwan was much higher than Japan's last year. The Government of the Republic of China no longer looks to the United States for economic assistance. It is giving it—in Africa, and elsewhere. David Bell likes to point to the Chinese people on Taiwan as a model of how self-help, reinforced by some judicious external economic assistance, succeeded. The Governor of Hong Kong might claim that British authority helps to preserve order there, but he would unhesitatingly agree that the post-war miracle of Hong Kong's development has been the doing of Chinese people. Prime Minister Lee Kuan-yu governs a state made up of Chinese people who live in a wide-open free port, participate together in a most successful social welfare administration, and are engaged in structural transformation of Singapore's economy as rapid and successful as can be seen in the entire less developed world. What do these cases show about the Chinese people?

Violence is not a prerequisite for dynamism. Chinese people thrive in a system of world order. They respond actively to the challenges of freedom—economic, intellectual, cultural. They, and the families they cleave to, possess a pride in being Chinese that is distinctive. Industry, frugality, humor, courtesy, devotion to friends, even a style of bearing and bodily movement are with them wherever they go and they go everywhere without explanation, apology, or aggressiveness. They meet world standards of class—conversationally and operationally. They practice suave and effective diplomacy. They prize learning and send their children to the best schools they can find. Their gifted scholars set no limit on inquiry, and, at home and abroad, keep company with the most powerful intellects, scientific and humane, of the world. They have won Nobel prizes. One of them was the finest all-around United States-trained athlete at the Tokyo Olympic Games. And none needs to be reminded, their cuisine is matchless.

Some, but too few, of these things can be said today about the Chinese on the mainland, at least about those whose voices we hear. System seems to be bending these Chinese away from their Chineseness. This has happened before when China's leaders have tried to use it for meeting different and taxing tasks at home and confronted fears, real and imagined, abroad. But redemption from such system lies—has always lain—with the Chinese people themselves. Throughout recorded time they have known, collectively, when to cry stop when bent too far by system. Today, they may be encouraged to explore other paths suitable for Chinese effort by what they can see Chinese, outside that system, doing with their opportunities.

It is not inconsistent to condemn Communist China's international conduct, to stand ready to make aggressive use of violence unprofitable, to recognize the likelihood of error and agony in the lumpy progression of the unfinished revolutions which today engage the Chinese people and still remain incurably Sinophile. That, in fact, is what an American Sinophile must do. ■



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by HELEN K. BEIRENS

SORREL SOUP AND CO.

On my first shopping expedition to the open-air market of Salzburg, before my comprehension of the local dialect had gone much beyond "Grüss Gott," I was startled by the offer of fresh grass for sale at one of the stands. My puzzled look brought forth an explanation—"for grass soup, *nicht*?" Always on the lookout for new recipes, I asked for whatever amount would make four bowls of soup and for a further explanation of how to make grass soup. As he wrapped the necessary ingredients in newspaper, the farmer delivered himself of much more in the way of incomprehensible dialect, but I thought I heard "grease," then, fortunately, "water." This sounded promising at least, and I did have a cook, to whom I turned over my market produce with a compliment for the Austrians who could cleverly make soup out of grass. She laughingly assured me that she could, indeed, produce a soup from my purchases, but it wouldn't be "grass"—it was *eress*, though it must have been the land variety rather than the watercress which grows in streams in France. Much relieved, I let her show me her recipe; since then, I have learned that this basic way of making a tasty hot or cold soup from greens is adaptable to spinach, for the conservative, or young nettle leaves, for the really adventurous, with such staples of life in foreign lands as dandelion leaves, sorrel, orach, or other wild greens falling somewhere usefully in between. I used sorrel for this soup whenever I could find it; its tart quality suited the lemon and cream which are used, and made it especially refreshing when eaten cold at a summer lunch. Here is this very adaptable recipe:

- ½ pound of sorrel leaves, carefully washed—or watercress or etc.
- 2 tablespoons butter
- 1 small onion, or two spring onions, finely minced
- ¼ teaspoon salt, or more to taste
- a few drops of lemon juice
- 2 tablespoons of flour
- 4 cups chicken bouillon, heated
- ½ cup whipping cream
- 1 egg yolk
- 1 tablespoon chopped chives
- optional, if available, to suit taste: ⅛ teaspoons of each—tarragon, marjoram, chervil, pepper.

Chop the sorrel or watercress, heat the butter, and sauté the greens with the chopped onion in the butter until they



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Where in the World?

F.S.-Retired Addresses

THE list of retired Foreign Service personnel together with their addresses which in recent years has accompanied the September JOURNAL will again be prepared this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request. Those wishing to receive this year's list should so inform the Association. The list will be furnished without charge to those who ask for it. Please let us have your request by September 10.

Yes, I would like to receive the list of retired F.S. personnel

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just begin to take on color. Add the herbs (optional), salt, and the lemon juice, and sprinkle the flour over this. Stir a few seconds and gradually add the heated bouillon. Bring to a boil and simmer gently 10-15 minutes. Mix the yolk with the cream, put a ladleful of the soup into this, and stir. Remove the soup from the fire and stir the cream mixture into it. If serving warm, you may add a lump of butter now; if you want to eat it cold, allow to cool, chill, and garnish with the chopped chives.

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Our cover artist, HELEN S. FOCHE, considers herself from Alabama, although she was born in Washington, where her father was stationed with the Marine Corps. After graduating from Auburn University with an AB in Speech and Radio-Television, she worked in ITS, USIA. At this time she enrolled in the "early morning" spanish course at FSI where she met her FSO husband.

MARIE SKORA, whose etchings, drawings and woodcuts frequently decorate the pages of the JOURNAL, has had three panels of prints accepted for the National Print and Drawing Exposition in Venezuela and another three panels for the 27th Official Salon of Venezuelan Painting, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Caracas. She also won first prize in the drawing category in the Annual Exposition of Art of the Venezuelan American Association of University Women.

R. GLYNN MAYS, JR., author of "Companion Tools for Foreign Affairs Management," joined the Department in 1951 after completing his doctorate in history and teaching for two years at Yale. He became an FSO in 1956. Having completed two years in the Operations Center, he is now assigned to study at the Armed Forces Staff College at Norfolk.

GILES M. KELLY, who gives us "Post Report on Antarctica," was appointed to the Diplomatic Service in 1960 and served four years in Khartoum. At present he is a Senior Liaison Officer with the Bureau of Public Affairs. Mr. Kelly is also a Captain in the Naval Reserve where he is regarded as a specialist in politico-military affairs.

HENRY B. COX, who reports on "Direct Democracy—A Swiss Luxury," has been an officer in the Department and Foreign Service since 1946. He has spent the majority of his service in the European area of the Department working on European affairs with special concentration on German Affairs.

ROBERT W. BARNETT is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. Born, and a resident in China for over 20 years, he has devoted about half of his career in Government to Far Eastern problems. He has been a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL.

EDWIN M. WRIGHT, author of "Faith, Paradigms and Communism," was born in Iran of missionary parents and has spent a total of 35 years in the Middle East. Mr. Wright has taught history at Columbia University and Johns Hopkins and has been serving in NEA and FSI since 1946.

Answers: Governmental Systems

- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. (6) | 6. (3) | 11. (24) | 16. (18) | 21. (13) |
| 2. (16) | 7. (15) | 12. (1) | 17. (22) | 22. (8) |
| 3. (21) | 8. (12) | 13. (4) | 18. (23) | 23. (17) |
| 4. (10) | 9. (25) | 14. (20) | 19. (19) | 24. (11) |
| 5. (5) | 10. (9) | 15. (2) | 20. (7) | 25. (14) |

DIRECT DEMOCRACY (Continued from page 37)

pieces of legislation were passed with no serious debate, although a perennial nuisance-type speaker exercised his prerogative to express his opinions and regaled the crowd to ask for an answer to the proverbial question "What's been done with all our tax money?" He was heard with some amusement and some resentment and the vote was then taken. One factor which tended to act as a persuasive incentive for a speedy handling of the business at hand was the increasingly inclement weather which finally developed into a rather heavy downpour. It is assumed that the voters are hardy enough to stand a light rain or snowfall and the *Landsgemeinde* is only transferred indoors to the parish church when a real downpour occurs. Consistent with this and in order not to obstruct visibility, neither members of the Government nor the voters wear hats, and umbrellas may be put up only when the *Landammann* determines that they are absolutely necessary and grants permission. Toward the end of this year's session the rain-drenched chief of the Canton finally surrendered to the elements and informed the voters that they could use their umbrellas.

Another item on the agenda of some interest was action on a group of requests for the granting of citizenship in the Canton. For the Swiss, citizenship is a local rather than a national matter. The members of the *Landsgemeinde* were provided with fairly detailed biographic sketches on the candidates, all of whom were granted citizenship as residents of the Canton.

Perhaps one of the most moving events connected with the *Landsgemeinde* is the oath-taking ceremony which occurs at the outset of the proceedings. Reading from the Cantonal *Landbuch*, the retiring *Landammann* recited the oath which his successor was required to take. Beginning with the words "In the name of the Holy Trinity. Amen," the oath, which has remained virtually unchanged since 1409, binds the new *Landammann*, *inter alia*, to promote the fear of God and the interests of and respect for the Canton, to protect widows and orphans, to be just in his dealings with his fellow citizens and to accept from "no prince or lord" special pensions, presents or gifts. Upon the conclusion of the reading of the oath, the newly elected *Landammann* raised his three "Schwoerfinger" (literally, oath fingers), declared that he had understood what had been read to him and pledged solemnly to abide by the oath. He then requested the members of the *Landsgemeinde* assembled in the square before him to raise their hands and to repeat a similar, though shorter, version of the oath which he had just taken. Originally the oath-taking ceremony closed each session of the *Landsgemeinde*. Beginning in 1936, however, it was advanced to its present place on the agenda in order to cope with the, at times, premature departure of some of the participants in the *Landsgemeinde*.

Spurred by the heavy rain, the business of the day was quickly brought to a close. The members of the *Landeskommission* and the other officials left the platform in the same order in which they had mounted it and returned to the *Rathaus* from which they dispersed to return to their regular duties and pursuits.

To the foreign guest from America the *Landsgemeinde* offered a nostalgic reminder of the days when the town meeting was commonplace and where the business of its citizens was simple enough to be conducted in the manner of its Swiss counterpart. But the increasing complexity of the social and economic problems which face a country of even Switzerland's relatively small size in the twentieth century makes the *Landsgemeinde* seem almost an anachronism and clearly threaten to shorten its existence. Until that time comes, however, the citizens of Appenzell and the other rural canons of the Swiss Confederation will continue to enjoy the luxury of a system of government which has long since become a practical impossibility for their American friends. ■

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COMPANION TOOLS (Continued from page 18)

planning, programing, and budgeting work for foreign affairs. The Subcommittee considered (1) that planning should be directed toward the acquisition of critical resources and that the lack of satisfactory arrangements for preparing country and regional plans in Washington is "one of the major problems in staffing and organizing for national security"; (2) that "the way agency programs are prepared in Washington" presents great difficulties for preparing complete, meaningful, and coordinated country programs, and (3) that "the budgetary process is of little relevance to the day-to-day coordination of national security operations." These observations of an important Congressional group strongly suggest the desirability of tailoring the PPBS, or adapting its application in the foreign affairs field, to ensure proper attention to both the country focus and what one might call the inter-agency coordination gap.

FORTUNATELY, the PPBS is a flexible tool, and neither the vertical focus nor the vertical dynamic should present insurmountable difficulties. Nothing in BOB Circular No. 66-3, or published supporting documents, precludes assembling planning-programing-budgeting data at an appropriate stage on a country or area basis. In fact, since the PPB approach stresses the weighing of all meaningful alternatives in both programs and analytical methodology, there is sound reason for agencies engaged in overseas activities to prepare their PPB documents with a country or area focus wherever practicable. Similarly, with respect to the need for better coordination, Circular No. 66-3 does not prohibit activity (for consultation, review, clearance, and coordination) between and among agencies, at any level, nor does it specifically prohibit the same types of activity, including eventual central direction at a super-agency level, short of referring problems and issues to the White House.

The Department of State's own PPB materials are probably among the least interesting for the line manager who is concerned with the multiplicity factor mentioned above. For him the PPB submissions of the agencies other than State will be far more interesting and generally more important. A variety of arguments suggest the desirability, particularly from the viewpoint of the Secretary of State and of the regional Assistant Secretaries who are responsible for policy direction in specific areas, of moving quickly to influence the content and handling of the other agencies' PPB submissions. Two rudimentary objectives of so moving would be (1) to get general acceptance at all decision-making levels in the concerned agencies of an appropriate area focus in preparation of PPB submissions, and (2) to begin inter-agency coordination wherever possible as the PPB documents accumulate. Prolonged delay in pursuing these objectives may render State's coordination and direction tasks more difficult than they need be. From a purely theoretical point of view, any agency which proceeds on its own to get White House endorsement and Congressional approval for a program utilizing our national resources overseas, is unlikely to modify that program after the fact at the direction of another agency, without first utilizing every appeal procedure available, up to the President and conceivably the Congress. From a more practical viewpoint, the Department of State has compelling reasons to move quickly and with determination on these matters; the President expects State to do so, State has the primary responsibility for policy control of operations overseas, and State claims to have the personnel best qualified to do the coordination job. State also has the primary role in the new decision-making machinery for resolving interdepartmental disputes. Quite clearly, therefore, the PPBS should be a matter of direct and active interest for responsible officers in the SIG/IRG System.

This article will be concluded in the October issue.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Profit and Loss

IT'S bad enough to have to live with this administrative ruling without having it flaunted in our faces. You're right! I am referring to the article on page 37 of the Department of State NEWS LETTER of April, 1966, entitled "Few Complain about Car Sale Rules."

The moral implications of this article, especially if it accurately represents official Department thinking, are disturbing. Apparently it has been concluded that the regulations "met with a generally favorable reaction in the field" because the Department received "only 24 Congressional inquiries" and because "not a single Congressional inquiry to the Department was prompted by a Foreign Service officer's dissatisfaction with the regulations."

Is this how the Department determines right from wrong? Are matters of principle to be determined by the number of Congressional inquiries? How many does it take to make the Department change its mind? Were there any unfavorable comments from Embassies and Consulates? The obvious lesson is that we should have complained to our Congressmen, that the only effective way to make our voices heard in the Executive Branch is to run to Capitol Hill every time something happens which we don't like.

But what is this new regulation all about? If people are profiteering by engaging in a virtual used-car business, let the Department or the Embassy restrict imports of automobiles to one or two each tour for personal use only. This has generally been done. If the host government objects, let it say so and let it set up its own rules to apply equally to all foreign diplomats, not just those from the United States. Some governments have done this. If repatriation of proceeds from automobile sales creates balance of payments problems, let's work together to arrive at a solution. But let's not just ban profits because for some reason they are considered inherently evil.

The average Foreign Service family knocks around the world a bit and sees its personal and household effects and car depreciate as much or more than do the folks back home. If oc-

asionally an officer happens to be assigned to a post where he can turn a profit on the family car, why take it away from him? No one helps him to make up the losses which he incurs at his other posts.

There is also the factor that this is an individual purchase with private funds of a car for personal use. Does the Government have the Constitutional right to reach into a man's pocket and force him to give money away? It avoids the issue to state that employees are free to export their personal property at their own or Government expense under pertinent regulations if they so desire. Employees should also be free to sell or otherwise dispose of their personal property, if consistent with the laws and regulations of the United States Government and of the host country.

Even though this letter does not come from my Congressman, please let it be counted as one complaint against the Department's regulations on this subject. I have a feeling that Foreign Service agreement is not quite unanimous and that most of us would prefer to confine our differences to discussions within the family.

EDWARD C. HOWATT

Melbourne

Alma Mater

SONG OF REINSTEIN U

(To be sung with a tone of tender affection in the voice)
Reinstein U, Reinstein U,
We are the slaves of Reinstein U.
Our distribution is getting askew,
Our demand curve is sloping
Because of MU,
And now we are learning
MV is PQ.
Such are the ways at Reinstein U.

Reinstein U, Reinstein U,
We are the slaves of Reinstein U.
Our labor supply curve can never turn back,
No option of leisure for us who attack
The symbols and signs in Chinese array
That are making us swiftly
Statistically gray.
No consumer choice to say what we do
We who must labor in groves of RU.
Reinstein U, Reinstein U,
We are the slaves of Reinstein U.
No curve of indifference
'twixt study and sleep
When up from our books we never dare peep,
Driven on in our course with the fury of Hell

Our souls finding comfort when IS crosses ML.

Reinstein U, Reinstein U,
We are the slaves of Reinstein U.
Swearing that those who cause our lament
Surely must dwell in eternal torment
'tween jagged demand curves reciprocally bent,
While we are made whole in freedom anew
When June blooms at last at old Reinstein U.

(Melody is from Palestrina's chant for rock lifters on medieval cathedrals based on a theme the composer adapted from an ancient song of Roman galley slaves unearthed in 800 A.D., one line of which, roughly translated from the Latin, reads "economic slaves unite, you have nothing to lose but your marginal rates of substitution.")

EDITOR'S NOTE: A distinguished authority on Mediterranean civilizations attests to the fact that the above poem, "Song of Reinstein U" was recently translated from the Etruscan by a student in the 22-month old FSI Economics Course now in progress. This astonishing relationship between the ideas of the Etruscans and the ideas of FSI will be made manifest if one examines the editorial "Experiment in Education" in the March issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL.

Jacques Reinstein is, of course, a Foreign Service officer who has had a distinguished career, much of it in economic affairs. He is now chairman of socioeconomic studies in FSI.

Sorrows of Life

SOME time ago Letters to the Editor contained a little production that aroused my sympathy: the poignant moment when one is forced to dispense with the dust jackets on one's books.

Now I in turn would like to adumbrate another grief (people so often relate the obvious in their lives whereas the unusual ones are more interesting and God knows our lives are cluttered with these). Here is my grief:

A pair of rascally servants at my last post, in sending out sixty neckties to the cleaner, removed all the labels. I couldn't naturally tell at sight when I came by each tie but a glance at the label brought back many happy memories . . . that radiant May day in Hong Kong when I bought the blue polka dot and met the Wertereds at the corner . . . the debauch in Burlington Arcade . . . the salesman in Vienna who told me the interesting but mendacious stories about his troubles with money as I bought . . . the brown silk . . . the comic annoyance of the salesman in Mexico City because I said "thincó" instead of "sinco" . . . while I was huying that . . . "what did you say?" . . . Well

perhaps it is a bit garish but everyone makes mistakes, doesn't he and my mind was more on the necktie seller than on the necktie.

Now the labels are gone and, with them, one more humble pleasure.

JONATHAN O. WADE
Kenilworth, Illinois

Schools Abroad

READERS of the JOURNAL may be interested to learn that the Office of Overseas Schools was established in 1964 in the Department of State to concentrate on some of the problems described in my article ("American Schools Overseas") which appeared in the August JOURNAL. This office gives assistance to approximately 120 schools around the world, using funds authorized both by AID and the Department. It might be enlightening for a number of us to learn more about the activities and aims of this office in a future issue of the JOURNAL.

In addition I would like to ask for suggestions from JOURNAL readers which would contribute specifically to the planning of a Workshop on Overseas Schools which the Education and Training Committee of the AAFSW hopes to hold this winter. The object of such a workshop would be to prepare wives about to leave for posts overseas to participate in the overseas school community as effectively as possible.

ELIZABETH B. EDDISON
Chevy Chase, Md.

The Qualms of the Rating Officer

I READ with considerable interest—much of it pained—the editorial which appeared in the July issue of the JOURNAL. I say "pained" not because I did not agree with the line of argumentation or the conclusions of the author, but because he inadvertently raised a point which, I am certain, he had no intention of raising—a point which should perhaps be the subject of subsequent editorial comment.

I refer to the sentence which reads, "It is nonsense to imply that efficiency reports somehow induce conformity or a fear that independence of thought or professional integrity will result in selection out." To this statement most Foreign Service officers would respond with a resounding "hear, hear." On the other hand, while efficiency reports as now formulated and executed may not—I would even say, do not—induce conformity or fear of selection out, they do have other undesirable results. These results derive from the fear on the part of the rating officer that he can only render a balanced evaluation concerning the performance of a subordinate if he is prepared to see the individual ranked in the low-

est 5 percent or 10 percent of his class. As the Foreign Service performance evaluation system has developed, therefore, there has been increasing reluctance on the parts of rating officers to place their subordinates in this position except in those relatively few instances in which some kind of rebuke or warning seems clearly justified. The result of this trend has been to render increasingly less useful and less reliable the present performance evaluation system.

I would certainly agree with the editorial that "no personnel system is perfect." I would add that our system is doubtless one of the best in existence. Having said this, however, I maintain that a review of the system is clearly indicated if we are to preserve its integrity and usefulness and eliminate certain inequities which have crept in. I am certain that no one who has a high record for the Foreign Service wants to see "misfits" and "dead wood" retained in its ranks. But I am equally certain that no fair-minded person in the Foreign Service wants to see able, dedicated officers placed in jeopardy of being selected out merely because they happen to have rating officers who follow the present rating instructions conscientiously and produce what they consider to be fair and balanced evaluation reports.

Washington

J.O.B.

Cover Story

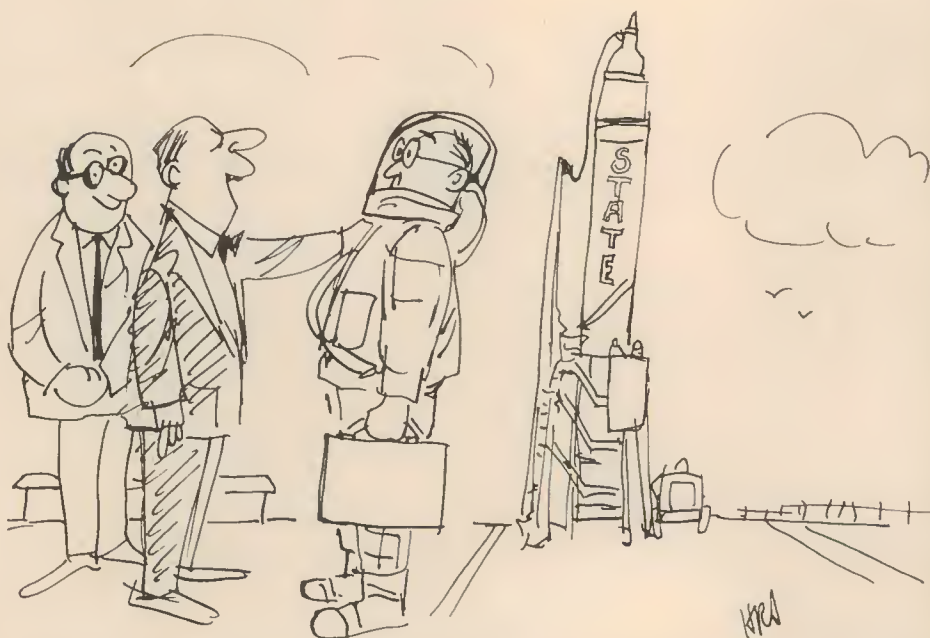
THE watercolor painted by my wife, Helen S. Fouché, has as its sub-

ject a giant kopek tree which stands by the pool of the Hotel Ivoire in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. The tree has an interesting story behind it. It was used as a sacrificial tree by the people of Ehrie village just below where the hotel now stands. According to legend the tree contains a spirit in the form of a serpent. The hotel management reveals that the original plans called for eliminating the tree but the villagers refused to let their tree be destroyed and the government backed them up.

Several months ago the hotel decided the tree needed trimming because pieces of broken limbs were falling around the pool and presenting some hazards to the guests. The management consulted the village chief to request permission to trim the tree. The chief stated the village would have to consult the spirit of the tree. The same evening, one could see the light from the fires in the village, and hear the drums and noise of the rites; they were communicating with the spirit.

The following day the Chief and chief witch doctor or *feticheur* called on the hotel manager and informed him they had been successful in communicating with the spirit of the tree. The manager asked them if the spirit had given any decision, and they replied it had. The decision was that the tree could be trimmed on condition that a lamb be sacrificed at its base and a case of whisky be given to the village.

ROBERT M. FOCHE
Abidjan



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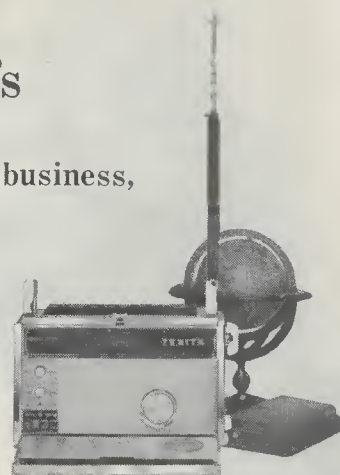
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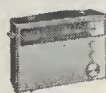
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