Foreign Service Journal

FEBRUARY 1968 / 60 CENTS

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Foreign Service Journal

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Contents: February 1968 Volume 45, Number 2

Departments

Ambassadorial Nominations

H. GARDNER ACKLEY, *to Italy*

Marriages

BALLANCE-WHITLOCK. Mary Webster Ballance, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Webster Ballance, was married to Frederick Lee Whitlock, on December 23, in Carbondale, Illinois.

FRESHMAN-GORMAN. Mary Brett Freshman, daughter of FSO and Mrs. C. Arnold Freshman, was married to Arthur Joseph Gorman, Jr., on December 19, in Washington, D.C.

VAUGHAN-REINSTEIN. Martha Woodard Vaughan was married to John Coert Reinstein, son of FSO and Mrs. Jacques Joseph Reinstein, on December 29, in Washington, D.C.

Births

EAGLETON. A son, Anthony Brian, born to Mr. and Mrs. William L. Eagleton, Jr., on December 18. Mr. Eagleton is assigned to the Peoples Republic of Southern Yemen.

LEONHARDY. A daughter, Kathryn Angela, born to Mr. and Mrs. Terrance G. Leonhardy, on December 4, in Washington. Mrs. Leonhardy is the former Lee Nelles.

Deaths

BROWN. Kermit K. Brown, FScR, USIA, died on December 29, in Bethesda, Maryland. Mr. Brown entered the Foreign Service in 1944 as Vice Consul in Vigo, resigning in 1946. He was reappointed in 1955 and served at Bogota, Montevideo, La Paz and USIA in Washington where he was Assistant Director for Latin America at the time of his death. He is survived by his wife of 3205 Olds Dr., Falls Church, Virginia, three daughters and a stepson.

CHRISTIE. Emerson Brewer Christie, former Chief of the Translating Bureau, Department of State, died on November 29, in New York. Mr. Brewer entered the Department of State in 1918 and retired in 1948. He is survived by his daughter, Jean Christie of 34 Bellingham Lane, Great Neck, New York, with whom he had been living, two sisters, and a son.

DEINZER. Stella Deinzer died on September 10, in Buffalo, New York. Mrs. Deinzer is survived by her three daughters, Stella, Catherine and Monica, who were all in the Foreign Service at one time. The latter is Mrs. J. Theodore Papendorp of the American Embassy, Budapest.

JACOBS. Elizabeth McNutt Jacobs, wife of Ambassador Joseph E. Jacobs, died on December 20, at her residence, 2810 35th Street, N.W., Washington. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired Educational and Welfare Foundation at 1718 H Street, N.W., Washington.

KEENA. Leo John Keena, FSO-retired, died on December 13, in Knysna, C.P., South Africa. Mr. Keena entered the Foreign Service in 1909 and retired in 1943 as Minister to Pretoria. His posts were Chihuahua, Florence, Buenos Aires, Valparaiso, Zurich, Warsaw, Liverpool, Habana and Paris. In 1935 he was appointed Minister to Honduras. He is survived by his daughter, Joan S. Keena, P. O. Box 255 Knysna. Mr. Keena was a member of AFSA from its founding in 1918 until his death.

KRUEGER. Ruth C. Krueger, FSS, died on November 24, in Washington. Miss Krueger entered the Foreign Service in 1950. She served as librarian at Seoul, Taipei, USIA, Calcutta and Beirut. At the time of her death she was assigned to USIA as an international information specialist. She is survived by her sister, Miss Evelyn H. Krueger, 4200 Cathedral Avenue, N.W., Washington and two brothers, Frederick H. and George W. Krueger, of Madison, South Dakota.

MOFFLY. Charles Knox Moffly, FSO-retired, died on December 25, in Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia. Mr. Moffly entered the Foreign Service in 1947 as information officer at Trieste. The posts at which he served were Vienna, Paris, detail to USIA, Turin and Yaounde, where he was Deputy Chief of Mission at the time of his retirement. Mr. Moffly is survived by his wife, Mrs. Charles K. Moffly, now at 1207 Hillsboro Mile, Pompano Beach, Florida 33062.

PENDER. Carrol H. Pender, hospital administration specialist, AID, was killed on December 27, by a land mine, in the vicinity of Kontum, Vietnam. Mr. Pender, who retired from the Army in 1966, joined AID in August, 1966 and had been in Kontum since September of that year. He is survived by his wife and two sons of Madison, Wisconsin.

PENFOLD. John B. Penfold, FSO-retired, died on December 17, in Washington. Mr. Penfold was appointed an information specialist and press officer in the Department of State in 1944 and served in that capacity until 1956 when he was assigned to London. At the time of his retirement he was Consul at Tijuana. He is survived by his wife, Louella, of 4408 Faraday Place, N.W., Washington, a daughter, Mrs. A. L. Frisbie, his mother and two granddaughters.

PENHOLLOW. Arlene Penhollow, widow of FSO G. L. Penhollow, died on January 6, in Washington. Mrs. Penhollow is survived by her mother, Mrs. Ella Johnson of Omaha, Nebraska and two daughters, Grenda and Jody, care of Charles Bennett, American Embassy, Kabul.

SIMMONS. John Farr Simmons, FSO-CM-retired, died on January 1, in Washington. Ambassador Simmons entered the Foreign Service in 1916 and retired in 1957. His overseas posts were Vienna, Paris, Riga, Mexico City, Cologne, Ottawa and Rio de Janeiro. In 1944 he was appointed Ambassador to El Salvador and in 1947 Ambassador to Ecuador. He served as Chief of Protocol, Department of State from 1950 to 1957. He is survived by his wife of 2915 44th Street, N.W., Washington, three sons, John Farr Simmons, Jr., FSO, American Embassy, Mexico City, Huston Thompson Simmons of New York City, Ensign Malcolm MacLaren Simmons, Athens, and a daughter, Mrs. John G. Finley, of Tokyo as well as two grandsons. In lieu of flowers, contribution may be made to Princeton University or to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

STANSBURY. Edward Stansbury, FScR, USIA, died on December 24, in Washington. Mr. Stansbury entered the Foreign Service in 1951 and was assigned to Taipei as Deputy Public Affairs Officer. In 1952 he was assigned to Kaohsuing as PAO. His other posts were Saigon, Nairobi, USUN, Paris and Accra. At the time of his death he was detailed to the Department of State as Public Affairs Adviser in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of African Affairs. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, of 2480 16th Street, N.W. and a daughter, Mrs. James Mann.

WHITE. Helen White, wife of P. Lincoln White, FSO-retired, died on December 16, in Wheaton, Maryland. Mrs. White is survived by her husband, 4977 Battery Lane, Bethesda, and a son, Paul L. White, Jr.

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● *If you think that the Government's Planning—Programing—Budgeting system must inevitably be a dull topic, you must read this study on the subject made by the Senate Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, whose chairman is Senator Henry M. Jackson.*

Planning–Programing–Budgeting

FOREWORD

From the start of its work in 1959, our Senate subcommittee has had a continuing interest in the role of the budgetary process in planning and controlling national security policy. In November 1960 a subcommittee report urged President-elect Kennedy to employ the budgetary process as a key program management tool: "Budget targets should be regarded not primarily as fiscal instruments but as policy instruments." In the summer of 1961 the subcommittee held hearings on the budgetary process at which Defense officials gave the first explanation before a congressional committee of the planning, programing, and budgetary system being installed by Secretary McNamara. In October 1961 a subcommittee staff report argued:

> Federal budgetmaking, in the main, has concentrated on developing information useful for day-to-day administration of the departments and agencies. Not nearly as much attention has been paid to preparing budgets in such a way as to make them most useful in establishing priorities, in forward planning, in choosing between programs, and in measuring expenditures against meaningful performance yardsticks.

On August 25, 1965, President Johnson initiated a Planning-Programing-Budgeting System (PPBS) throughout the Executive Branch, similar to that introduced into the Department of Defense in 1961. There is, therefore, a substantial experience on which to draw in considering the benefits and costs of the planning-programing-budgeting process.

The subcommittee believes that it will be useful to review the application of PPB in Defense, the lessons of this experience, and the problems encountered in the experiments with PPB in other departments and agencies

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concerned with national security. In undertaking this review, the subcommittee's purpose is to be helpful both to the Executive Branch and to Congress. The inquiry will be conducted on a professional and nonpartisan basis.

During the 90th Congress, the subcommittee will hold hearings at which testimony will be given by present officials of the government and by other outstanding witnesses on the range of issues indicated in this staff memorandum.

HENRY M. JACKSON.
Chairman, Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations

Introduction

In August 1965, President Johnson directed that a Planning-Programing-Budgeting System (PPBS) be installed throughout the Executive Branch, to be supervised by the Bureau of the Budget. The Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations is reviewing the application of this system in the national security area. The purpose of this staff memorandum is to provide a guide to questions on which the subcommittee may wish to take testimony during the 90th Congress.

PPBS: What Is It?

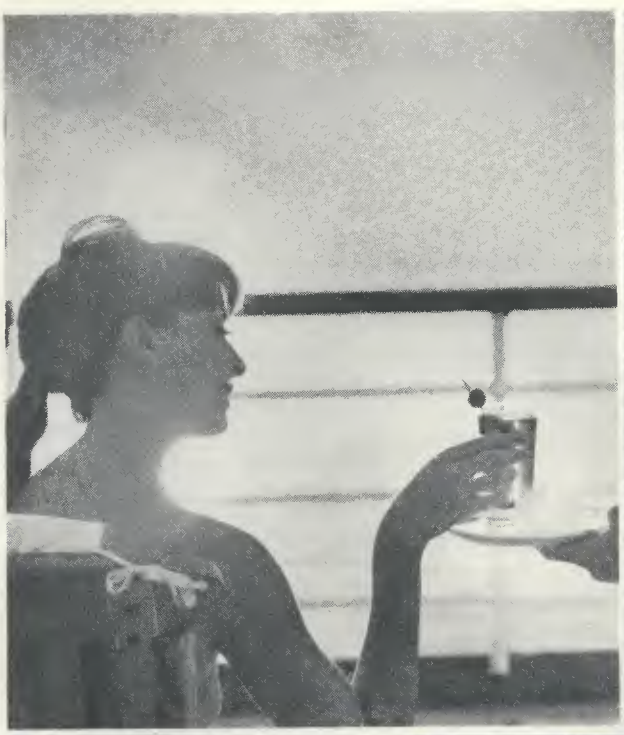
Sitting at the apex of the Federal Government, a President is keenly aware of the shortage of resources for pursuing desirable goals of public policy, and of the difficult choices this hard fact of life imposes. Some goals must be eliminated, some postponed, others reduced in order to tailor the desirable to the feasible. A President needs the best help he can get in establishing an intelligent scale of priorities, choosing policies that would achieve desired results at the least cost, and marshaling, through Congress, the required resources.

In matters of defense and foreign policy, a President seeks aid from many quarters—State and Defense, his own staff, the National Security Council, task forces, other departments and agencies involved with national security matters, members of Congress, and private citizens. In addition, the budgetary process helps to bring things into focus—to weigh domestic versus foreign needs and to set priorities, to compare costs and benefits of competing programs, and, once the budget has been fixed, to exercise Presidential direction and control of the operations of the Executive Branch.

The Planning-Programing-Budgeting System is one more step in a continuing endeavor to make the budgetary process a more versatile and helpful instrument of the President and his principal advisers. As its name suggests, it is an effort to tie forward planning to budgeting via programing. Key elements in the approach are program budgeting and systems analysis.

The traditional budget has been prepared and presented in terms of objects of expenditure, or "inputs," in the new jargon. In this form the budget has not shown the link between agency spending and agency purposes—between the resources an agency uses and its missions or tasks, now, of course, called "outputs." By linking resources to purposes, inputs to outputs, in a program, and by planning ahead for several years, the program budget is expected to contribute to better appraisal by decision-makers of what a budget cut or increase would mean in terms of an agency's program—the goals to be pursued and the goals to be sacrificed or deferred.

Systems analysis is intended to present decision-makers with a systematic and comprehensive comparison of the costs and benefits of alternative approaches to a policy goal, taking



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". . . cost-benefit analysis seems to have begun in the Garden of Eden (see Genesis, 3)."

advantage of techniques variously described as operations research or cost-effectiveness studies. There is an emphasis on quantitative analysis. Computers have made it possible to handle large quantities of data and applied mathematics has provided ingenious statistical techniques for dealing with some kinds of uncertainty.

Some of the less historically-minded proponents of PPBS strongly imply that it is something brand-new, providing decision-makers for the first time with a rational basis for choosing between alternative policies. Actually, cost-benefit analysis seems to have begun in the Garden of Eden (see *Genesis,* 3), and the problem from the outset has been to avoid an underestimation of costs and an overestimation of benefits. Costs and gains have been compared throughout our government's history whenever a decision to spend or not to spend had to be made, and Congress explicitly called for cost-benefit studies as far back as the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1902. Operations research demonstrated its usefulness in World War II. Statistical control, pushed by Robert Lovett as Assistant Secretary of War for Air in World War II, was the forerunner of many functions of the Comptroller of the Defense Department and a predecessor of systems analysis. The idea of performance or program budgeting can be traced back at least to President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, which published its path-breaking report, "The Need for a National Budget," in 1912. And program budgets for periods extending well into the future have long been the rule in progressive banks and business firms.

PPB may for the first time identify these techniques as a "system," give them a special name, and advertise them, but the approach itself is as old as the problem of the buyer who would like to make two purchases and has money only for one.

Some of the more enthusiastic advocates of PPBS seems to suggest that it can work miracles in all corners of government. But it is no magic wand. It is a set of sharp tools which in experienced hands and guided by sound judgment can be a helpful aid in some of the business of government.

In his original statement of August 25, 1965, directing the extension of PPBS throughout the Federal Government, President Johnson said that, once the new system is in operation—

. . . it will enable us to:

(1) Identify our national goals with precision and on a continuing basis
(2) Choose among those goals the ones that are most urgent
(3) Search for alternative means of reaching those goals most effectively at the least cost
(4) Inform ourselves not merely on next year's costs, but on the second, and third, and subsequent year's costs of our programs
(5) Measure the performance of our programs to insure a dollar's worth of service for each dollar spent.

These are high hopes. It remains to be seen to what extent PPBS will fulfill them.

PPB aims at a systematic analysis of significant costs and benefits of alternative policies. But as a politician knows, sometimes the costs of an action, or failure to act, are heaviest not in dollars, but in a loss of confidence or a failure of will or a collapse of morale. Benefits also may show up in

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an improvement in these intangible factors of will and psychology rather than on the cash register. Priceless is not a synonym for worthless. An analysis which emphasizes cost-effectiveness and gives special attention to quantification runs the risk of short-changing or ignoring non-quantifiable costs and benefits. Skybolt presumably did not meet the Defense tests of cost-effectiveness, but one wonders whether, in estimating the costs of its cancellation, allowance was made for the impact on the British Government and perhaps on French policies in Atlantic and West European affairs.

Relevance to the State Department and Related Agencies

The State Department, like a number of other agencies, may find PPBS of little use. The differences between decision-making in defense and in foreign affairs, of course, make it impossible just to transfer budgetary procedures from Defense to State, AID, USIA and other national security programs.

In the nature of things, Defense must plan and program far ahead because of the time required to turn ideas into weapons. Foreign policy is more sensitive to day-to-day actions of other governments.

Furthermore, the difficulties of quantifying objectives, costs and benefits in Defense are minor compared with the difficulties in foreign affairs. Defense deals in large part with end products that one can see, touch, measure, test-fire and ride in. State itself has virtually none of that; it deals mainly with the battle of ideas and interests called diplomacy. Also, the budgetary process as a whole does not serve effectively to bring foreign policy choices into focus.

Even apart from these factors, there has been no preparatory work in the foreign policy field remotely comparable to the decade of intensive work by RAND and others which preceded the large-scale application of programing and

"Have we arrived at that technocratic utopia where judgment is a machine product?"

systems analysis in Defense, and the number of people trained and skilled in both the conduct of foreign affairs and the techniques of modern management is very limited. Charles Hitch himself has sounded a cautionary note:

> . . . there are risks and dangers as well as opportunities in trying to move too far, too fast in the application of new management techniques like these, including the risk of discrediting the techniques.

The foreign affairs agencies are still grappling with PPBS to learn what it means for them.

A special problem: the Office of the Secretary of State has not yet found means to take the proffered role of Presidential agent for the "overall direction" of interdepartmental activities overseas, and to play it vigorously. The difficulties are great, and it is unlikely that PPBS provides an answer to the problem. An effort has been made to assist State by establishing a Senior Interdepartmental Group (SIG) with the Under Secretary of State as its Executive Chairman, and Interdepartmental Regional Groups (IRG), chaired by the regional Assistant Secretaries of State. This experiment, however, seems to be languishing.

These questions follow:

1. What problems have been encountered in implementing

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"It would be as easy to take H_2O out of water as to take politics out of decisions."

the President's directive on PPBS with respect to State and related agencies?

2. To what extent are the difficult foreign policy decisions that must be faced by the President, the Secretary of State, and the heads of related agencies ones on which budgetary considerations are of great or determining influence?

3. At this stage of the development of systems analysis, can it play a constructive role in foreign policy decision-making?

4. Are some aspects of the operations of State, AID, and other foreign affairs agencies adapted to programing and cost-benefit analysis?

5. Would PPBS be helpful in any way in the work of the Senior Interdepartmental Group (SIG) and the Interdepartmental Regional Groups (IRG)?

6. An attempt is being made to develop an "inter-agency foreign affairs programing system." Does this contemplate a more prominent role in policy-making for the Bureau of the Budget in relation to State and other departments? What arguments are advanced by proponents and opponents of the system?

Implications for the President and Congress

Does PPBS provide a wholly rational basis for decision-making? Have we arrived at that technocratic utopia where judgment is a machine-product?

Not even the zealots of PPBS would answer these questions affirmatively, although some of them talk as though we should be moving in this direction. Professor Frederick Mosher, for example, has noted the frequency of authoritarian language:

> In all the literature I have read about PPBS . . . only a very few authors have even mentioned the executive and legislative processes of review and decision. The President and Congress seem to be regarded as enemies of rationality. . . . Much of the literature of PPBS resembles that of the technocrats of the thirties; its aim seems to be to eliminate *politics* from decisionmaking.

It would be as easy of course to take H_2O out of water as to take politics out of decisions. Our political system is a system for making decisions on matters of public interest. We do not propose to delegate this task to a dictator, no matter how benevolent, or to an expert, no matter how objective, or to a computer, no matter who programs it. Indeed, we do not propose to leave it to any one person, but have built what we call "checks and balances" into our decision-making system. At the heart of our democratic form of government are the principles of executive accountability and Congressional review of Executive action.

The temperate proponents of PPBS claim only that their approach will help to sharpen the intuition and improve the judgment of decision-makers by providing them with more, better, and more timely information. They do not aspire to replace our decision-makers although they might want to arrange the contents of their in-boxes.

It is easy to agree that good analysis is preferable to poor analysis. If the President and his principal assistants believe that PPBS studies and analyses are helpful and an improvement over what they had before they will surely want to see the techniques developed and extended.

It is not clear however that PPBS will win or should win a President's unqualified support. A President needs and wants,

for example, freedom to shift his plans and respond flexibly to new situations. Professor Aaron Wildavsky points out:

> It is well and good to talk about long-range planning; it is another thing to tie a President's hands by committing him in advance for five years of expenditures. Looking ahead is fine but not if it means that a President cannot negate the most extensive planning efforts on grounds that seem sufficient to him. He may wish to trade some program budgeting for some political support.

To some extent, the planner and the politician are and ought to be at odds. The planner tries to foresee, in order to plan intelligently. A plan rests on today's best estimates of future needs. A politician knows how dimly we can foresee at best, how inadequate the information on the basis of which he must decide and act, how full of surprises history is, how desirable, therefore, to postpone decisions that can be postponed, and how much one depends, in the final analysis, on intuition and judgment based on experience.

A President will look at a program budget skeptically—or should—for he will sense that some costs may have been overlooked and some benefits overestimated—and he may also sense the temptation of assistants to write plans and programs that rationalize their hunches. He will take seriously the lesson of the struggle to get nuclear propulsion for the Navy—a lesson described in these words by Admiral Rickover:

> Nuclear power has served to demonstrate the fallibility of expert cost accountants. In so doing, this issue has served a useful purpose. This has resulted in delay in achieving a stronger Navy, but in the long run it may have been worthwhile.
>
> Out of this issue has again been demonstrated the fact that politics is more difficult than physics or cost accounting, and that it is politicians who saw the truth before the cost accountants. The primacy of politics should not again be subordinated to the doctrinaire and unproved claims of specialists—particularly when these specialists are in a position of overall authority and do not encourage or permit contrary views to be voiced or to be asserted.

Congress, too, may not welcome all the implications of PPBS. The experience to date does not suggest that the Department of Defense is likely to place before Congressional committees the analyses of costs and benefits of competing policies and programs on which the Department based its own choices. Without such comparisons, however, Congress will be in the dark about the reasons for selecting this policy over that. It may be that Congress will wish to improve its own capability for systematic analysis of public problems in order to compete on more even terms with the Executive Branch. Furthermore, the more centralized decision-making becomes in the Executive Branch, the more important some competition of this sort from Congress might be.

Congress may also be concerned with the impact of PPBS on the distribution of power within the Executive Branch. The centralizing bias of PPBS may he more important than the anticipated technical improvements of the budgetary process, because of a lessening of competitive forces within the Executive Branch. Congress will also be interested, of course, in how the changes in the Executive Branch will affect the role of Congress in the formulation of national security policy and the establishment of national security budgets.

If PPBS develops into a contest between experts and politicians, it will not be hard to pick the winners. They will be the politicians in the Congress and the White House. It has been said, and correctly, that as interesting as observing what happens to government when confronted with PPB will be watching what happens to PPB when confronted with government. ■

New AID Policies for AFRICA

ROBERT S. SMITH

THE past year and a half have witnessed significant changes in US aid policies toward Africa. From a program which offered bilateral assistance to 35 independent African nations, AID is moving toward a program of bilateral aid limited to about 10 nations, together with assistance to the others primarily through regional institutions and regional projects. Orderly completion of current projects in the other 25 countries requires several more years. The funding should be completed in all but about three, however, by the end of next fiscal year.

This new approach has come about as a result of a careful assessment of African resources, external aid availabilities for Africa, and American opinions and policies toward Africa and toward foreign aid in general. It was not intended to affect the level of AID assistance to Africa as a whole (although Congressional reductions in the Foreign Assistance Act have subsequently done this), nor does it affect the policies of other US agencies, such as the Peace Corps, the Export-Import Bank, or the Food-for-Peace program of the Department of Agriculture, which together provide about as much assistance to Africa in any given year as does AID.

It is well known that the movement for independence swept Africa like a forest fire in the decade between 1956 and 1966. Before 1956 there were only five independent countries on the African continent. Today there are 39 including the UAR and South Africa (which has never been an AID recipient). The initial excitement of self-determination and newly-attained roles in world political councils tended to diminish immediate African concerns with some of the more sobering facts of economic life that also came with independence.

Some 26 of the 39 countries have populations of five million or less. The average per capita gross national product in Africa (excluding the UAR and South Africa) was $125 in 1965 as compared to $180 in the under-developed world as a whole; it was under $100 in 21 of these. Literacy today averages 17 percent, as compared to 37 percent in the less developed areas of the world as a whole. Schools and appropriate curricula are sadly lacking. The ratio of people to medical doctors is 17,700 to one, as compared to 4,000 to one in the totality of the developing nations (and 690 to one in the United States). Diseases of all sorts take a terrible toll.

It is not only statistics. The newly emerging nations are characterized by extremely low productivity, particularly in the very sector that provides the livelihood for the largest number of their people: agriculture. The soil is tired and deficient in many respects; cultivating tools are often primitive; water is lacking or flows in such abundance in the brief rainy season that it washes away the best soil; farm-to-market roads are lacking. In short, the small farmer in a number of countries is barely self-sufficient, let alone able to provide a surplus for sale.

The lack of capital applies to other sectors of the economy as well. This means inadequate or non-existent machines, factories, warehouses, cranes, power and transportation facilities.

The shortage of capital is symptomatic in turn of a still deeper set of problems. Most of the people of Africa lack the social attitudes and institutions which help to create capital. Most small farmers, even if they are able to produce a surplus, are unable to adjust to market price fluctuations, to shift their crops when there is an over-abundance of the products they have habitually produced. They are naturally suspicious of new methods of cultivation, of fertilizers, of crop and land diversification. And why shouldn't they be when they operate at a subsistence level; have to foresee famine, drought and insect infestations; and have no margin for error?

This reluctance to change is evident as well among city dwellers and industrial workers. In most instances they are new to the city—although there have, of course, been a number of large cities in existence in Africa for 100 or more years—and find it a terrific wrench to leave the land. In fact, more often than not, they return periodically to their villages rather than make the permanent urban adjustment.

Private commerce, too, is characterized by quick turnover, minuscule profit, a high rate of small business failures, rather than by gradual capital formation, expansion and development.

What is more, in most cases, the national markets are too small to support substantial industrialization. And many of the small nations, whose boundaries were drawn by the European power struggle, by missionary competition, by explorers' marking or by tribal struggles, lack adequate natural resources. Other African nations are overly dependent for their export earnings on a single crop or mineral resource which is subject to every vacillation in world prices: Zambia (90 percent on copper); Senegal (77 percent on peanuts); Ghana (61 percent on cocoa); Ethiopia (61 percent on coffee).

These are hardly the conditions—taking Africa as a whole—that favor rapid economic growth.

And yet, there are some important bright spots in this pattern. Libya has a per capita GNP of $540, substantial petroleum resources and, since the end of fiscal year 1965, has had a sufficiently favorable balance of payments and economic growth rate no longer to require concessional assistance from AID. Ghana, with a population of eight million, a per capita GNP of $285 and a 20-25 percent literacy rate, a fairly long tradition of Western education and a substantial degree of self-government even before independence, is rated as a good prospect for successful economic development within the foreseeable future. So too are Tunisia, Morocco, Ivory Coast, Gahon, the East African Community of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Zambia (provided it can maintain copper production and export, and provided world prices hold up), and others—Congo (Kinshasa—formerly Leopoldville) and Nigeria should also go in this category, an assessment influenced by natural resource development in the one and human and natural resource availability in the other, provided the

Since early 1966, AID, the Peace Corps and the government of Somalia have worked together on a highly successful self-help school construction project. To date, more than half the 110 classrooms planned for some 30 villages have been completed. Somalia will have new classroom space for 4,000 elementary pupils when the project is finished.

internal political and security situations in these two countries are satisfactorily resolved soon.

These countries might be thought of as islands of opportunity, where normally a combination of size, natural resources, human resources and the will to develop are sufficiently strong that they are able, with their own resources and substantial outside assistance from the US, the United Kingdom, France or combinations of donors, to develop their economies on a fairly independent basis.

This is not the outlook, however, for many African states. So it is not surprising that the economic development-conscious President Diori of Niger (population 3.4 million, per capita GNP $75) tells his fellow West Africans that "our countries would derive nothing but advantage from a joint solution of our problems" in developing transport, telecommunications, power and agricultural research. And President Tubman of Liberia, President Senghor of Senegal, President Keita of Mali, and Chairman Ankrah of Ghana, all speak of the need for African unity, regional economic cooperation and regional groupings.

The "regionalism" and unity they are talking about is not necessarily political unity. These outstanding Africans and others like them are well aware of the pitfalls of artificially conceived political unity. They have seen—or even personally experienced—the failures; the abortive union of Senegal and Mali as a single state lasted only two months at the time of independence from France in 1960; the Central African Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, which fell apart in 1963 despite ten years of British-sponsored effort; the trials which colonially-organized Nigeria is now experiencing; and the near-breakdown of the East African Common Market, before an agreement was finally reached this year.

It has become clear to most African leaders that economic cooperation rather than political union is the key to economic development. This collaboration is possible on an Africa-wide basis but, for the foreseeable future, it is much more likely to be achieved through subregional endeavors of mutual benefit to the countries concerned. Thus, three fully independent East African nations stand a better chance of developing a new form of economic cooperation than did a mere extension of the colonial combination. And a group of contiguous West Coast nations, including Ivory Coast, Ghana and their neighbors, may find more bases of cooperation than a union of francophone states lacking common borders. The development of river basins and lakes by several riparian states, of natural resources which ignore political boundaries, of roads and telecommunications networks among sovereign states, offer more promise today than pacts and treaties of a purely political nature.

Regional cooperation is not entirely theory, either. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa with headquarters in Addis Ababa has been in existence since 1958. It has sought to strengthen institutional cooperation throughout the continent. The ECA's Executive Secretary, Robert Gardiner, has called for regional institutions to "discuss and take decisions on collective policies"; to "create a civil service machinery"; and to "agree on, and find means of implementing a number of concrete development projects." ECA has created several sub-regional committees for this purpose. It has also successfully established the Development Institute in Dakar for training African economists, statisticians and planners; and it played a role in the creation of the African Development Bank in Abidjan, which now has 29 members and paid-in capital of over $40 million.

The Organization of African Unity, now four years old, is concerned primarily with political problems of the Continent, but it also has a very active technological adjunct, the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission. This body, successor to a colonial cooperative council of both francophone and anglophone colonies, continues to function in disease control and scientific research, as well as to provide a forum for African, European and American scientists promoting exchange of their knowledge.

There are many other organizations which are not continent-wide but consist of political, geographic or functional groupings of nations. The Council of the Entente, a political grouping of Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Togo and Dahomey, recently established a Guaranty Fund for the group's economic development. AID is one of several donor nations working with the Guaranty Fund. The Niger River Commission, formed in 1963, consists of nine member states having riparian responsibilities on that great West African river. Similar commissions exist for the Senegal River (four nations) and Lake Chad (also four). There is active cooper-

ation among African states—and others—in an international coffee agreement and a long-sought cocoa agreement.

Thus, when President Johnson addressed the African ambassadors in Washington over a year and a half ago, he referred to "the impetus toward regional cooperation in Africa" and the stage in world economic affairs where "some of the most effective means of economic growth can best be achieved in large units commanding large resources and large markets." He stressed that "this does not mean the loss of hard-earned national independence. But it does mean that the accidents of national boundaries do not have to lead to hostility and conflict or serve as impossible obstacles to progress." The President chose Edward M. Korry, then Ambassador to Ethiopia (where he served from early 1963 until September of last year), to review US aid policies and programs in Africa, with particular stress on ways to support and strengthen regional economic cooperation.

The Korry Report, which was submitted to the President in August of 1966, found (to quote a summary given to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, April 20, 1967, by my predecessor, Herman Kleine):

"African development will be a long-term, difficult and necessarily gradual effort, requiring the fullest possible coordination and unity of effort and purpose on the part of the United States, the other countries now providing much larger amounts of economic aid to Africa, international organizations, the African countries and their own African regional organizations.

"The US should concentrate its own bilateral development support efforts on a country basis on those African countries whose development prospects are good and where US aid can be most effective.

"The US should continue development assistance to other areas of Africa, but primarily by assisting regional and multinational rather than strictly national development efforts and programs.

"The substantive emphasis of US developmental aid should be on agriculture and rural development, education, health and population, the infrastructure fields of transportation, power and communications, and the private sector" (for which the Report proposed and AID is conducting a series of ingenious experiments to stimulate US investment and African participation).

Before turning to the policy developments which followed the Korry Report, a brief digression is required about American opinions toward Africa and about the role of other donor nations in that part of the world. The two sets of thoughts are intimately interwoven.

Back in 1963 the Kennedy-appointed Clay Committee, in its study of AID's world-wide activities, pointed out that Britain and France should continue to have the major economic assistance responsibilities in Africa and that the US was perhaps too thinly extended in assistance to so many small African countries. While these views were not then endorsed by the Administration nor shared by most of the old Africa hands and the experts on African affairs, there is little doubt that they were sympathetically received in various sectors of Congressional and public opinion.

Many Americans unfortunately still think of Africa in terms of Tarzan, Trader Horn, Martin and Osa Johnson and the "good works" of Drs. Livingstone and Schweitzer. It is as difficult for Americans today to learn the names of all the countries, capitals and leaders of 39 African nations as it was for the previous generation to learn about the Latin American republics.

Congress grew increasingly reluctant to continue AID assistance to so many separate countries (the 35 AID recipient countries in Africa in fiscal year 1967 represented about half of the world-wide total). After an unsuccessful attempt at limitation in 1965, the following year Congress set a limit on AID recipients in Asia and Africa at 40 for technical assistance and 10 for development loans. Additional recipients were permitted by Presidential determination—and, in fact, they were so increased to 48 and 29 respectively for fiscal year 1967, in order to carry out programs already underway and new projects on which there had been considerable joint planning with the recipient governments.

AID assists with the control of rinderpest in Senegal. The project, initiated in 1961 under the aegis of the Inter-African Bureau of Animal Health, is now administered by the Scientific and Technical Research Commission of OAU. AID maintains an American veterinarian in West Africa to provide technical advice.

This reduction in numbers obviously affected US aid to Africa more than it did any other part of the world. This appears to have been Congressional intent. As one member of Congress who is very friendly to Africa put it, "God is keeping the continent of Africa in reserve."

Statistically, in fact, Africa is not so far down the line as an aid recipient. Over the past few years, the countries of that continent have received about $1.5 billion per year from all donors (of which about one-fourth came from the United States). This represents a sum of about $5.50 for each of the 270 million people of Africa—the highest per capita aid received by any continent in the developing world. AID's portion of this aid has been about $175-200 million each year, fluctuating from year to year primarily on the basis of what capital assistance loans were made each year. About two-thirds of AID assistance has been concentrated in nine countries—Morocco, Tunisia, Congo, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Ghana, Sudan, Guinea—plus the combination of East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda). All of the AID assistance to Africa, however, represents less than five percent of the total grants and loans made by AID and predecessor agencies.

It was in this setting that the Korry Report was received by President Johnson last year. The President instructed the Secretary of State, in close cooperation with the Administrator of AID, and in consultation with ten other government agencies, to come forward with an "action program" to carry out the Report's recommendations.

Most of the recommendations were directed to the US Government. Many of these could be undertaken simply by AID administrative action. Others involved major recasting of US policy. A few were directed to other donors, including particularly the World Bank.

Let us look first at the recommendations concerning multidonor coordination.

While it should be obvious that African economic development requires greater coordination among donors and with African organizations, the disappointing fact is that there has been all too much confusion and incoherence among donors, a lack of accord on the soundest opportunities, an unwillingness to accept one another's survey results, unnecessary duplication and conflicting developmental doctrine.

Nevertheless a good start has already been made in the form of World Bank and International Monetary Fund sponsored "consultative groups" dealing with particular countries: Tunisia, Morocco. Ghana, as well as a multilateral grouping of sorts for the Congo. What is still needed is a more rational approach to the development of Africa as a whole, be it through individual country programs where the resources warrant it, or through regional programs.

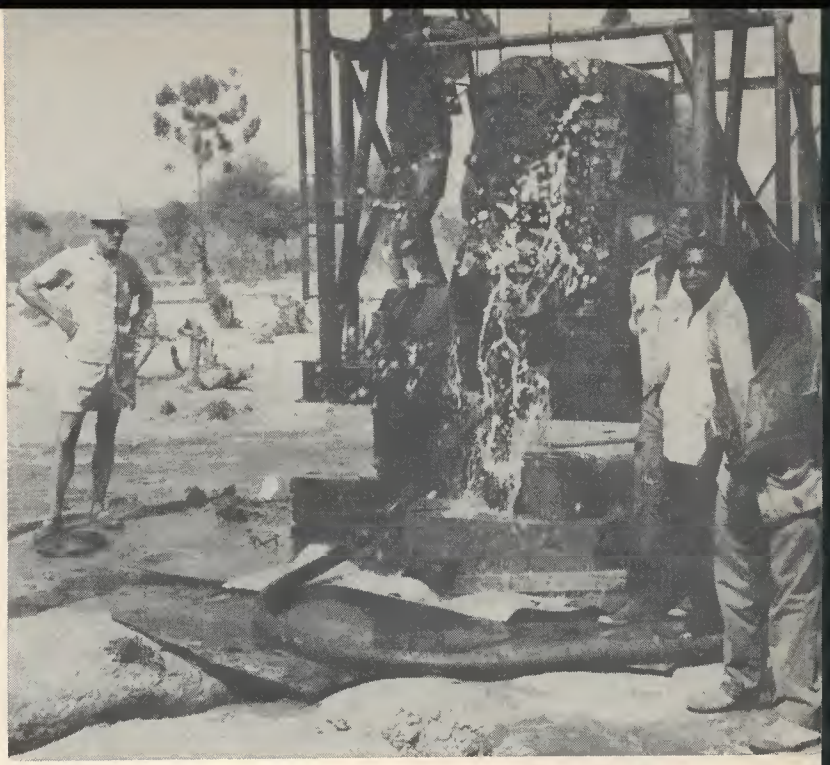
So it was that the Korry Report recommended, and the new policy supports, an endeavor by the World Bank to take the initiative in coordinating economic assistance planning in the fields of power, transport and communications. These are three sectors which lend themselves to regional planning, donor coordination and joint African development. The IBRD agreed to take the lead and convened a meeting in Abidjan last March with leaders of the African Development Bank, the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the UN Development Program, to lay plans for such efforts. The four organizations are currently gathering information on existing studies and project plans in these three sectors, and met again in October. They will soon consult with the principal interested bilateral donors.

While this is a long-range, gradual process, it promises a tremendous payoff in effectiveness of development, provided the donors and the recipients are willing to cooperate in such a framework.

Another critical area for multidonor and regional cooperation is in the development of agriculture. Notwithstanding the fact that there are several fundamentally different ecological zones within Africa—soudan, forest, savannah—and that most agricultural development requires getting right down to the small farmer, providing roads, markets, fertilizer and pesticides, irrigation, and techniques and methods suited to particular cultural and economic patterns, a common critical element is research. The British, the Freneh and the Belgians undertook a great deal of agricultural research during the colonial era. Institutes with impressive records exist in much of Africa. Since independence, however, a number of the institutes declined in effectiveness, as expatriate European professors returned home. Much good work still goes on as Africans are gradually trained to replace them. Woefully inadequate, however, are the means of interchanging research information among scientists and ways of transforming research and experimentation into improved methods of cultivation on a large scale.

To this end, and based on a modification of one of the important Korry Report proposals, AID has contracted with the US National Academy of Sciences to convene a conference in Africa of some 150 agricultural scientists—African, European and American—on the theme of "Agricultural Research Priorities for Economic Development in Africa." Among the results of the conference, it is hoped to see the birth of an African Association for the Advancement of Agricultural Science, a membership body which would provide the "living" interchange of agricultural research knowledge. Other results would be the development of plans for future meetings of a more specialized character.

The Korry Report made a number of other recommendations. A brief article cannot do justice to all of them. One of the principal ones, however, concerned the development and use of regional channels and methods of providing aid wherever there is a practical prospect of real mutual economic benefit to two or more cooperating African countries. In some instances this will mean help to and through African regional organizations. The President has already announced that he is seeking ways to cooperate with other donors in a Special Fund of the African Development Bank; in the meantime, AID has offered technical assistance to the ADB in the form of expert teams and joint surveys. AID has already signed agreements with the Entente Guaranty Fund to undertake surveys of agricultural resources in the five Entente countries *plus* Ghana; grain storage problems and facilities; and livestock production and marketing. AID is contributing to a massive African campaign for the control of rinderpest (a serious disease which affects cattle in twenty countries from Senegal to Somalia); this campaign is directed by the OAU's Scientific, Technical and Research Commission, and involves support from the twenty countries, as well as from France, the UK, West Germany, Italy and the European Economic Community. By arrangements with the US Public Health Service, AID is supporting a measles control/smallpox eradication eampaign in nineteen West and Central African countries; the World Health Organization and two African regional health organizations are cooperating in this program.



William B. Ogilbee, AID Ground Water Geologist, works with Nigerian workers on an exploratory bore hole for making appraisal of artesian wells at Salfa Village in northern Nigeria.

In other cases, regionalism will simply mean the development of projects involving two or more African governments. Examples of these include a heavy equipment maintenance and operation training center in Togo, which has students from a dozen francophone nations; a cooperatives training center soon to be established in Dahomey, also involving about a dozen francophone states; surveys of telecommunications, power and transport networks among West African coastal states—and a few inland ones as well; a mid-Africa transportation survey involving the Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania; an African Higher Education Program, to assist particular departments in selected African universities to excel in their academic efforts, and to accept more students from other African countries instead of placing such heavy reliance on higher studies overseas. These are but a few of the many projects now underway or planned and which are expected to absorb at least 20 percent of AID funds for Africa in the current fiscal year, practically doubling within two years.

(*Continued on page* 45)

Winter of the

It stopped snowing after five days and the village and valley were frosted and sparkling in the first rays of sunlight. The axes of the wood cutters thumped in the forest and the people of the village appeared as dark, ambulant spots against the clean snow that covered the narrow streets and blocked the entrances to the post office and the Mairie.

Grey tendrils of wood smoke from the squat chimneys and the scraping of shovels encouraged the hesitant to open their shutters or climb out of their second floor windows to clear away the snow blocking their doors.

By noon a narrow path had been tramped flat along the main street and the steps of thirsty adventurers had joined to widen the path to the village cafe.

At one o'clock the government snow plow from the valley churned its way into the village spewing a decorative fountain of fuzzy crystals over the roadside houses. The cafe emptied and its customers, fortified with hot coffee and rum, rushed out to greet the crew of the plow.

The Mayor, a short melon-shaped man with a purple face half hidden by a bright blue scarf, pumped the hand of the driver as if he had delivered the village from a long and bloody siege.

"How glad we are to see you," the Mayor told him. "Finally you have come."

The young man wiped his dripping nose and smiled sheepishly at the welcoming circle of red, snowburned faces. To avoid further talk he took the Mayor by the arm and walked him to the other side of the snow plow. The villagers followed, laughing and joking, liberated from their nights of silence and boredom and happy in the knowledge that the road to the valley was once again open and usable. The driver halted and pointed to the door of the plow's yellow painted cab. The Mayor and the crowd murmured their surprise and crowded forward.

The wolf hung head down, his hind legs bound and thrown over the cab's wing mirror. The rich brown of its thick pelt was spattered with the frozen crimson of fresh blood. Its eyes were open. The children who had rushed forward pulled back abruptly, unsure and frightened. There was a lingering threat in the curved white teeth and the gold flecked, evil eyes.

"Oh la la!" the Mayor said quietly. "What a brute, he is enormous!"

"We shot him three miles from here. We stopped for a moment and he came toward us over the snow. I thought he was a dog. I actually whistled to him. Then, the way he dropped his head and began to circle us . . . I knew. He had no fear."

The children mastered theirs and pushed closer to the carcass, laughing and making growling noises.

"It's the first wolf I have seen in many years," the Mayor said, touching the soft fur. "This is a strange winter."

The chief of the local Gendarmerie pushed through the crowd, "My God, Gaston, what have you brought us?" he asked.

"A warm wolfskin for your gouty foot," the driver replied, shaking hands with his friend.

"A monster," the Mayor added.

The Gendarme examined the wolf closely, nodding his head in admiration. "This is very strange. The last wolf on record here was killed many years ago. In 1923 or 1925, I forget the exact date. It was a skinny, sad thing that seemed lost. Gauthier, the miller, killed it with a shovel."

"I heard on the radio that they have seen wolf packs in the Ardennes this week," the driver remarked. "They say that the wolves from Russia have moved West into Poland because of the cold and the lack of food."

"What a world," the Mayor said shaking his head. "What a world."

"It's the cursed nuclear tests," the driver said. "They have changed things."

"By the way," the Gendarme asked, "what is the news? We haven't seen a paper for a week and our radio aerial was broken by the weight of the snow."

The driver sighed and made a wry face. "Oh, the same, the same. Scotland beat France in football. Here, I have some papers for you."

He climbed up onto the plow and threw down a bundle of newspapers. The Gendarme picked them up. "Come on," he shouted, "let's have a drink."

"Yes, come," the Mayor agreed, "our drinks will be my charge."

A red bus shuddered and wheezed to a stop beside the snow plow. The driver climbed down, looked doubtfully for a moment at the ancient tire chains, shrugged his shoulders and went into the cafe.

It had been a gay meal. The Mayor had bought the wine and the owner of the cafe had offered the food. His wife had served, bringing out the steaming soup and crisp, brown bread with a ceremonial flourish. Standing with her hands on her broad hips she had watched the enjoyment of the men with evident pleasure as they washed down her food with full glasses of harsh, mountain red wine. There had been a rabbit stew to follow the soup and the driver of the snow plow and his assistant had each done away with three full plates.

Citron, the bus driver, a small man as thin as a twig, entered the cafe grumbling and kicking the snow off his boots.

"Ah, Citron," the Mayor shouted, "come, join us. Have a glass."

"Thank you," Citron replied, twisting up one corner of his mouth in a weak smile. He took a glass of wine and downed it

Wolves

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

with a quick backward jerk of his head. "Not bad," he mumbled toward the cafe owner who was lost in a cloud of his own pipe smoke. "It is almost 3:30," Citron announced "If we are to make our trip to the valley before dark we must leave now."

A few passengers had already gathered in the cafe. The women sipped coffee, opened and retied their bundles and watched their children while their husbands worked outside, throwing baggage and market produce onto the top of the bus.

The bus had not left the village for a week. The outgoing mail had piled up in the cold postoffice and no one in town had received word from their friends in the outside world.

Citron said goodbye and left to supervise the loading. Behind him chairs scraped and the men rose, patting their stomachs and sighing, puffing on their pipes.

The cafe owner opened his door and shouted after Citron. "Tell André I need a double supply of cigarettes and matches. God knows, the snow may come again."

Citron replied with an irritated gesture of his hand and climbed into the bus. He pressed the horn. An abrupt squawk echoed through the village. His passengers came out of the houses and the cafe. They struggled through the snow with their children, dragging with them crates of live rabbits or rough cloth containers full of round, hard mountain cheeses to sell in the valley. A young hunter climbed into the bus with a string of freshly shot thrush over his shoulder.

Citron started the motor. He listened to it vibrate for a moment before he climbed down to help a clerk from the Mairie throw the mail sack onto the roof. The passengers puffed aboard, scraping and stamping their cold feet along the aisle of the bus, laughing and talking.

The Mayor, the cafe owner and the crew of the snowplow came out of the cafe to say goodbye. They stood ankle deep in the snow and raised their glasses of kirsch in a toast to Citron and his passengers.

"You should have no trouble," the snowplow driver shouted jovially. "Go slow and watch the curves. We have cleared it well and when we go back down tomorrow morning it will be even better."

Citron ignored this advice. He released the handbrake and gunned the bus's engine. The passengers waved. The red chassis shook and started on its voyage, a broken link of the tire chain tapping out a metallic rhythm.

The Mayor led his convivial group back into the cafe. "A game of belote to settle our digestion," he suggested as the cafe door swung shut.

Outside the sun disappeared behind a mountain. The snow lost its sheen and turned a dull off-white. The plow stood deserted. The scarlet icicle of frozen blood hanging stiffly from the dead wolf's muzzle etched spidery lines in the soft snow as the strong evening wind swung the carcass to and fro.

CITRON drove carefully. The normal rattle of the bus was dulled by the carpet of snow still on the road. The plow had cut through the drifts but there were still several inches of starchy snow over the pot-holed asphalt.

The snow hadn't had a chance to melt and re-freeze and the bus held the road well. Citron was content. The bus was almost full. He would have some pay waiting for him in the valley and it was a relief to get away from his wife for awhile. His passengers were gay. They spoke loudly and remarked on the beauty of the countryside.

It was beautiful. The hills were smooth undulations of blue and white flowing to the edge of the forest where the snow capped pines shut out the light. The sun's last rays fell in golden shafts through the mountain valleys, crusting the snow with warm fire.

They had gone almost four miles when Citron sensed the first slight failure of the motor. No one else noticed the abrupt mechanical cough. But Citron felt the sudden lack of reaction through the sole of his boot. He pressed down on the accelerator and it responded. He frowned. The bus chugged on. He slowed to negotiate a sharp turn and there was another vacuum in the accelerator's response. He had to shift gears to keep his headway.

Suddenly, on a slight incline, there was no power. His foot pressed down onto the floorboard. The bus rolled to a stop. Citron set the handbrake amid the critical hooting of his passengers.

"Eh, Citron," they shouted. "No jokes now . . . we know you run this wreck on vinegar and water!" They roared with laughter as he cursed and tried to start the motor. The weak whine of a tired battery sobered his passengers and a few men came forward with suggestions. They crowded around the driver, poking their workworn fingers at the choke, tapping the gas meter and arguing.

Citron got up, swung the door open and the cold flooded the bus. Followed by his advisors he crunched through the snow, threw up the hood and disappeared from sight. Only his thin rump was visible wiggling along the fender as he ran his fingers over the engine he had known and nursed for so many years.

While the men worked and argued the women moved together toward the rear of the bus, rubbing their hands and wrapping their children even tighter into their coats and mufflers. A bag of wrinkled winter apples was passed around. The women talked with their mouths full, pausing to cast apprehensive glances at the darkness that had begun to paint the snow purple and blur the image of their men, huddled outside over the cold, dead motor.

Citron hopped back into the bus two or three times to try the starter. Each time the battery was further weakened. It finally hummed into silence.

When the men returned, puffing, cursing and slapping their cold hands together, the women knew they had abandoned their task. With the realism of simple mountain people they prepared to spend the night where they were. The women arranged beds for the children bundling them together for warmth. The men passed a bottle of mirabelle from hand to hand but an irritable depression smothered the earlier gaiety.

Only Citron remained outside. His thumb was bleeding and his fingers were sore from working with the obstinate fuel pump. In a moment of frustration he struck at the engine block with his wrench. Then he stood motionless, his mouth open—listening. There had been a reaction to the dull clang of his blow. A nearby movement that he had sensed rather than heard. Slowly he turned his head and looked over his shoulder at the silent snow banks.

He saw nothing. Nothing but the forest, the moon, the stars. Reassured, he glanced at the frosted windows of the bus and heard the murmur from within. Puzzled, he struck the

engine block again. He swung around quickly this time and saw it. He knew immediately that it wasn't a dog. The wolf was standing about 150 yards down the road in the shadow of a snowbank.

Citron felt a dryness in his throat and his hand began to shake, tapping the wrench lightly against the fender. He took a step toward the door. The beast's head swung up in obvious interest. Attempting a shaky show of bravado Citron raised the wrench over his head threateningly and shouted. "Haa!"

The wolf trotted a few paces further away and swung around, his huge head hanging low over the snow, swinging slowly from side to side. Citron had expected wolves to act like dogs but there was something feline in this wolf's behavior.

Citron shuddered and walked quickly to the door of the bus. He kept his eye on the wolf. It trotted forward immediately at the first sign of his retreat.

A passenger swung the door lever open to let Citron in. "Well, did you finally give up" he taunted. "Come, my friend, have a drink with us and relax. We might as well settle down for the night."

Citron stood by the door, rubbing at the frosted isinglass trying to see out. He thought he saw a movement by the fender where he had been standing but he couldn't be sure.

His passengers dragged him to the rear and sat him down in a seat. There was something ludicrous about the testy little man and they needed a clown. They forced a half empty bottle into his hand and clucked with appreciation as he gulped several swallows of the strong liquor.

Their attention soon shifted to one of the more attractive market women. They shouted and giggled over who would have the pleasure of keeping her warm during the night.

Citron motioned two of the men forward with him. They followed, grumbling that it was no use to try the engine again. "The snow plow will tow us off tomorrow," they said.

When he told them of the wolf they laughed. "Oh, Citron! Whom do you take us for? You are dreaming." They pounded him on the back, laughing. "Come now, you are upset over your old bus. Do not worry so. Come, let us have another drink before those pigs finish the bottle."

Citron clutched the lapels of a husky woodcutter. "Listen to me, you idiot! I am telling you what I have seen. Look yourself," he hissed, his thin face contorted with rage. "Go on, look yourself."

The woodcutter pushed Citron's hands away. He had stopped smiling. He wore a fur cap with ear flaps. As he tied the flaps under his chin he frowned at Citron. "I don't like jokes like this, little man," he said. Citron returned his glare, sucking at his cut thumb.

They swung the door open to a chorus of protest from their fellow passengers. They shut the door and stepped down onto the snow in silence.

"My God!" Citron's reedy voice froze them where they stood. "Look, damn you, look! There he is down the road. And there's another. And there . . . and there."

"Mother of God!" The woodcutter crossed himself.

"It's a pack!"

The wolves were spaced around the stalled bus. Some sat patiently in the snow like friendly hunting dogs. Others were moving back and forth as if in the confines of a cage. Occasionally they stopped to raise their noses skyward. There was no howling, no growling, only the hiss of wind blowing over the drifts and the shuffling sound of the wolves' passage through the soft snow.

The three men climbed cautiously back into the bus, shutting the door tightly behind them.

"Hey there, enough of that fresh air!" the other passengers shouted. "Hang it out the window if you must, but keep the door shut!"

The look on the men's faces killed the laughter.

"What's up?" someone asked.

"I don't know, ask them."

"What is it, Citron? Snowing again?"

A woman called to her husband. "Ramon, what is it?"

The two men looked at Citron. He was the driver . . . the authority. He shrugged his shoulders.

"There are wolves outside," he said flatly, sitting down in the driver's seat.

"It's not true," a woman said hopefully.

"It is true," the woodcutter replied.

"Oh, no!" a woman cried. Her cry brought a wail of fright from the children.

"We are safe inside," Citron said. As he spoke, he thought of the isinglass of the door. It was cracked and weakened by the hot summer sun. He sighed and glanced surreptitiously at the door.

"No rifles," the young hunter said bitterly. "I was going to take my rifle to be repaired in the valley but my grandfather fixed it yesterday."

Suddenly everyone thought of a weapon. "I have an ax handle," the woodcutter remarked doubtfully.

"I have a skinning knife," the hunter said.

Citron, still pondering the cracked isinglass, motioned for the woodcutter to come to the front of the bus. "Our only worry," he said quietly, "is this door. The isinglass is weak. You'd better stay here. We can take turns during the night."

"How about the windows?"

"Oh, they'll hold," Citron said. "I think that . . ."

There was a scratching and a sudden thump. One of the women screamed and all faces turned toward the roof. They could hear the smashing and rending of wood. Some baggage fell off the roof into the snow. They heard the heart stopping rumble of a deep angry growl overhead.

"My rabbits!" a voice weak with fright murmured, as the scuffling and growling continued.

One of the children began a long hysterical scream and the wolves stopped, listening. Their interest in the child's cry set the women to weeping and moaning. The lights of the bus grew dim and went out.

"That's the last of the battery," Citron murmured.

He struck a match and lit the emergency kerosene lantern. He hung it from a hook in the aisle.

"I can see them," one of the men shouted. "Look!"

They pressed their faces against the windows. The rabbit crate had fallen from the roof. It was smashed and empty. A wolf was tugging it along through the snow with great effort, pausing to growl at any other wolf that approached him. An enormous beast was lying near the front wheels chewing methodically on the processed leather of a smashed suitcase.

A projectile of fur, muscle and teeth rose suddenly from the snow and threw itself against the window. The men jumped back, falling over each other, pale with fright.

"My God, he tried to come through the window!" the hunter said in an awed voice.

They recovered themselves and tried to regain their status in the eyes of the frightened women and children. Then they heard a desperate snuffling and scraping by the door.

"Quick!" Citron shouted, "the ax handle."

The woodcutter raised his weapon as a heavy grey paw scraped frantically at the isinglass. Citron stood behind him. They watched the isinglass cede. The paw pushed forward. It was followed by questing black nostrils shining with dampness. Their momentary spell of frozen horror was broken. The woodcutter swung. There was the solid crack of the ax handle and an anguished howl of pain. The bloodied muzzle and paw disappeared.

The woodman hefted the ax handle doubtfully. He wasn't sure how long the wood would last.

A sudden crash and ripping sent them flinching away from

(*Continued on page* 42)

PLACE DROPPING

ROBERT R. R. BROOKS

DURING the long summer evenings ahead, when humidity competes with temperature, there ought to be ample room for a new game called Place Dropping. Among overseas service people, this form of oneupsmanship should have a special appeal.

It has, of course, been played informally for a long time. For example: "When I was stationed at Ouagadougou, the humidity during the mistral often dropped to 7 percent." Such a comment casually delivered, is a conversation stopper among even toughened travelers.

But the trouble is, there are no rules, and no scoring system. Suppose, after a pause, someone says, "My two years in Bechuanaland taught me a lot about the Stone Age" (nodding his head sagely). Everyone looks covertly around to see who won. The sad thing is: No one knows—for sure, that is.

What we need is some rules and a set of objectively calculated exposure values which would make it perfectly clear who was humiliated.

I used to think, for instance, that Tashkent called for a pretty high score. I once let a friend's overnight stop in Tashkent walk all over my three weeks at Hudson's Bay. Even the fact that I knowingly said "Hudson's Bay" not "Hudson Bay" didn't redeem me. And I've been subconsciously bruised ever since I found that Tashkent is an easy stop on the Moscow-Palam run.

To put a firm end to this potential source of psychiatric problems we need some standards of value. Just as openers, I propose the following, arranged in ascending order from 1 to 10 points each:

1. Mode of Travel: Plane, train, car, jeep, jeep-without-lights, local bus, horse, mule, canoe, donkey, camel, kayak, and goat; (on this system old-timers have an advantage because planes now fly where mules feared to tread. Ambassador Bowles, for example, during his tour as Ambassador to India and Nepal, approached Kathmandu on a donkey).

2. Political Interdiction: Cambodia, Burma, Albania (until recently), Eastern USSR, Ulan Bator, North Korea, North Vietnam, Mainland China.

3. Prevalence of Disease: e.g. common cold, flu, typhoid, cholera, yellow fever, leprosy (although not contagious, you get extra points for childhood fears).

4. Temperature and Humidity: From 68°F and 40 percent humidity, up and down.

5. Wind Velocity: With or without dust, sand, fog, ice particles, or sulphur fumes from a pulp mill, or an active volcano.

6. Animal Predators: barking dogs, jackals, hyenas, cobras, kraits, barracuda, cinammon bear, piranha, man-eating tiger, and a pride of lions.

7. Insects: lice, bedbugs, fleas, mosquitoes, and noseeums.

I am sure that this listing does not exhaust the variables. And I know there are those who will argue the arrangement of ascending values. But, as I said, this is just for openers, and we could barter our differences.

8. Even more important, however, is the matter of distance. Distance from where? I suggest we take PanAm flights 1 and 2 with New York and San Francisco as basing points at zero value; and Bangkok as a maximum of 12 points, because it's halfway around. Any point on PanAm's route has a value between 0 and 12.

Then you add for deviations from PanAm's route: e.g., 1 point for Singapore, 2 for Djakarta; 1 for Agra, 2 for Jaipur; 5 for Bikaner; and a total of 9 for a camel ride from Bikaner to the oasis just this side of the big sand dune beyond the last caravanserai. (Max. 20 points. You lose points, however, for having your photo published on your return, drinking a blend of 24 percent whiskey and 76 percent grain neutral spirits.)

9. There is one more variable, however, which should not be underestimated: Frequency of planes, trains, mules, etc. (10 points.) It's no problem at all, for example, to go to Bali. But Borubadur is another matter. With one plane a week from Djakarta to Jogjakarta, you have to begin with Friday and calculate forwards and backwards from there. Same with Rwanda-Burundi.

Adding the standard value of paragraphs 1 thru 9 produces a perfect score of 100.

Any reasonable person can see that we have here the basis for a handy pocket book listing of points, based on the suggested variables, for every location on earth.

A seasoned FSO could simply cite page 72, paragraph 2, and try not to look smug, while his opponent struggled to extract a triumph by adding amoebic dysentry to a forced landing. ■

EDITORIALS

Pay Comparability

THE passage of the 1967 Federal Pay Bill fulfills Congress' 1962 promise that members of the Federal Service will be paid at a comparable rate to their counterparts in private industry. Within the next 18 months Foreign Service personnel will receive an increase in salary which will average about 17.5 percent according to one authoritative estimate. The Association, whose officers testified before House and Senate Committees in favor of full pay comparability, wishes to applaud Representative Udall and Senator Monroney who were instrumental in the passage of this bill. And the President is to be congratulated for standing firm on the principle of comparability in spite of the pleas of some for budget cuts in this vital area.

Pay comparability by present definition will not immediately be extended to our senior officers because of the vexed question of the relationship of senior Executive Branch and Congressional salaries. AFSA Committees might also look into the question of disparities in allowances between the Foreign Service and the military. Over the years the Association has supported the idea that our case for a "stateside" housing allowance is equally as justified as is the case for a similar allowance to the military. Facts and figures on this issue can surely be developed in order to strengthen our case within the Administration and with Congress.

One final point which AFSA might look into would be the question of what positions in private industry are really comparable to Foreign Service positions. At present "comparability" is determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics which has evolved a formula for a comparison between salaries in private industry and general schedule personnel. The Foreign Service salary schedule is tied arbitrarily and loosely to that of the GS schedule and it may well be that comparisons based on this loose tie are not valid. ■

Budget Cuts

THE President has asked that all Federal agencies reduce FY 1968 expenditures to the absolute minimum consonant with national objectives. The administrators of the foreign affairs agencies are to be congratulated that—at least until the new executive orders of January 18—they had been able to respond to this request without making damaging cuts in areas directly affecting employee welfare. In the light of the seriousness of the situation, the fact that a travel freeze has been avoided is a welcome accomplishment. There will apparently be some reduction of intake of new career personnel at the bottom rungs of the services, but hopefully this will be a one-year reduction only and will be alleviated by the substantial intake of recent years. We will of course be watching with care the size of the promotion lists and the related matters of a reduction of intake and an increase in retirement of FSRs serving in positions for which there are qualified career officers on board. Foreign service agencies would appear to have excellent financial reasons for resisting political pressures to hire or retain unnecessary FSRs. ■

Judgment Deferred

No new ideas? Nonsense! Everyone knows the State Department seethes with innovation, imagination, and machination. Unorthodox policy alternatives which could revitalize our diplomacy germinate silently behind most of the endless brown doors that line State's corridors.

Then what happens to all this creativity? Conventional wisdom answers that the problem is simple. Bureaucratic layers block channels from innovator to decision maker. Cautious, ambitious senior officers, wise in the art of safe sanitization, winnow out all dangerous iconoclasm from staff studies drafted by their more creative juniors. The problem, in short, is organization, not ideas.

A cozy, reassuring theory—heretofore hard to disprove. But in all likelihood merely a convenient rationalization. Elsewhere in this issue is an article on the "Open Forum Panel" and its efforts to meet Secretary Rusk's desire for a flow of fresh new ideas outside established channels. The record to date is disheartening, if not downright dismal. An initial spate of ideas appeared, but only a handful were either imaginative *or* new! Then even that flow ebbed.

We'll reserve judgment a little longer. As Secretary Rusk himself has said, there are very few really new ideas around. If a man produces even one, his life has been extraordinarily productive. But even new approaches to old policies merit exploration; critical thinking, fresh routes to familiar goals, provocative challenges to conventional conviction—surely there must be more such thoughts about than the Open Forum Panel has yet coaxed from their bureaucratic lair.

As a starter, take a look at the questions on the last page of Association News. If they provoke you to take typewriter in hand, the Open Forum Panel may forward your ideas to the Secretary—with no bureaucratic dilution.

That is, if they are worth reading. ■

Housing Opportunities in Washington

THE Equal Employment Opportunity programs of State, AID, and USIA deserve congratulations for implementing a joint Fair Housing Program to broaden housing opportunities for all employees in the Washington area. The Program has been cited by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing for "pioneering" in this field.

The Program requires every employee, who wishes to take advantage of the privilege of using the agencies' premises to advertise the sale or rental of property, to sign a declaration that the property is available to any employee without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

While the circumstances and practices which necessitate a personal declaration to uphold a moral responsibility and national objective are regrettable, the signing of a declaration in this instance seems to be the least one can do to assure fair play in the important area of housing. Foreign Service personnel, considering their ever-changing needs for housing overseas and in the Washington area, should support wholeheartedly the objectives of the Fair Housing Program. ■

Association News

February, 1968

HARRIMAN AND RIVKIN AWARDS
Nominations Sent to Judges Committees

The response to notices sent to the field and to the principal foreign affairs agencies in Washington requesting nominations for the Harriman and Rivkin Awards has been most gratifying. As of the deadline date—delayed until January 10 to accommodate last minute nominations—34 officers were recommended for these two awards.

The Awards Committee of the Association, composed of AFSA members from State, USIA and AID, and chaired by FSO-4 Dwight Cramer has reviewed all nominations for conformance to criteria and has forwarded qualifying nominations to the Judges Committees for final selection by the end of February. Presentation of the two awards is scheduled for mid-April at an AFSA-sponsored function, now in the planning stage.

Meanwhile, Ambassador Sol Linowitz has agreed to serve as Chairman of the AFSA Committee of Judges to pass on the Harriman Award for Junior Officers plus such other awards the Association hopes to be able to establish this year. Other members of the Committee include:

The Honorable Sherman Cooper
The Honorable John V. Tunney
Mr. James Killian, President of MIT
Dr. Detlev Bronk, President, Rockefeller Institute
The Honorable C. Douglas Dillon
Mr. John Johnson, President, Johnson Publications

President Philip Habib will also serve on the Committee as an *ex officio* member.

The Judges Committee for the Rivkin Award was established some time ago by the William R. Rivkin Committee and is headed by Vice President Humphrey. Other members include:

Ambassador William McCormick Blair
Ambassador W. Michael Blumenthal
The Honorable William J. Crockett
Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke
Ambassador John Tuthill
Mr. Newton N. Minow, former FCC Chairman
Mr. Donald H. Rivkin, brother of William R. Rivkin

Sub-Committees Designated for Studies on Career Principles

The Career Principles Committee, now under the chairmanship of Ambassador Graham Martin, met on January 4 and formed itself into subcommittees to perform detailed studies as a follow-up to the Leonhart report published in the November JOURNAL. The sub-committees are briefly described below. Persons interested in serving on any of these committees may contact the chairman.

Personnel Systems (W. Haven North)—will study the integration of State, USIA, and AID, and the advantages and drawbacks of alternative personnel systems.

Manpower Utilization and Planning (Gerald S. Bushnell)—will project current personnel planning systems into the future and study methods of increasing the effectiveness of manpower utilization.

Personnel Selection and Development (Frank S. Wile)—will study recruitment and performance evaluation systems, career planning, and the assignment process.

Training (Richard W. Finch)—will look at training now available to those who serve overseas and recommend improvements.

Openness of the Services (Olin C. Robinson)—will study our relationships with other parts of government, private enterprise, academia, and other groups to suggest ways in which the exchange of ideas can be promoted.

Remuneration and Benefits (Julian P. Fromer)—will inventory present pay scales and benefits, compare them with government and private enterprise, and make recommendations on appropriate AFSA goals concerning pay and benefits.

Organization and Leadership (John C. Ausland)—will study the adequacy of present State relationships with the White House, Congress, the National Security Council, and other government offices. It will carry out a study of existing roles on the seventh floor of State and the relationship of the seventh floor to the rest of State.

Technology (Marshall W. Wiley)—will inventory the present use of such technological devices as computers and telecommunications systems in civilian foreign affairs agencies and recommend further utilization where appropriate.

Reed Harris Honored by AMVETS

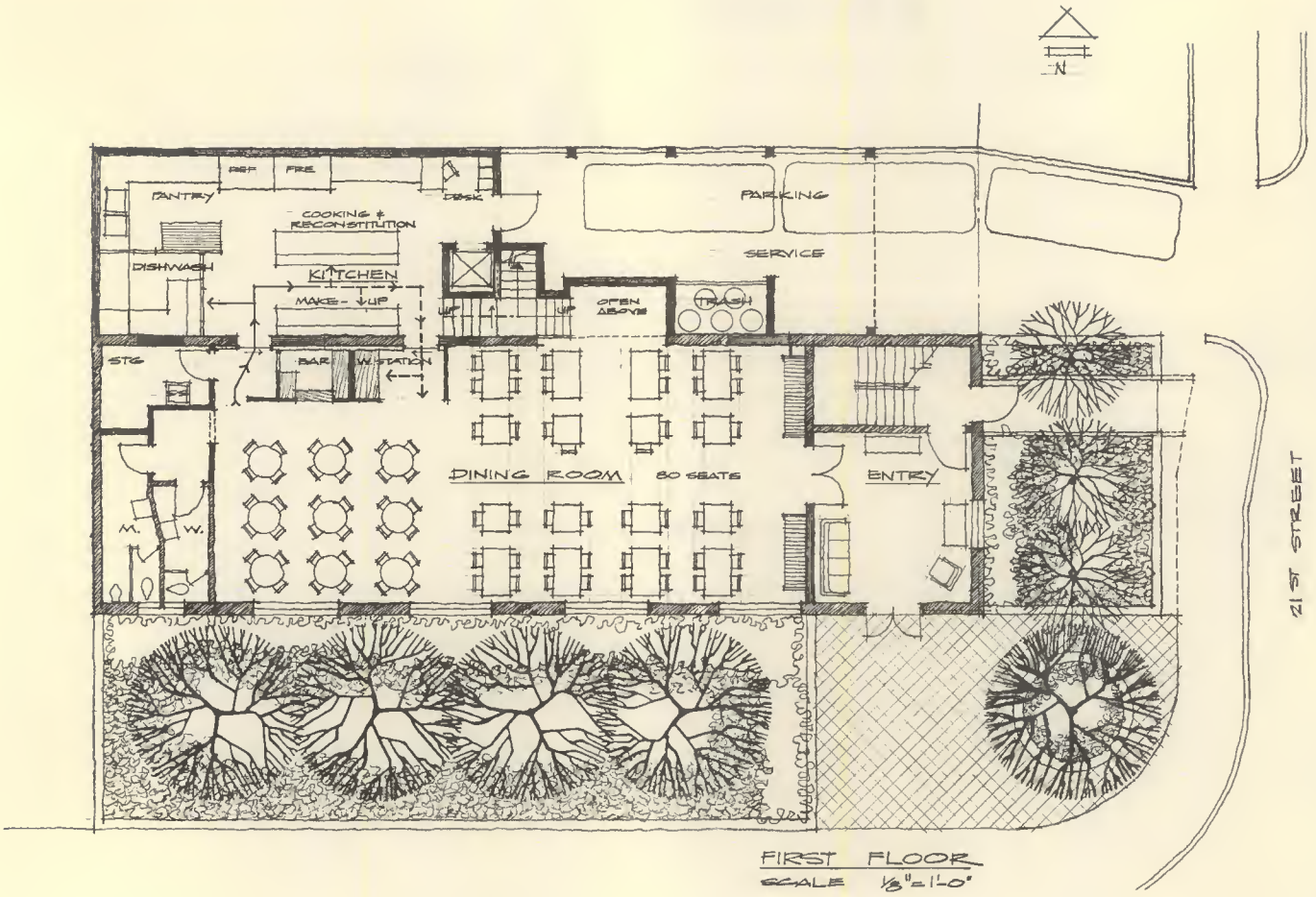
Reed Harris, Assistant Director, Policy and Plans, IOP, has been honored by the national veterans organization, AMVETS.

The AMVETS 1967 national convention in Miami named Harris and five others for top awards in 1968. Mr. Harris, contributing editor of the JOURNAL, was named "Civil Servant of the Year." Meanwhile the AMVETS in the Washington area honored Harris with an award at a dinner in November.

New Member Board of Directors

Mr. Herz

"Get Up On Your Hind Legs!" is the advice that Martin Herz gave the last Board of Directors in a signed article (not published) sent from Tehran. The direct election of an activist Board, meanwhile, meets one of the proposals he had made. Others



AFSA Board Approves Club Plan; Construction Contract to be Let Soon

After reviewing the architects drawings and the financial plans, the AFSA Board approved the Club project on January 5. The Board authorized negotiation of a contract with the architect, Cloethiel Woodward Smith and Associates, for working drawings to be followed by a contract for the actual construction and furnishing of the Club. The club will cost an estimated $150,000 and the opening is scheduled for late summer.

The first floor of the existing building (see above) will be remodeled to provide an 80 seat main dining room. Through the use of movable panels this area can be divided into two separate areas for private parties. The new construction will provide a kitchen area on the ground floor and storage and a lounge on the second floor. This lounge will have a

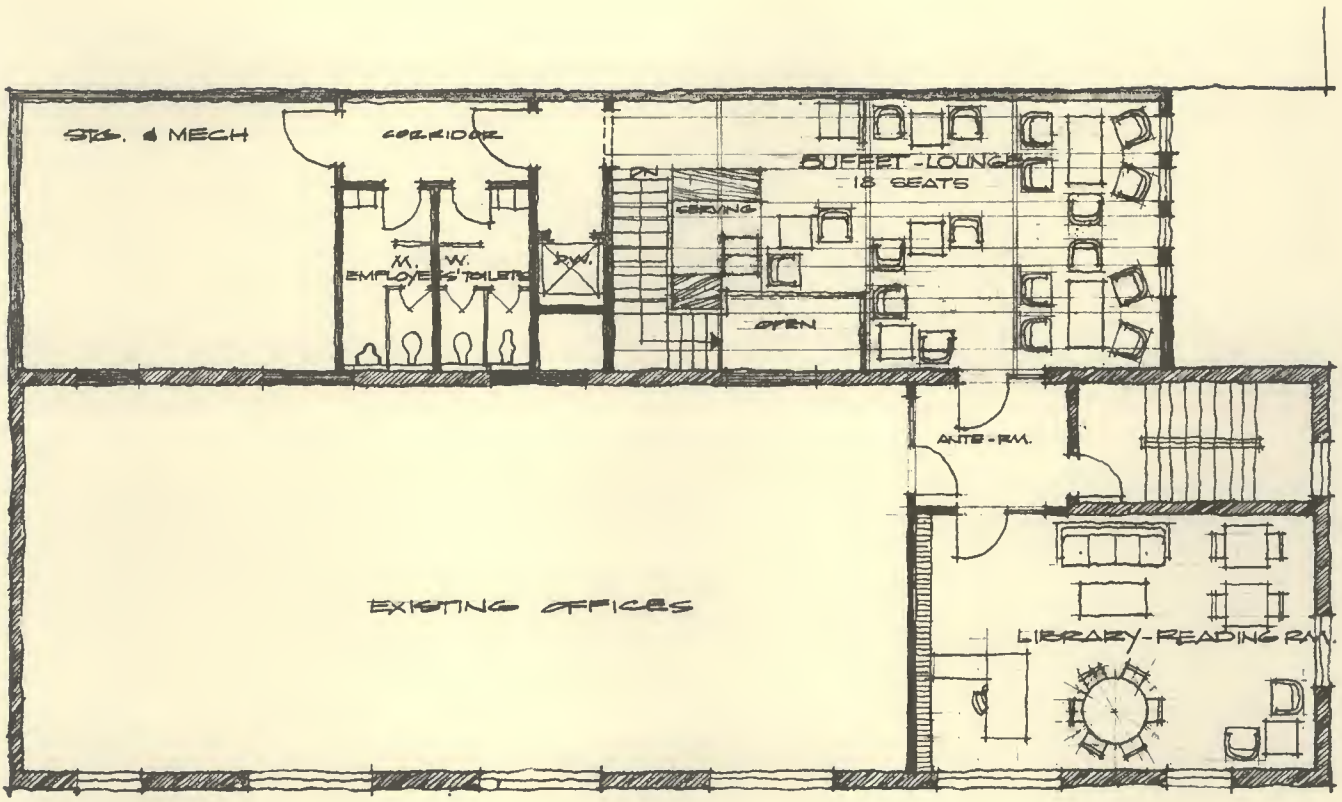
he will now be able to push in his new capacity. He was a member of the Board of Directors from 1960 to 1963, when he often represented the activist point of view.

Entering the Service as an FSO-Unclassified in 1946, Herz has served in Vienna, Paris, Phnom Penh, Tokyo, Tehran and several times in Washington, presently as Country Director for Laos and Cambodia. As an FSO-1 who has just turned 50, he says he is flattered to be still regarded as a "Young Turk." Like Ambassador Dean Brown, whom he replaces on the Board, he is a member of the Institute of Ruanda-Urundi Studies.

New Editorial Board Member

Arch Bolster grew up in the Far West (Montana), but moved to the

Mr. Bolster



glass roof for a solarium effect and will be available for cocktails, buffets, private parties, as well as providing additional seating during meal hours as required.

In addition, the exterior of the building will be attractively landscaped and the entrance on E Street will be remodeled along the lines of the architects drawing which was on the cover of the October issue of the JOURNAL.

Memberships are still available and the Board hopes that many who were waiting to see what the decision would be will now take the opportunity to join.

Founding memberships are available at $250 (those with salaries over $15,000) or $140, and regular membership at $70 or $35 respectively. FSOs 6, 7 or 8 may join the club and AFSA at the bargain rate of $15. The club membership year begins the month the club begins operating.

Middle East (Iran) at the age of 12 when his father joined the Foreign Service. Residence in the Netherlands and study at the University of Virginia were followed by service on a US Navy destroyer before he entered the Foreign Service in 1958. He is on his first Departmental assignment (INR) after tours in Phnom Penh, Tabriz, and Tehran. Arch says his only previous contacts with the JOURNAL were a rejected article and a lone book review, but he plans to make up for this lack of experience by energetic efforts to enhance the JOURNAL's effectiveness. He adds that he hopes readers with suggestions for improvements will use him as an additional point of contact.

AFSA Serving The "Inner City" in Community Service Projects

The AFSA Community Service Committee's consultations on ways and means for Association members to help in the problems of Washington's "inner city" have already produced what Committee members call "exciting" prospects for programs of service. These are the consultations mentioned in the "Let Them Eat Cake?" editorial in the January JOURNAL.

Chairman Robert O. Blake and members of his AFSA committee have been meeting with representatives of the Office of Equal Opportunity and the United Planning Organization. UPO's President Frederick Lee and Executive Director Wiley Branton have pinpointed for AFSA a number

of fields immediately open for service such as tutoring, work in neighborhood development centers, and with the Job Corps. UPO for its part has displayed an interest matching that of the AFSA committee. Their representatives pointed to a number of badly needed skills that Foreign Service men and women are uniquely equipped to supply.

Our Community Service group is now working up a high priority list of projects and will shortly begin a program of recruitment and training of AFSA members for these community service projects. Washington-based members who want to take part are invited to get in touch with Mr. Blake by telephone at DUdley 3-2080, or by writing him through AFSA Headquarters.

Toward A State of Ferment

Secretary Rusk recently discussed the problem of "ideas" with a small group, called the Open Forum Panel, which he had been instrumental in forming. "We have need," the Secretary stated, "for a constant state of ferment, for challenge of established positions, for reexamination of premises."

Ferment, challenge, and the reexamination of premises should lead to new ideas, new concepts, improved and better informed foreign policy. The Open Forum Panel exists to stimulate new ideas and concepts, to screen them, and to transmit them to the Secretary. It was created to assure that new ideas are in no part suppressed or hindered by bureaucratic inertia, timidity or conformism.

"Authentically new ideas are rare."

The initiation of a direct channel of communications to the Secretary at first produced a sizable number of ideas. Few were original or new; the majority were mediocre at best. But a handful, a half-dozen or so, were passed by the Panel to the Secretary. He found them of sufficient merit to request detailed appraisals of them by the action bureau concerned. Some generated thinly disguised outrage; others received reasoned, logical rebuttals. One or two, after some metamorphosis, may well have an effect to US policy.

At present, however, the flow of ideas has all but ceased. There is, of course, the sad possibility that none exist. Or the happy possibility that the layers of the bureaucracy already effectively screen and transmit new ideas to the senior officials responsible for the formulation of policy. But in all probability the answer lies somewhere in between. If so, if among government professionals working in the field of foreign affairs there are indeed new ideas which require a forum to be heard, the mechanism now exists.

The Open Forum Panel has no set criteria by which to screen new ideas. It undertakes a certain amount of fact-finding when facts are at issue, but no formal staff studies. It offers no pecuniary rewards, no certificates of merit, no commendations. It does offer careful consideration of your idea by a representative group of your peers, and its possible personal consideration by the Secretary of State. It offers, in essence, a highly professional challenge.

> "Put the idea in its complete context. Don't leave off the arms and legs. We can't be interested in pieces of ideas . . . New ideas are sometimes complex and subtle and therefore take some exposition. I'm willing to read."

Some original ideas can be brief. Succinct and practical suggestions dealing with particular policy actions can sometimes come out of the wood and be promptly evaluated. More demanding (and more difficult to formulate) are those ideas which are "conceptual"—broad, reasoned and comprehensive statements dealing at essay length with a major aspect of foreign policy. These too, if original, if new, are welcome.

> "Appeals to reconsider policies don't advance us unless they introduce new considerations . . . We can't constantly re-hash all the old thoughts."

Suggestions which in substance represent a difference of judgment without the introduction of new considerations are of little value. Established policies are and should be subject to continual review, but changes must be based on new facts, new goals, and, in short, new ideas if they are to be rational.

> "Imaginative, searching questions sometimes are as helpful as a new idea. They set us thinking in the right direction."

In the hope that questions directed to specific problems of foreign policy might stimulate new thought and ideas, there are listed below a few to which your consideration is invited. But the Panel has no pride of authorship and is, frankly, a bit wary of unintentionally restricting the potential range of ideas. Should you have more pointed, more challenging questions, they too would be welcome. In future issues of the JOURNAL we hope to publish questions regarding foreign policy which various persons in private life consider most pressing.

Questions, comments and especially ideas, classified or unclassified, should be sent directly to the Open Forum Panel, Room 7261, Department of State.

1. How should the US structure its relations toward the newly independent states of the Caribbean? What role is Commonwealth membership likely to play in the future of their economic development?
2. What political and economic impact stems from US ownership of sizable amounts of foreign currency? What should be done with US-owned local currencies surplus to our needs?
3. What lessons for US policy in Africa can be drawn from the war in Nigeria?
4. The "brain drain" to the US from Europe and the developing countries is an irritant in our relations and a drag on economic development. Should the US take more, and if so, what steps to diminish this "drain"?
5. Whither SEATO and CENTO?

When the Open Forum Panel was established and went into operation in August 1966, it was decided that the members' terms would be for six months, except that five of the original members would serve for three months thus allowing for only one half the panel membership to be replaced at one time. The original members were:

William A. Bell
Evan R. Berlack
Richard A. Dwyer
William E. Landfair
William Luers
Samuel W. Lewis
William H. Marsh
James R. Newcomer
Francis J. Scidner
Larry Williamson

To date, the Panel has received and acted upon 117 ideas of which 9 have been sent to the Secretary.

Present Panel membership is as follows:

Evan R. Berlack
David E. Bilchik
Peter Geithner
Charles H. Gustafson
H. Huntington Janin
Samuel W. Lewis
William H. Marsh
Charles E. Rushing
Francis J. Seidner
Larry Williamson

Service Glimpses

Washington. Foy D. Kohler, President of the American Foreign Service Association, greets City Councilman Walter E. Fauntroy at the November 30 Association luncheon. The Reverend Fauntroy replaced Mayor Walter Washington as speaker at the luncheon.

Stockholm. Ambassador and Mrs. William W. Heath are greeted by pre-kindergarten students at the Anglo-American School here on a recent visit.

Paris. Sevim Joyce, wife of Vincent Joyce, USIA, is pictured with one of her paintings at the showing at the Galerie Messine recently. The show, Mrs. Joyce's second in Paris, was a critical success and drew excellent notices in LE MONDE, LES LETTRES FRANCAISES and on TV.

Bangkok. Jepsen Sons, in Thailand this past summer, were shocked to hear about all the protest songs. So they recorded the following songs: "Thanks America," "Friendly Happy People," and others. The record, by the group shown above, is available for $1.00 from Darwin H. Jepsen, USOM/BUREC, APO San Francisco 96346.

Bern. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. John S. Hayes, wife of the Ambassador, the American Embassy Wives Group organized and staged on old-fashioned Country Fair on the grounds of a stately chateau. Scenes below and right.

IS THE FOREIGN SERVICE LOSING ITS BEST YOUNG OFFICERS?

ELIZABETH A. BEAN
HERBERT J. HOROWITZ

"I look back on my four years in the Foreign Service with great disappointment. I was prepared to undergo the financial difficulties if the job was meaningful. It wasn't and I didn't have the patience to wait the additional time to see if eventually it might become so."

The above statement was made by an ex-FSO who is now an Assistant Professor of Political Science at a large university. It is typical of the sentiments expressed by former FSOs who responded to a resignations study conducted by the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club (JFSOC) in its quest to provide an objective answer to the question posed by the title of this article.

Based on the results of the survey, the typical junior officer resignee is likely to have entered the Foreign Service as an FSO-8 at about 25 years of age with his military service completed and a master's degree or its equivalent in hand. There is a 60 percent chance that he held a full time job prior to entry—if he did, he probably took a pay cut in order to join the Foreign Service. During his approximately three years as an FSO, he gained brief acquaintance with several functions, but spent the largest portion of his time in consular work. Upon leaving the Service, he returns to academic life, either to teach or to obtain his doctorate. Although his reasons for resigning are manifold, he leaves the Service primarily because he feels that his work has not been sufficiently challenging, and he has seen little to reassure him regarding his future prospects. He has now been away from the Service for about two years and feels that his present job provides him with greater challenge than he would have had, had he remained in the Foreign Service. He harbors no great resentment toward the Service, regarding his experience merely as disappointing.

Concern over the loss of high-caliber young Foreign Service officers has been expressed with growing frequency in recent years throughout the Foreign Service. Last year, in an extensive official study of junior officer problems, Ambassador Outerbridge Horsey, after examining "the complete files of 24 officers in Classes 6, 7, and 8," who had recently resigned, noted that "we are clearly losing some good men."

We in JFSOC have also detected among many of our Foreign Service acquaintances—both junior and more senior officers—feelings of growing doubt about the Foreign Service, although no one seems very certain about the real source of this uneasiness. We wanted to study these doubts in a way which would go beyond the continuing individual, personal and sometimes petty complaints heard in any large organization. So we turned to the people who had met this moment of truth in the Foreign Service and had actually resigned. By finding out as much as we could about their backgrounds and reasons for leaving, we hoped to learn more about the things which need to be done to improve the Foreign Service and enable those of us who remain to carry out its designated role more capably.

JFSOC's Committee on Information and Statistics surveyed all FSOs who had entered the Service after January 1, 1960 and who had subsequently resigned from the FSO Corps for voluntary reasons as of December 31, 1966. Predictably, the vast majority of these resignations occurred among persons who had entered the Service from 1960 through 1964. A gross attrition (for all reasons) rate of about 20 percent had occurred among those who had entered the Service between 1960 and the end of 1964. Of that 20 percent, about 14 percent were voluntary male resignees; this group, of 100 men, comprised the basis of our study.

The Design of the Survey

Our findings are based on a 57 percent return; given our inability to find correct addresses for some resignees, the return is quite substantial. Many of the respondents expressed enthusiasm for the JFSOC survey and hoped that this type of effort would help to improve the Service. The unofficial nature of the survey was clearly stated, and the respondent was offered the option of remaining anonymous. Nearly all, nevertheless, signed their names. There is no reason to believe that failure to return questionnaires significantly skewed the results.

The questionnaire covered four principal topics: prior experience and background, Foreign Service experience, current occupation and finally, reasons for resigning. JFSOC is also in the process of tabulating the results of an attitude survey of all junior officers in the Department and abroad, and for which a 70 percent response was received. We were thus able to use as a control group, a random sample of FSO contemporaries to the resignees.

The most striking conclusion in comparing the backgrounds of those who resign to their peers who remain, is that the resignees as a group are substantially better educated and are more likely to have had prior business or professional experience. While at the undergraduate level there are few differences worth noting, almost twice as many resignees possess advanced degrees, and they are more likely to be LLBs, PhDs, and graduate students in economics.

Where Do Resignees Go?

Upon leaving the Foreign Service, 22 entered graduate school and twelve more returned to academia as teachers or as administrators. Of the remaining 23, nine took other

government jobs, nine entered business, four defied classification and one did not respond. Discounting the six who have subsequently moved from graduate studies into teaching, only five have held more than one position since resigning.

The strong bent toward academia displayed by the resignees should not be regarded as any sort of aberration: Our FSO control group indicated a similar inclination when queried about an alternate choice to a Foreign Service career.

Salaries and Responsibility

"The fact that I more than doubled my total remuneration was not what caused me to leave the Foreign Service! What did cause me to leave was that after four years of Foreign Service training, I was second of two Visa Officers in Rome—after six months training in industry, I took over as manager of an oil company producing 35,000 barrels per day."

JFSOC's efforts to determine differences in salary and responsibility were complicated by the large number in graduate school. This accounts for the large size of the "no response" category. Only persons with full-time jobs were included in determining salary statistics; a number of those in graduate school had fairly substantial fellowships, but were nevertheless omitted in the salary computations.

The average ex-FSO increased his salary by about $1,900 in moving to his new occupation, although the range in increased remuneration was from $300 to more than $10,000. Only seven resignees took pay cuts (ranging from $300 to $2,000) in changing occupations. The present average salary of the resignees is in the $12,000 range. Since many of the resignees would now probably be in the FSO-5 category had they remained in the Service, this would seem to substantiate the allegation that salary considerations—at least in the immediate sense—are not prime motivators of resignations.

While salary considerations undoubtedly influenced some resignees, the prospect of increased responsibility and challenge seemed more significant. Seventy percent of those responding said that from the outset their new career involved greater responsibility, against only ten percent who said they had less responsibility; almost 80 percent felt that their present position offered more responsibility than they would now have, had they remained in the Service; only about five percent projected less responsibility in this latter instance.

What Did They Do in The Foreign Service?

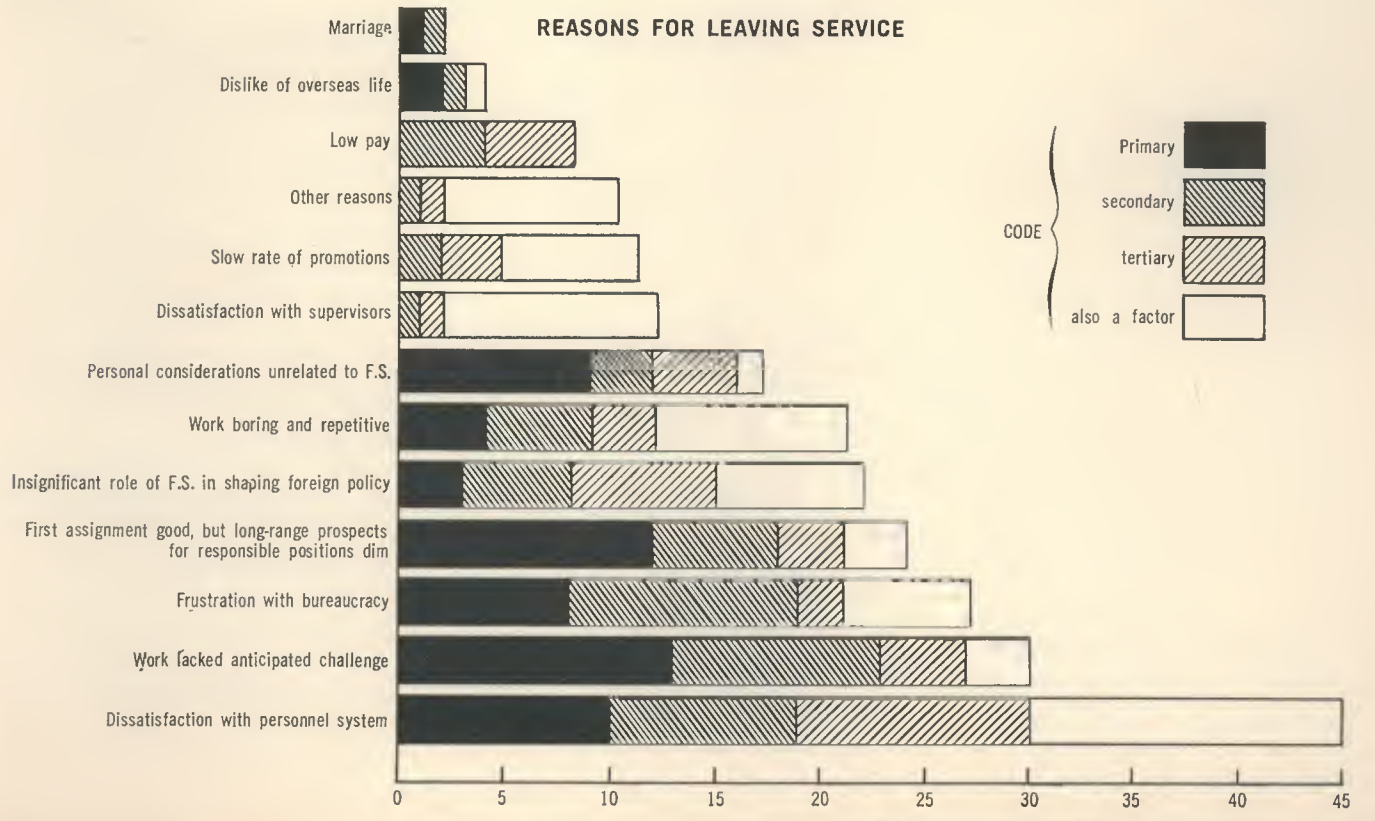
Responses to our questionnaire indicate that the resignees had the usual assignments with the usual responsibilities that mark the beginning of a career as a Foreign Service officer. The pervading impression derived from this experience was expressed rather bluntly by one resignee who complained against "the practice of assigning Junior FSOs to tasks which can be equally well done by a clerk with only an 8th grade education" and which he felt to be "a waste to the nation and utter frustration to the Junior FSO."

That the resignees were highly regarded by their superiors, as shown by other official evidence, is further substantiated by a look at their promotion record. Some 79 percent of the resignees received at least one promotion, and 20 percent received two promotions. Of the 21 percent never promoted, the average length of service before resigning was only 21 months (Class 8) and 15 months (Class 7). In view of the short period of service involved and the "long wait" for promotion required at the time, those who were not promoted do not weaken the very strong evidence that the resignees do indeed represent the high performance young men which the Service strives to attract and retain.

Another point worth noting is that 42 percent of the resignees were assigned to Washington at the time of their resignation. No doubt this high percentage is a reflection of the opportunities during a Washington assignment to compare future prospects with friends and contemporaries in other fields of endeavor, to investigate the job market personally, and to feel the financial pinch involved in a tour in the Department.

Why They Departed

"Boredom; lack of creative leeway; uninspiring and occasionally shocking superior officers; atmosphere among bright younger officers dismal and increasingly



pessimistic in face of bureaucratic system. . . Had the interpersonal atmosphere been one of enthusiastic cooperation and exploration, the clerkish work load might have been bearable for a longer period."

This was typical of the views of many who wrote spontaneous comments on why they resigned. To permit tabulation of the results, however, the questionnaire listed a number of possible reasons for resigning and asked the respondent to indicate in order, those that applied to him. He was then invited to add any comments or additional factors which he felt relevant. Over half the respondents gave as the primary reason for their resignation one of the following three reasons:

"Jobs did not provide the anticipated challenge."

"First assignments were good, but long range prospects for jobs of significant responsibility seemed dim."

"Work was boring and repetitive."

Another significant group checked "frustration with bureaucracy" or "dissatisfaction with the personnel system" as the determining factors in their resignations. Only about 20 percent listed reasons such as "personal considerations unrelated to the Foreign Service" and "dislike of living and working overseas" as primary factors.

The Personnel System

"I was pained by the administration of personnel matters, which makes the officer a pawn of the apparatus, with little chance to shape his own career. The concept of a disciplined service is too often used to cover up inefficiency and rigidity."

We were impressed by the fact that about 80 percent of the respondees stated dissatisfaction with the personnel system was a factor—albeit usually not a major consideration—in their decision to resign. Those who had so indicated were then asked to specify their dissatisfactions and the complaints were as follows (sometimes more than one was listed by individual):

"Presssures to Conform" (39% marked)

"When I joined the local American Men's Club, my efficiency report recommended me for promotion (I had previously been passed over). It was beneath the dignity of the Consul General at my first post to speak to me directly except at staff meetings, or to say good morning (there were only 10 of us). When he wished to give me instructions, he passed them to his secretary who then relayed his orders to me."

"Lack of Concern or Consideration for Individual" (28% marked)

"Department not nearly aggressive enough in backing its people up. The military services do— and still manage to get their yearly appropriations."

"The Assignment Process" (25% marked)

(This tended to be elaborated in terms of amazement over illogical assignments and foul-ups.)

"Career Counseling and Development" (13% marked)

"This was terrible. Just before resigning, I was offered a Junior Staff Assistant Position in a geographic bureau. PER called me in to say they were reluctant to let me take the slot because I had already had an 'unusually' responsible job (S/S) and they didn't want to 'spoil me for what I could expect in the next ten years.' I was sternly warned to expect boredom, frustration, and insignificance for some time to come. I was told that my chief weaknesses were that I was 'impatient with stupidity' and 'bored with trivia'."

The Role of the Foreign Service

"The State Department can do much to improve its administrative procedures. . . . The Department's basic problem, however, is that it is only one, and not the most important one, of several agencies making foreign policy."

This and other similar statements were indicative of a feeling that, despite the novelty of the initial tours and perhaps a worthwhile rotational/training experience at the first post, future prospects for positions of increasing responsibility were not bright. This fear appears to be closely related to a widely-held belief that the Department of State or at least career FSOs play only a minimal role in foreign policy formulation. This viewpoint has been expounded and attacked countless times in publications and in conversations among FSOs and will not be explored further here. The important point here is that many people resign because their Foreign Service experience convinces them that the Foreign Service is obsolescent, either in general or within the range of their own career prospects. Other statements indicative of this attitude included the following:

"I would recommend the Foreign Service only to a person who has mediocre talent, little personal initiative, is satisfied with filling bureaucratic slots, nominal prestige in foreign countries and regulated foreign travel and is willing to start another career in his early 50's."

". . . the Foreign Service is no place for an extremely ambitious person, which I feel I am."

While a good number of the departed FSOs seemed to carry away a high degree of respect for most of the Foreign Service officers they had known, others mentioned incidents of shocking ignorance or pettiness.

"I do not sign my name to this form because. . . . (the FSO) to whom I submitted my reasons for resigning stated that if I did not resign for 'personal reasons,' my initial letter of resignation would be used against me in the future."

The above statement is also indicative of what a number of other ex-FSOs felt to be the bungling, unsympathetic character of the resignation procedure:

"This is the first time anybody has bothered to inquire as to the reasons for my resignation—I have come to believe that State is tangled in a maze of bureaucracy and seeks, happily ineptly, to realize ends detrimental to the well-being of the peoples of the world,"—this from a former FSO now a professor of Political Science!

Fortunately, resignees who fault the Foreign Service for treating those who choose to leave as moral turncoats are not embittered for the most part. Sixty-one percent said they would still recommend a Foreign Service career to others; an additional 21 percent would also make such a recommendation, but with definite reservations.

Given the large number of former FSOs who continue in the foreign affairs field, it would seem to be in the Department's interest to examine the charge that it treats voluntary resignation as an immoral act against the career system.

An Analysis of the Results

If the JFSOC study is reasonably accurate—and we believe this to be so—the typical young resignee is neither the "wet behind the ears" college kid nor the unstable job-hopper. We found little evidence that he possesses negative qualities relative to his contemporary still in the service. In most respects the two appear to be quite similar. But, the resignee does possess two notable assets: He is more likely to have a graduate degree, and it is more likely to be a marketable graduate degree (PhD, Law, Economics). He is also more likely to be regarded as an above average officer by his superiors. Thus, whatever else one might say, it appears that the Foreign Service is losing a number of highly intelligent, well-regarded young officers many of whom possesss skills which, according to Department officials, are in short supply in the Foreign Service.

What should the Foreign Service do about this situation? There are three possible courses of action. The first would be to deny the existence of any problem. The Foreign Service attrition rate is not yet particularly high relative to that among junior executives in large corporations or other federal agen-

(*Continued on page* 44)

UNIQUE MEMORIAL TO A HERO

H. S. TUCKER

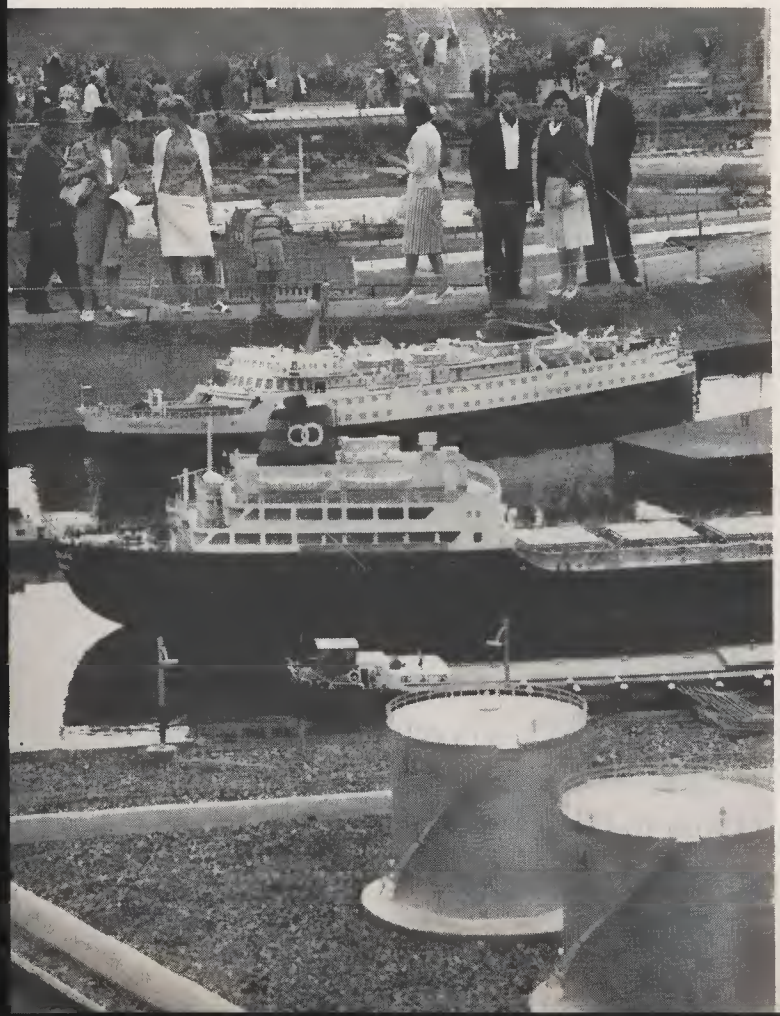
"It's tulip time in Holland," reminisces the nostalgic old lyric of the mid-Thirties. In the Holland of the Sixties, the tulips have a tourist rival: Madurodam, a miniature village in the Hague. Here on a scale of 1 to 25, skilled Dutch artisans have miniaturized in striking, graphic style, many aspects of the Netherlands.

Financed by the parents of George J. L. Maduro as a memorial in his honor, the village is a lasting tribute to the Leyden University student from Curacao who displayed such courage in the underground movement during World War II that he was posthumously awarded Holland's Military Order of William. Since its completion in 1952, more than ten million visitors have marveled at Madurodam's castles, canals, and churches, together with its gardens, houses, and harbors, all designed in infinite detail. And, of course, windmills, too.

Madurodam was two years in the making and, like any other respectable city, is dynamically undergoing frequent face-liftings. Its more than 200 buildings, ranging from a mere eight inches up to six and a half feet high, represent every era and industry of Dutch history from medieval times to now, complete with the people, vehicles, and trappings of their times. Picturesque grind organs in ancient streets waft their tunes to the air, while at other corners parade bands oompah their martial strains. At night 45,000 lights twinkle from every square inch of Madurodam's ten acres.

Equally unique is this fascinating little city's own municipal government, enthusiastically presided over by Mayoress Crown Princess Beatrix. Thirty boys and girls comprise the municipal council, elected each year by students of schools in The Hague. The council makes all decisions on expansion, modernization, and various other administrative matters, with each member contributing vacation time to assisting in management of the miniature city.

All Madurodam's revenue is given to the Netherlands Students' Sanatorium and to date it has received more than $300,000.



WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

At first glance the headline looks so cheerful: "Retiree Pay Rises 3 Percent." The article says it applies to 800,000 Civil Service employees and 500,000 military. A three percent boost for all of them in either April or May.

But this does not apply to retired Foreign Service officers. They come under less happy regulations. Whereas the Civil Service employes and military get the rise whenever living costs rise at least 3 percent and stay there for at least 90 days, Foreign Service annuities go up only when living costs go up three percent and stay that way *for a year.*

A bill, S.2003, now before the House, designed to put the Foreign Service on equal terms with the Civil Service, got bogged down in November and December. All one can do is betake oneself to the nearest church and pray for S.2003—that it is enacted early in 1968. Thousands of retired Foreign Service officers would breathe easier.

Art and History

This item should emphasize timing. If you would like to see the Smithsonian's refulgent exhibit of "Three Centuries of Peruvian Silver" (Museum of History and Technology) you must get there by February 14. After that you will be able to see the show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and then back to Peru it goes.

This is a rare occasion, this collection of some 200 pieces of the silversmith's art ranging over a dynamic stretch of three and a half centuries. As an opportunity it rates with the exhibit of Chinese art that took place in Burlington House, London, in the early thirties and the Persian show in New York in the early forties. The Peruvian silver collection at the Smithsonian is more than an art show: it is a historical show, tracing the cultural evolution of the west coast of South America from the Chimu and Inca Empires, passing through the conquistadores and the viceroyalty to the era when the various territories became independent countries.

For silver itself, it was a memorable age. Silver flowed from the ground, enriching not only Spain and the Spanish government but eventually its prodigal flow was enough to create rich treasures in the church and the houses of rich burghers. Spanish techniques were picked up in no time by the natives. It was a happy coincidence: vast supplies of the metal and artists to turn it into beautiful objects.

If you have time, look up these masterpieces: a silver altar (worthy to rank with the one in the cathedral of Palermo), a tea safe, two triptych niches and a figure of St. Isadore ploughing with two oxen.

Most Peruvian silver people see outside of Peru emphasizes the dizzier aspects of Platteresque and Churrigueresque. This collection indeed shows examples of over-ornate decoration, but for the most part one sees surprisingly austere designs, particularly in such handsome household objects as plates, basins, jugs and candlesticks. Some of these objects remind one of the temperate spirits who designed English silver in the time of William and Mary.

Dedicated to Loafing

"O happy January is the month for me."—Hungarian folk saying.

By and large January may be the laziest month in the year. Chores and obligations ease off. For householders, there is no longer any need to rake leaves. It is too cold to paint outdoor surfaces. The ground is too frozen for planting things. Snow shoveling is, of course, a menace but early in 1968 rain had a tendency to follow snow and melting took place rapidly. Even as far north as Vermont snow was in short supply and the ski slopes needed it desperately. In Washington, it is almost an academic subject, anyway. Most householders are too lazy to shovel snow and they leave their walks and drives in a condition that would fetch a call from the police in many cities.

January is also free of obligatory menus. All the turkey-goose-duck charade is over and you can eat what you want. There is also a surcease from all those gala parties. It was no longer necessary to sit frozen in stadiums, all dressed up like an Eskimo, cheering for Old Gulch College—all because you felt it was your duty or (even sillier) because someone gave you free seats. All those gifts you were foolish enough to buy in the first place or other people were foolish enough to give you, have now been returned to the shops. Obligatory trips are now completed (e.g., "We always feel we have to go to Aunt Tryphosa's New Year's Eve party in Tacoma").

The department stores are orgies of "rock-bottom bargains." Scene in one shop: In an isolated corner of the men's department there was a massive table loaded with pink shirts. Two customers, a Negro woman and a white man, were burrowing into the helter-skelter piles looking for the right collar and sleeve sizes. A salesman flitted by, "Whale of a bargain, folks. We're over-stocked on pink." It was a bargain, indeed: $1.25 a shirt. The man reflected: "After all they can't arrest you for wearing pink." For a moderate investment it would be possible to lay in a ten-year supply of garden shirts, work shirts, going-to-the-supermarket shirts.

Two loud-voiced women passed. "Oh Cora, look at those pink shirts. Did you ever see such excruciating vulgarity?" They passed on.

The Negro woman crumpled. "Did you hear what she said? I wonder now if my husband would like pink? Are you taking any?"

"Yes indeed! I'm taking all this pile. They come from a good maker and they're a knockout bargain. Surely you wouldn't let that stupid woman change your mind."

The salesman came back. Two happy customers departed with their booty.

To sum up: January is the month for doing what you want, for indulging yourself. You can go deer hunting. Tootle around a roller skating rink or read that hefty "History of the Early Christian Church" given to you by Uncle Lester, ill-advised as usual, for your Christmas present.

At Least Hope

"Waging war on gobbledygook," says the Foreign Service Institute, is one of the aims of a new 12-hour course in effective writing. Students will not only strive to get the gobbledygook out of their systems but they will also concentrate on "sentence structure, unity of thought, proper use of words and techniques of revision."

Wouldn't it be pleasant to think that all graduates would emerge from the course purified of all evil influ-

ences, such as saying "purchase" when "buy" would do well enough, "perspiring" for "sweating," "lady" for "woman," "home" for "house," "soiled linen" for "dirty clothes," etc. No more would young men telephone to older men and say, "'This is Mr. Jones calling." And banished from the vocabulary forever would be "it's real good," "hopefully," "black tie, candle-lit dinner," "fact finding tour," "discipline," "cadres," etc.

February Award

Perhaps the award goes too often to impulsive thinkers, flamboyant types who get a roaring whirl in the newspapers. Well, admittedly they contribute to the gaiety of nations, but from time to time we must stop and pay homage to more equable temperaments.

Take the case of Albert Pember who lives in Christchurch, England. Albert was only 24 years old when he went to his wedding and to the wedding party that followed immediately thereafter. After the fun the bride's father and mother said firmly, if inexplicably, "clear out, get going."

Albert cleared out and never saw his wife again. Nevertheless he continued to send her "maintenance money" at the rate of two pounds a week ($4.80 now but more in earlier days). Last week, patience ran out and Albert, now 66, went to court about it. The magistrate reduced it to one shilling (12 cents) a year.

Thought on Original Thoughts

The editorial "Judgment Deferred" in this issue evokes the opening of George Meredith's "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel":

"Our new thoughts have moved dead bosoms."

Three Misunderstood Characters

The three least understood characters in opera are Rhadames in Aida, Gilda in Rigoletto and Georges Germont in La Traviata.

Rhadames is presented as an outstanding military leader. In reality he knew nothing of military strategy and his intelligence service was so rudimentary that he couldn't even find out that he was to be named leader of the Egyptian forces in the Ethiopian Campaign. Charles Spofford, distinguished lawyer, former president of the Metropolitan Opera, and now chairman of its Executive Committee opines that Rhadames's military career was probably limited to a mule barge on the Nile. Edward Barry, art critic of the Chicago TRIBUNE, thinks that Rhadames was pitifully lacking in horse sense. "If he had played it cool, he would have been up for something less grave than treason."

Gilda is usually taken to be an innocent, sweet maiden who didn't dream she was being led astray. Actually she was a natural born slut.

Germont gives himself out as an aristocrat. The truth: lower bourgeoisie.

Dark Thoughts

As if life weren't dingy enough Walter Lippmann popped onto the television screen to give a somber view of the universe. The United States, he opined, was going through the worst time it had had in his 77 years of life. He added: "I am more worried about the state of the country than I have ever heen before. What I see is the disintegration of hope and belief and willpower and morale." No one ever accused Walter Lippmann of taking a Danny Kaye view of life, but this was pretty strong stuff even for somber thinkers. There was a vast audience that night because many people who cannot abide five minutes of television, turned it on that night to sample the new National Education Network, free of all advertising and shored up by the Ford Foundation. It was a joy to escape the advertising gurgle but the program was not an unmitigated joy. It was too diffuse, too prolix: it needed a general tightening up.

New Break Through in Merchandising

A super market advertises "Assistant Manager's Week. Earth shaking prices!" Below is given the earthquake prices on many indispensables in the American home: Hair Fluffers, Fabulous Flakes, Blue Halo, Cashew Patties, Family Size Chunky Bars.

Let us hope this new trend catches on. We will then be free from those b o r i n g, old-fashioned department store binges such as Five Star Day, Red Letter Day, etc. The way is now open for Bobby Baker Day, Topless Tootsies Day, Governor Wallace Day, Muhammad Ali Day, Barbra Streisand Day and—in honor of the past—Nicholas Murray Butler Day.

Racial Tangle

Our Caribbean correspondent tells us that in the city of Santo Domingo he has found a Chinese restaurant with the unlikely name of "Mario's." Its specialty: "sweet and sour ravioli."

Peaks on Parnassus

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

There are no fields of amaranth this side of the grave: there are no voices, O Rhodopé, that are not soon mute, however tuneful; there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler

"Thank you, but never mind me. Please run and tell the ambassador that both *punch bowls are spiked!"*

Europe's Card Kings

J. J. HANLIN

CZECHS, Slovaks, Austrians, Croatians, Slovenians, Hungarians and countless others born in Central and Eastern Europe recognize the word *Piatnik*. Curiously, it is regarded as a word and not the name of a family, But before the war the Piatnik family supplied almost all the playing cards for Central and Eastern Europe.

"Ah, *Piatnik* isn't with me tonight," the Austrian will say, getting up from his game of *Schnapsen*.

Vienna could not only be considered the musical Capital of the world, but the card-playing capital. When Viennese get into a dispute over cards, they don't fight. They submit to arbitration. They piek up the phone and actually call one of the Piatniks and let him decide who is right.

"I've just talked to Piatnik," a Viennese will say, "and he told me—"

This homey atmosphere of the Piatnik family is difficult to reconcile with its solid business achievement. Despite its huge factory printing cards for many lands, the family has never let success go to its head and it keeps its telephone lines free. It is as though a Piatnik is sitting in on every game and deciding the rules. But what is more important, deciding who should win.

"That Piatnik!" a Central European will groan. "He hasn't given me a good hand all evening."

The Piatnik legend began over 140 years ago when a Viennese, Ferdinand Piatnik, opened a small shop in the city's seventh district to make playing cards. He turned the firm over to his three sons and in those days the card business seemed as secure as the House of Habsburg. The Piatniks built factories in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and developed their own paper mill in Slovenia.

"At the end of World War I," Dr. Ernest Ragg, whose mother is a Piatnik and who runs much of the business today, told me, "it looked like having factories in countries like Poland and Yugoslavia was a lucky thing indeed. My grandfather, Ferdinand III, was doing a fantastic business. I spent much of my childhood at the paper mill in Yugoslavia."

But then "lady luck" turned on the Piatniks with the arrival of World War II and a peculiar incident later which had nothing to do with wars but almost brought down the house of cards.

Dr. Ragg (pronounced somewhat as we say rock) is not much like the typical American executive. At first glance, he appears to be a university professor dedicated to research. His manner is scholarly and quietly friendly. He speaks English, and I am sure several Slavic languages, in a clear, meticulous voice. He gives the impression of almost perfect inner control and is not alarmed either over what TV might do to card playing or the precarious political position in which Austria finds itself.

The Piatniks survived both World Wars, but the family reeled somewhat in the 1950s from a cumulative misfortune which involved a couple of card sharps and a magician. Suddenly, a scandal popped up from nowhere and endangered the solid reputation built so carefully since the early 1800s.

Ferdinand III served as a court expert during occasional disputes involving the colorful boards. Generally these court cases concerned gambling. Ferdinand's dilemma developed when one man accused the other of reading the backs of cards in a game for big stakes. As the trial developed, the accused admitted that he had read the cards more or less, but that he had not rigged the deck.

"Any man can read a deck of cards," he said.

Ferdinand III, of course, disagreed with this. For if cards could be read from the back without being tampered with, well, the card business and the House of Piatnik were through. Furthermore, he knew that it was impossible . . . or so he thought!

The accused then produced a magician who was also accredited to the Austrian courts as a card expert.

"Can any man read the backs of cards?" he was asked.

"Nearly any deck of cards," the magician said, "can be identified from the back. In other words, the ace of spades will be distinguishable from the king of spades."

The magician was then asked, "Even Piatniks?"

"Yes, even Piatniks—"

The magician was given a new deck of cards and asked to study it thoroughly and then demonstrate to the court what he had said. Everyone knew and played with Piatnik cards and the magician was not given an outside chance. But he was not unnerved. He thumbed through the cards with amazing dexterity . . . studied them for a while. Then he asked that they be shuffled and placed on a table with their backs up.

Shrugging, a court attendant followed his instructions. Then the magician sat down at the table and stared at the cards.

"That is the nine of clubs," he said after close scrutiny.

The attendant turned it over. It was the nine of clubs.

"That is the four of diamonds—"

Once more a card was turned over and it proved to be the four of diamonds!

What happened during the next ten minutes, or so, came so quick and devastating to the Piatniks that today Dr. Ragg can do little more than guess at the events. The amazing magician missed now and then . . . but he came away from the table with a fantastic average. No one can satisfactorily explain the feat even today. He apparently had an unbelievably perceptive mind. As an accredited court expert he was not performing.

It would be nice to conclude this, perhaps, with the statement that it all turned out well. But it didn't. The magician was highly regarded by the court and the Piatniks. The case was tossed out of court, but now the Piatnik family was on trial. The case had been heavily covered by the press due to Vienna's interest in card playing. By the next day the newspapers were carrying headlines accusing the hitherto inviolable Piatniks with producing marked cards.

When Ferdinand III got back to his office, the family sat down to think. Public opinion was a hostile and fickle thing. Meanwhile, there was a further problem. They were trying to develop

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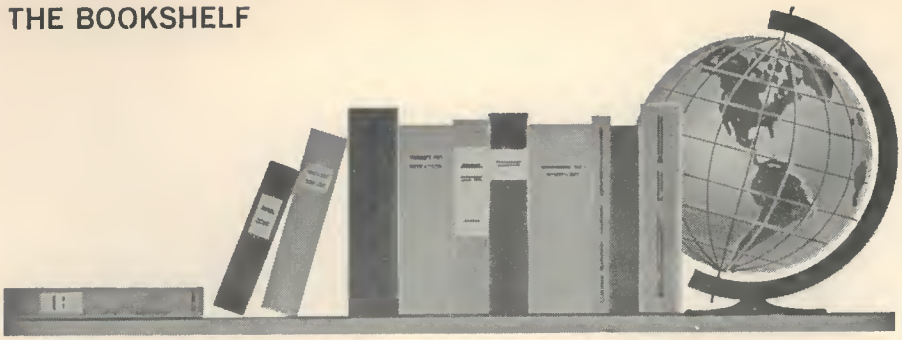
THE BOOKSHELF



What's Up

DURING a recent conversation, I commented to Frank Hopkins that during my tour with the Joint Staff I had worked on studies which attempted to project events to 1980. His rejoinder was, "I don't believe in these short-range projections. They don't provide enough perspective." It seems he had been working on studies which used the year 2000 as their terminal point.

Shortly after this conversation, I had occasion to attend part of a week-long seminar at the Hudson Institute at Croton-on-Hudson. I learned at that time that Herman Kahn and his staff have plunged with all their feet into a study of the remainder of this millennium. Kahn took advantage of the Seminar to merchandise his new book, "The Year 2000." I am glad he did, for otherwise I might never have read it. And having read it, I would like to commend it to my colleagues.

"The Year 2000" is one of the fruits of the Commission on the Year 2000 of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

It is on no account an attempt to predict what will happen during the rest of this century. Rather, the authors have designated it "a framework for speculation on the next thirty-three years."

Now I recognize that most of us, preoccupied with our memoranda and cables, are not predisposed to think in terms of a third of a century. I might point out, however, that the careers of officers coming into the service now will span most of this period. Many of us older ducks will see the year 2000, if only from the rocking chair. In any event, we are all fated to work and live through at least part of this precarious period, and we should try to sharpen our techniques for penetrating the fog of the future.

While Kahn and Wiener's projections are provocative, they are more interested in developing ways of thinking about the future than a blueprint. Kahn is fond of the scenario. While this device is used some in the State Department, I suspect not often enough. The technique is to start from a given situation, such as a proposed policy decision, and to describe how events might unfold. When you come to a fork in the road, you can examine as many as seem useful. And "useful" does not necessarily mean the most plausible.

The scenario has several advantages over the analytical paper. The main one is that it permits examination of a course of action over time. Another is that it makes it difficult to ignore awkward factors, a weakness most of us are subject to—especially when we are trying to prove a point.

Kahn and Wiener use as their centerpiece a "basic, long-term multifold trend," which includes thirteen aspects. These include increasingly sensate (pragmatic, hedonistic, etc.) cultures, increasing tempo of change, and increasing capability for mass destruction.

It will surprise many, who consider Kahn (incorrectly) a forecaster of nuclear war, that he considers what he calls a Central War less than likely—although possible enough to warrant thinking about. On the whole, Kahn and Wiener are reasonably optimistic about the future, if one takes as his criterion mankind's ability to avoid destroying itself. It is a sad commentary on the coming decades that this is not a frivolous criterion.

After examining in some detail their Standard World, the authors examine a number of possible variations, which they call "Canonical Variations." When compared with the more pessimistic variations, their Standard World—with all its imperfections—does not look too bad.

Kahn and Wiener admit that their Standard World is largely "surprise free." That is, it does not take into account the types of unexpected events which have marked the first two-thirds of this century. No one enjoying the feeling of relative well-being which characterized the opening of this century could have foreseen World War I, the Russian Revolution, the Great Depression, World War II, or the atom bomb. Yet, these watersheds have largely shaped our modern world. Kahn and Wiener cross their fingers and foresee no similar developments on the horizon. They recognize, however, that a surprise is always a surprise and hence unforeseeable. Against this prospect, one can only hedge and hope.

Having recommended this book almost without reservation, I feel constrained to record a few reservations. The authors predict—accurately—that the reader may find their synoptic style of presentation at times a bit hard to digest. They also apologize for use of such words as synergistic, propadeutic, and heuristic. While I can understand their desire for precision, I still doubt that their esoteric vocabulary is always necessary or even useful. I also wish that the proofreader had been a bit more compulsive, even though he provided me with my only laugh during the chapter on "Some Possibilities for Nuclear War" "If . . . the result of this encounter between a large nuclear power and a small one was stalemated . . . the possession of even small nuclear forces would come to be perceived as an immense *boom.*"

These are, however, niggling criticisms, and I should like to leave no one in doubt that I recommend this book. If, after reading it, you want—and at least some of you will—to get better acquainted with the thinking of Herman Kahn, you might attend one of his seminars at the Hudson Institute.

—JOHN C. AUSLAND

THE YEAR 2000, *by Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener. Macmillan, $9.95.*

The South African Problem

As many of us in the State Department and the Foreign Service know to our sorrow, there are a number of international problems which are highly emotional and seemingly insoluble in character. One of these is the problem of South Africa and its racial policy of apartheid or separate development.

Allen Drury, the author of "A Very Strange Society," is one of the few successful journalists who has also turned successful novelist. This book, however, is not a novel but a serious study of a serious problem to which he devoted a year of research and study before spending two months in South Africa. These two months of July and August 1966 turned out to be exceptionally well timed. The new Parliament convened in Capetown (at a period of the year when it is usually in recess). The judgment of the International Court of Justice in the long pending contentious case brought

against South Africa by Ethiopia and Liberia over the issue of South West Africa was handed down. At the end of Drury's visit to Capetown he was granted an interview by Prime Minister Verwoerd, who shortly thereafter was dramatically assassinated before the whole House of Assembly and packed galleries by a deranged employee of Parliament. Drury had also interviewed the Minister of Justice, John Vorster, who was soon chosen to succeed Dr. Verwoerd as Prime Minister.

The format of the book is rather unusual, but lends itself to an objective study of this most intractable of racial problems. It consists of the author's own narrative and comments, interspersed with numerous interviews with lengthy direct quotations, with newspaper items and editorials (mostly from the English language opposition press), and with statistical material attributed to official sources.

The author endeavors, with considerable success, to balance his description of the injustices which the non-white peoples of South Africa suffer with his reporting of the justification for these injustices given him by the leaders and supporters of the ruling Nationalist Party. This Party, so firmly entrenched in power, is determined to protect, not only for this generation but for generations to come, the "Afrikaner Volk" together with their Afrikaans language and their Calvinist religion. The book is therefore noteworthy in this respect, because both sides of the story are seldom given in an objective and an emotional manner in books on the subject. Nevertheless, because of this objectivity, the book is bound to be criticized by both the partisans and the enemies of the policy of separate development.

There are a number of surprising errors in the book. For example, in connection with the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa, it is stated that Ethiopia and Liberia were not members of the League of Nations. The fact is of course that it was because these two nations were the only tropical African states which were members of the League that they initiated the case before the International Court.

The author also has a number of pet peeves, among them "second level American diplomats" and the "children" in the State Department. Moreover, he lessens the objectivity of his book by his intemperate references to the tropical African states.

On the whole the South African Government and the Nationalist Party should be pleased that their side of the story has been reported so extensively and objectively. They will not, however, be pleased with the author's indictment of the injustices and disregard of basic human rights that are built into the policy of separate development as it is presently being implemented.

Serious students of South Africa's incredibly complicated racial problem will read "A Very Strange Society" with special interest. The more casual reader will learn a great deal about South Africa and the society which the author understandably finds so strange.

—J. C. SATTERTHWAITE

A VERY STRANGE SOCIETY, *by Allen Drury. Trident Press, $6.95.*

Peace-Keeping As a Soldier of the UN

MAJOR-GENERAL CARL VON HORN, scion of a Swedish family with a long tradition of military service, is the exemplar par excellence of a new and unique breed of soldier: the military commander of a mixed international force under United Nations command with the task of establishing order and maintaining peace in such disparate situations as have existed in Palestine, the Congo and Yemen. I mention these particular areas because it was there that General von Horn served as UN field commander over a period of some six years (1958-64). The present book is his personal account of his experiences. It is written in exceptionally lucid and readable style, reflecting the General's command of English and gift for graphic description.

The major portion of the book deals with the period 1958-63 in Palestine, where von Horn served as Chief of Staff (commander) of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). As its name indicates, UNTSO's mission is (or was) to supervise implementation of the terms of the armistice agreements between Israel and its four Arab neighbors (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt). The primary task was to prevent border incidents, or at least to prevent them from developing into major conflicts. Despite all the handicaps under which it labored—notably the deep-seated distrust and often open hostility of the Israeli authorities—UNTSO during von Horn's period of command was remarkably successful in the accomplishment of its thankless task.

The author's account of his experiences is frequently enlivened with anecdotes and descriptive passages that make fascinating reading. Thus his portrait of the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir: "A heavily built lady who seems to exist on a diet of cigarettes and coffee and radiates an aura of what I can only describe as more guts than charm."

Von Horn's story of his experiences in the Congo (1960) and later in Yemen (1963) has the flavor of high adventure rather than prosaic peacekeeping activity. It was in the Congo that he was accused in all seriousness of killing and *eating* a Congolese officer. In Yemen he encountered equally primitive conditions. Thus his description of certain key facilities at his UN mission headquarters in the former harem palace:

> "There were other minor inconveniences. The four priceless bathrooms stood in a row, and appeared to share the same bath water. As soon as I had had a bath in Number One and the water had gurgled down the plughole, it somehow mysteriously contrived to reappear to fill the bathtub in Number Two. This spontaneous process then duplicated itself down the line until in desperation the user of Number Four had to sit on the bath plug to prevent a flow of excessively soapy water welling up into his tub."

Despite the frustrations encountered, General von Horn remains a firm believer in the United Nations—"though nowadays painfully aware of the need, long overdue, of an agonized reappraisal of the whole sector of Peacekeeping Operations, where many hard won lessons seem forgotten. This need applies to the political taskmasters of its member states and the executive secretariat."

The present book graphically underlines the scope and extent of the problems in international peacekeeping under the aegis of the United Nations and suggests some of the steps necessary to make it an effective operation in the future. The book should be required reading particularly for anyone, in government or out, seeking to understand the complexities of the situation in the Middle East, aggravated since it was written by the events of this past June.

—ERIC WENDELIN

SOLDIERING FOR PEACE, *by Major General Carl von Horn. David McKay Co., Inc. $6.95. Illustrated with photographs and maps.*

And The Face of Horror

ABOUT May 10th, 1945 the Battery in which I served was ordered from Linz to the village of Cham in the Bavarian Forest. By one of the chances of war, this lovely pastoral area of rolling fields, slow-moving riv-

ers and dark, pine forests—the very essence of solid drowsy, tourist-poster Bavaria—was the point at which many of the concentration camp death marches were overtaken by advancing American troops. If memory serves, there were in the neighborhood about 40,000 of these half-alive survivors being cared for by Army field hospitals. Those able to walk were seen in hundreds in the streets and lanes of the village, dressed in their striped concentration camp pajamas, the bones and sinews of their heads and arms showing through the skin, their voices weak and distant, their walk a hesitant shuffle, their hold on life still tentative.

But these, both Jew and Gentile, were the lucky ones. Treblinka was a concentration camp east of Warsaw devoted solely to the extermination of Eastern European Jews; in the year of its existence, 800,000 people passed through its gates and were destroyed. Only about 600 people are believed to have escaped from the butchery that was Treblinka. Only 40 survived their first year in the forests, although most of them were alive when Steiner came to write this book, 23 years later. While based on what sources are available, it is a fictionalized version of what was probably the way things were in Treblinka, and especially the unconquerable spirit that impelled the uprising of a handful of Jews at about the time the camp had completed its work.

Not the least of the ghastly heritage the Nazi regime left the world is the haunting question that Western Jewry continues to ask itself—did the six million Jews slaughtered in the concentration camps, and the surviving remnants, do all that they could to protect themselves? Would more have survived if Jewish community functionaries and resources had been used to frustrate German efficiency? Was there some way its victims could have been warned of the monstrous, unbelievable truth of the "Final Solution?"

Steiner attempts to answer these possibly unanswerable, and certainly agonizing questions. This is an almost unbearably painful book to read; Steiner's ironic, matter-of-fact style makes it palatable, and is the only device that could do so. Yet it should be widely read and pondered on, lest we, both Jew and Gentile, become too attached to comforting visions of our own perfectability.

—W. M. KERRIGAN

TREBLINKA, *by Jean-Francois Steiner. Simon & Schuster, $5.95.*

Svetlana and Others

Now the television is carrying less of Svetlana Alliluyeva; and the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution has passed. It is perhaps an opportune moment to sum up Stalin's daughter's "Twenty Letters to a Friend." First, it is of course a very important book. Any book that tells so much at first hand about the world's greatest tyrant is bound to be important. Second, she is certainly not to be blamed for her life that she describes to us, and she can be pitied; but perhaps she is not to be admired. Third, one of the most important facts about Stalin's daughter is that she was not raised in Stalin's image; in fact she saw relatively little of him. Instead, she was raised in the sentimental Russian way, in the tradition of Evgeny Onegin's Tatyana, and principally by her Russian nurse Aleksandra Andreevna, who Svetlana says was "dearer to me than anyone on earth" and whose death forms the most sentimental part of the book.

A reader might well tend to admire the woman for what she has done to make the best of a difficult life—she did, after all, bear the cross of being Stalin's daughter, she did come to realize what evils he had done, and in the end she had the determination to abandon her own country. Yet certainly there are millions of victims of Stalin to admire before one comes to Svetlana. So perhaps the best way to view the book is simply as the chronicle of a rather brave person, born in very staining circumstances, who has important things to add to our knowledge of Russia under Stalin. We have to remember, too, that this is a book written by a daughter about her father, and that daughters love their fathers, as Svetlana did. Yet Stalin did not quite play a father's role; he was rather a great loved personage she saw at times, and less and less in the later years. Eventually, the daughter felt the need to sort out the memories, to make sense out of strange things, and (no doubt) to contest the attacks against a man she loved; the result was the book.

The reader must also keep in mind that Svetlana wrote her book in 1963, at a time when she, like many others, hoped that things might turn freer in Russia. The books begins, in fact, with the sense of great things happening. But the hopes were deceived, and Soviet immobilism leaves even the last of the great purged leaders, Bukharin, still unrehabilitated in his grave and perhaps hardly remembered, though Svetlana remembers in a poignant passage that "long after he was dead, 'Bukharin's fox' was still racing around the Kremlin, which was empty and desolate by that time, and hiding from the people in the Tainitsky Garden. . ."

For hare facts about the present Soviet day read the revised and enlarged edition of "On Trial," Max Hayward's translated texts of the minutes of the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial to which are now added the later protests of other Soviet intellectuals. It is some of these protests which prove that despite half a century of Soviet rule there are still brave Russian intellectuals faithful to their great tradition. Witness, to take only one example, Lidia Chukovskaya admonishing that pitiful hack Sholokhov that "a book, a piece of fiction, a story, a novel—in brief, a work of literature—whether good or bad, talented or untalented, truthful or untruthful, cannot be tried in any court. . . ."

Finally, one can recommend, not as a great book or even an important one but as a revealing picture of Soviet life, "I Am From Moscow," by Yuri Krotkov, a Soviet screen writer who defected while on a trip to England in 1964. The value of the book is mainly in its detailed description of the deceptions and minor illegalities that any citizen has to practice in Moscow in the course of everyday life. True, in some Western countries people evade their taxes; but there is a great difference between that and the constant string of lies (some major, but many of them petty and not even necessary) told by the Russians to those in Authority. The system, Krotkov maintains, has simply made the people crooked.

—PETER BRIDGES

TWENTY LETTERS TO A FRIEND, *by Svetlana Alliluyeva. Harper and Row, $5.95.*
ON TRIAL, *revised and enlarged edition, edited by Max Hayward. Harper and Row, $7.95.*
I AM FROM MOSCOW, *by Yuri Krotkov. E. P. Dutton & Co., $4.95.*

Thoughts on Another Canal

THIS latest in the valuable series of Policy Books issued under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations deals with the construction, operation and defense of a new sea level interoceanic waterway to replace the present Panama Canal. It covers the major elements of the project with concision and clarity and is hence a most useful aid to the understanding of a critical and unresolved aspect of the foreign policy of the United States.

The author, Colonel Immanuel J. Klette of the United States Air Force, does not, except incidentally, touch upon the current negotiations with

Panama for a new treaty covering the existing canal. He is, however, constructively aware of the problems with which those concerned with that waterway, both in Panama and in the United States, have had to contend. Obviously, the outcome of the current negotiations will influence the conditions under which the new canal will be built when the time comes—just as the prospect of a new canal before the end of the century must have influenced the stances of the present negotiators on both sides.

Hopefully, at a later stage in the evolution of world order, this type of facility will be operated by an international organism for the benefit and at the cost of the community as a whole. But under current international conditions, the problem is that of relations between, on the one hand, a great power having the will, the ability and a sense of obligation to build, operate and defend an international waterway of major importance and, on the other hand, the country through the territory of which, by the accident of geography, the canal passes. To what direct and indirect benefits is the fortunate possessor of the essential geography entitled?

Colonel Klette defines the desiderata from the point of view of the United States as involving "a sea-level canal that can accommodate the largest ships, can readily handle the ever-growing needs of world commerce, and is simple and economical to operate and easy to defend." And he recommends that the necessary international arrangements should "(a) provide the facilities which world commerce needs; (b) preserve and strengthen good relations with Panama, the other Central American countries, and Colombia, no matter where the waterway is eventually built; (c) safeguard the security both of the United States and of the Western Hemisphere; and (d) strengthen the inter-American system."

The author's discussion of possible methods of construction and especially of the factors involved in nuclear power for excavation purposes is of particular interest. Throughout he achieves a delicate yet realistic balancing between the technical and the political considerations of this and other problems to be solved before the new sea-level canal becomes a reality. He is to be congratulated on the breadth of understanding and wisdom he shows in his outline of the desirable partnership arrangements between the United States and the host country or countries for the operation of the new canal.

Colonel Klette's work is heartily recommended as a part of the working library of the alert Foreign Service officer; its illumination of the problems of one international waterway is food for thought relative to the many other such situations that concern the world today.

—Philip W. Bonsal

From Atlantic to Pacific. *A new Interocean Canal, by Immanuel J. Klette. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Row, $4.50.*

"Seven Turning Points in US Policy"

That military instrumentalities have superseded the political in the conduct of US foreign policy and that military 'victory' tends to be built on a foundation of political defeat" are the themes of "Abuse Of Power."

Within this heuristic framework, Mr. Draper examines US policy towards Vietnam, after a passing look at US actions vis-a-vis Cuba and the Dominican Republic. His highly critical examination of US involvement in Vietnam is concerned largely with what he views as seven turning points in US policy, beginning in June 1950, when the Truman administration decided to send "economic aid and military equipment" to the French in Indochina, and ending in February 1967, when the bombing of North Vietnam was intensified. Mr. Draper contends that, since "we are constantly told that the United States is fighting in Vietnam by virtue of 'commitments' made as far back as 1954," we must scrutinize the history of our Vietnam policy for the light it may shed on the present and the future.

This book is no objective study of the American presence in Vietnam; it is a charge that "we are flaunting our power recklessly, ineptly and unproductively." It is a warning that "we cannot go on failing politically and 'succeeding' militarily" without finding ourselves with the sort of military victory ruefully contemplated by Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, in 279 B.C.

Unlike some television characters, Mr. Draper is not a happy man dealing with happy problems, and his book is not happy reading. If for US policy-makers, he is at best a secular *advocatus diaboli,* it must be conceded that he writes well and he documents his case. If one wishes to read a passionate indictment of US Vietnam policy, "Abuse of Power" is one of the better works of this kind.

—Robert W. Rinden

Abuse of Power. *by Theodore Draper. Viking Press,* $4.95.

The Chinese Communists, Documented

For the serious student of Chinese Communism this book is a "must."

Professor Theodore H. E. Chen, who is Chairman of the University of Southern California's Asian Studies department as well as Director of the university's East Asian Studies Center, has carefully put together in a single volume English language translations of 43 selected official documents issued since the 1949 takeover.

The only pre-1949 document is a key one for presentation of the others: Mao Tse-tung's view of classes within Chinese society.

There is, of course, the original 1949 proclamation of the People's Republic as well as the much publicized 1965 policy statements of Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi and Defense Minister Lin Pao.

In between are documents on the Constitution, the series of "organic laws," Community Party youth organizations, agrarian reform, people's communes, state capitalism in industry and commerce, trade unions, the marriage law, and many others—including a fascinating 20-point promulgation on "Rules of Conduct for Students." This latter, except for demanding certain quasi-military relationships be-

tween pupil and teacher, could well be a list of scholastic do's-and-don'ts for students anywhere.

"Arrive at the school punctually and attend the classes punctually," the rules read. "Never be late, never leave school early, never miss a class without reason."

Professor Chen, who has taught a course every year since 1950 on the nature of the Communist regime in China, provides penetrating introductions to the documents he has selected for study. Appropriately, he has divided the book into major sections dealing with the birth of the regime, its organization and government, the Chinese Community party, economic policy, and social revolution.

The author naturally has been obliged to omit many important documents in order to retain a readable and logically developed presentation. Although some aspects of Chinese Communist education, foreign policy, and cultural change are included, Professor Chen does not attempt a major treatment of these subjects. Instead, he refers the reader to full length contemporary works in these fields.

He does, however, have his own view about the prospects for success of the present cultural revolution.

"In general," he concludes, "the Communists have shown that they can pass the political and economic tests. They have yet to pass the test of the cultural revolution."

—JAMES O. MAYS

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST REGIME: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY, *by Prof. Theodore H. E. Chen. Frederick A. Praeger,* $8.50.

An Ambassador Looks Backward

IN his introdutcion Ambassador Davis says he is putting down on paper his recollections of his life in the Foreign Service "for the edification of the younger generation." He promises to answer questions like these.

How does one prepare for a career in the Foreign Service? What are the academic requirements? Is there a Foreign Service Academy similar to West Point? What does a Foreign Service officer do to earn his salary?

The author fully keeps his promise. Every bit of necessary information is set down with exactitudc and enough detail to save the reader surmise and conjecture.

But there are other interests: For instance, an encounter with the mechanics of Senator McCarthy's tactics and an encounter with Hungarian Communism in the Vogeler case.

—CHRISTOPHER HUMPSTONE

FEW DULL MOMENTS, *by Nathaniel P. Davis.* (*See advertisement in this issue.*)

the door. A wolf, his head circled with a halo of white fur, had leapt with all his weight at the door. The upper part of his body hung within the bus. It gave off a strong musky odor. He kicked and snarled and snapped his teeth in frustration. Saliva from his open mouth splattered the nearby seats. He scratched desperately with his hind legs trying to cut through the weak barrier of isinglass that held him back.

The woodcutter struck again bringing the ax handle down with all his strength across the beast's muzzle. There was a sickening crack and several teeth fell to the steps of the bus. He struck again and again at the animal's skull until it hung loose and lifeless, bloodied and disfigured.

Overhead a wolf scratched and snapped at the metal of the roof, trying to dig his way into the bus.

"Jesus," one of the men shouted, "we can't fight with our hands."

There was the thump of a wolf leaping against the rear of the bus and a responsive wail from the women and children.

"They'll go away at dawn," someone said reassuringly.

"It's only 8 p.m. now."

More snuffling around the door. The woodcutter braced himself. The end of his ax handle already showed several cracks. Citron was surprised to see a man praying in the aisle.

"Don't be a fool," Citron said bitterly. "We'll be all right."

The woodcutter struck another blow and missed. Cursing, he struck again. A splintering of glass in the rear of the bus sent the women and children screaming and clawing their way forward, away from the evil smelling bundle of fur and gaping jaws that stood dazed and surprised on the rear seat. The beast looked confused. It had been badly cut by the broken glass and it shook its head, flicking gouts of blood over the walls and seats of the bus.

The young hunter took a hesitant step forward, his knife held out before him. Citron pushed his way back through the panic till he reached the young man's side. "Go for him now with your knife," he urged. "Quick, while he's still dazed."

The hunter hesitated. Citron started to reach for the knife but the shout of a man in great pain broke the last thread of human order in the bus.

Citron saw a wolf shoot upward from the stairwell. A second wolf followed the first. He saw the ax handle raised above the rushing grey forms. He saw it fall to the floor. There was a gurgling scream and the rending of flesh.

"Oh, Jesus," the man on his knees in the aisle shouted. "Oh, Jesus."

The wolf on the back seat launched himself at the young hunter and he and Citron went down together under the beast's weight.

THE game of belote was finished. The Mayor had won. In his benevolence he ordered another round of kirsch. As it was served they all sat for a moment in silence.

"To your health," the Mayor said, raising his glass.

They drank and sighed with contentment. The Gendarme turned toward the snowplow driver. "Don't forget your wolf. The dogs will ruin the pelt if you leave it out all night."

"You're right. We'll throw it into a garage later and skin it tomorrow before we return to the valley."

"I would not like to be out in Russia tonight," the Mayor remarked drawing on his pipe. "If it is true what they say in the press about the wolf packs."

"Or even Poland," the cafe owner replied. "This winter has been so bad they will go anywhere in search of food. I wouldn't be surprised if some of them have slipped into Germany."

"Our wolf must be a stray."

"One of the few left in our mountains."

"Thank God, there are only a few."

"Yes, here we are most fortunate." ■

CARD KINGS (*from page 36*)

new markets in foreign lands now that much of Central and Eastern Europe was closed to them. Would this incident ruin the family?

"The magician just had an amazing mind," is the only way Dr. Ragg can explain the event. "Later, he admitted that he could not have performed the same feat during a card game."

Reporters stormed the house of Piatnik. Ferdinand III decided to give every reporter that came a deck of cards and let him study them until his eyeballs bulged.

"When you think you know them," the Piatnik said, "sit down and pass the test."

Journalists, on the whole, are hardly unfamiliar with cards. They did their best. In the end they had to inform the Piatniks and their waiting editors that it was just impossible to read the cards from their backs. Maybe magicians could do it . . . but not any ordinary man. And they all wrote stories rejecting completely the charge that Piatnik cards could be read. Piatnik was Piatnik again and the Viennese settled down to their games assured once more that "lady luck" decided the cards. And again the Piatniks were called on the phone to render decisions.

"It was just one of those things," Dr. Ragg shrugged. "We recall it as one does a nightmare."

There are many colorful games of cards in Central Europe which are played elsewhere only by immigrants from that area. The Piatniks, to a degree, sell to this market abroad. But today they have their eyes cast mainly on the Afro-Asian market. They export cards, however, to over 70 different countries. Do the Piatniks play cards themselves?

"I play bridge," Dr. Ragg shrugged, "but not very well. I am teaching my wife to play . . . but we find it difficult to arrange bridge sessions."

Bridge is played in Vienna generally only by business and professional people. The ordinary Viennese prefers a game of cards where *Piatnik,* or lady luck, plays a greater part. It is customary after work for men to stop off at the winehouse in their neighborhood for a drink and a game of cards before going home to eat. Almost all public eating and drinking places are well supplied with cards.

"The thing is," Dr. Ragg said, "they don't throw those cards away fast enough. Our cards can take a lot of punishment. The secret of our success has been our cardboard. But just because a card is still good doesn't mean you should play with it. I hate to see a soiled card."

New advertising surveys may turn up a lot of facts about the backs of cards. People are always changing their minds as to how the backs should look. They may even want their own private cards. But one danger the Piatniks cannot overlook is the fact that man is extremely prejudiced when it comes to the faces of cards. He admires Piatnik, but Piatnik dare not violate this taboo . . . card faces must remain the same.

"There is something so strong, so traditional about cards," he explained. "We Piatniks can't understand it. Europeans began playing cards in the 14th Century. If those card players could return today, chances are they would recognize the cards right off. There is that much tradition. In a matter of 600 years, or so, man has stuck to the same faces."

Dr. Ragg admits that TV has made some inroads into card playing. But he is not alarmed.

"Man will always play cards," he said. "And I hope he will use Piatniks." ■

LOSING THE BEST? (*continued from page* 32)

cies. The Department could merely resign itself to the expensive process of recruiting large numbers of skilled people in the hope that enough will stay to maintain a career service. However, we would consider that a career service is not strictly comparable to private corporations or other federal agencies where job shifting by young executives is commonplace, expected—and a means to rapid advancement. Furthermore, there is an element of "burying one's head in the sand" to this approach: it implies an acceptance of underutilization of talent and a waste of human and financial resources.

The second possible course of action begins with the premise that in today's Foreign Service fewer and fewer jobs require highly trained people and that therefore the Department should adjust its recruitment policies accordingly. This means concentrating on those less able to market their skills elsewhere, and it may also mean seeking men whose ambitions do not include participation in the highest levels of policy formulation.

A third alternative, of course, is for the Department to meet the problem head-on. Such an approach, however, means questioning assumptions that are usually taken for granted and should include a reconsideration of the entire role and nature of the Foreign Service.

The career projection concept envisioned in the recently revised Mid-Career Officer Program would seem to be a positive step toward overcoming the obvious mistrust of the personnel system—if effectively administered. However, if the FSO career is to remain sufficiently attractive to retain the best talent, even more dynamic approaches must be found. For example, the Department might evolve a policy which guarantees qualified new FSOs specific functional assignments related to their career preferences. Another approach would be to encourage degree-oriented graduate study rather than mere course-taking. The military and many leading corporations do this with considerable success.

We might also consider modifying the present career service concept by instituting extended sabbaticals (perhaps up to five years duration). Willing FSOs would spend several years away from the service in university teaching, foundation work, international law and other occupations where they could gain the broad range of experience and contacts necessary to compete successfully for top leadership positions in the Department and abroad. Increasingly, top corporate executives move laterally rather than simply up within a single company; the sabbatical or some similar system could achieve the same results within the context of a career service.

It is not our intention here to elaborate on proposals which would in themselves constitute fit subjects for further JOURNAL articles. We do wish to emphasize, however, that a career service which proclaims a need for topnotch talent must provide sufficient scope and opportunity for such people to develop to their fullest capacities. Obviously, a large number of the resignees were not made to feel that such opportunities existed or that their skills would be fully utilized.

Modern management theory places increasing emphasis on the development of an employer-employee relationship based on mutual trust and confidence. Modern management also recognizes that of the various needs which motivate an individual, the need for self-fulfillment is paramount in a society where the basic social and security needs are largely satisfied. The mere claim that such opportunities exist becomes meaningless unless the organization's "living system" affirms that conviction in the minds of its employees. The concept of self-fulfillment is, admittedly, elusive and likely to change from generation to generation. But this only serves to emphasize the challenge which the Foreign Service must accept if it wishes to attract and retain the best available talent. ■

AID POLICIES FOR AFRICA (*from page* 19)

For the foreseeable future, however, AID will continue to devote the largest portion of its resources for Africa to certain countries of "development emphasis." When the fiscal year 1968 Congressional Presentation was prepared last winter, there were ten countries in this group—Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia and, taken as a group, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. As of this writing, the break in diplomatic relations with Sudan following the Middle East War in June, has led to an indefinite suspension of that program; and the political uncertainties in Nigeria are likely to result in a considerable reduction in new commitments to that country.

Such unpredictable events frequently happen in Africa. Political prophesy is difficult in Africa, as it involves so many societies which have yet to find their internal political balance. As a result, it is also difficult to make accurate economic projections. Few would have predicted in mid-decade that post-Nkrumah Ghana would rank among the top three or four AID recipients in Africa, in fiscal year 1967. None had predicted the sudden diplomatic break in Sudan.

It is thus entirely possible that certain additional nations may later be considered by AID as development emphasis countries, depending in part on their own development performance and the requirement for AID funds. There is no immutable list.

As indicated earlier, there are about 25 countries which have had AID bilateral programs in the past in which such programs will gradually come to an end. There are five fewer of these in FY 1968 than there were in FY 1967. There will be seven fewer in FY 1969, and only three for a couple of years thereafter.

Finally, an innovation of the FY 1968 Congressional Presentation is the proposal that, even after regular bilateral AID programs have been concluded, there be continued in all developing nations of Africa a small Special Self-Help and Development Fund, whereby the US can offer modest support to purely local, small projects. Successful examples of these include the provision of commodities for well-drilling, school construction, etc. by Peace Corps volunteers and local groups; machinery and tools for a fishing boat building cooperative in Dahomey; equipment for a university soil conservation and reforestation training camp in the Malagasy Republic.

THE challenge of the new policies is tremendous. African development is behind that of other world regions. While its resources are tremendous, they are a long way from full and effective utilization. US assistance to Africa represents only about ten percent of our total aid. Bilateral development programs, involving negotiations with a foreign government, program and project planning, recruitment and placement of advisors, are beset with many practical difficulties. How much more difficult it is to negotiate with several donor and recipient governments simultaneously in a regional project!

Yet, we are convinced that the regional approach—together with multi-donor cooperation in national and regional projects—is the soundest way for us to assist this stage of African economic development. The natural resources are there, although not in equal abundance everywhere. The people are there. Many of them are impatient for progress. Unless they can work together, that progress can not come. Even if they work together, it is going to be a long, hard struggle, one that the present leaders of Africa cannot possibly see to completion. But without this cooperation the epic drama now unfolding will not carry Africa successfully into the modern world. As with most history, the curtain has risen before the stage is fully set, before the players have been fully coached and—most important—before the script has been completed. To be part of this dramatic effort is thus to be part of an exciting time for Africa and for world economic growth. ■

25 YEARS AGO

FEBRUARY 1943 IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Tragedy on the Tagus

Under a low ceiling of dark clouds the Yankee Clipper came in to land its passengers for Lisbon. It had stopped at Horta in the Azores on its transatlantic flight and was to go on to Foynes in Ireland. About two miles east of the Cabo Ruivo airport, Captain R. O. D. Sullivan, pioneer pilot of Pan Am's Pacific and Atlantic services, reported, "We are coming in to land." The seaplane suddenly lost altitude. Onc wing touchcd the water of the Tagus River. The plane crashed and soon sank. Of 40 persons on board, only 16 managed to get out and swim long enough to bc brought ashore. One was W. Walton Butterworth, then First Secretary of Legation at Lisbon and of the Embassy in Madrid, now our Ambassador to Canada. He swam in the swift current of the tidal water for about half an hour. During this time he managed to keep a grip on his diplomatic briefcase and bring it ashore. A friend recalls that he also helped sustain other passengers until a rescue boat arrived and later helped them on shore. His experience on a championship swimming team at Princeton stood him in good stead. This happened on February 22, 1943. The American Minister in Lisbon learned of the disaster as he was cntertaining guests at a Washington's Birthday reception.

The Home Front

While Japanese resistance on Guadalcanal ended, while Russian armies recaptured Rostov and Kharkov, and while American and British troops wcre engaged in a bitter struggle with German forces at Kasserine Pass in Tunisia, the Office of Civilian Supply of the War Production Board, responding to a request of James P. Byrnes, Director of Economic Stabilization, came up with "Levels of Minimum Essentiality": preliminary estimates of slashes in civilian goods and services that might be made in the "last extremes of a total war" to the point where further curtailment would hinder more than help. Expressed in percentages of dollar consumption in 1941 some of the levels were food 71.8, tobacco 75.2, beer and wine 65, medical supplies 69.7, clothing 64, car fuels 40, toilet prcparations 47, household paper products 18.1, stationery 33.2, books 29.3, refrigerators 3.7, electrical appliances 1.4, distilled spirits 1. Tobacco and beer and wine were considered important for morale. Qualifying for the level of zero were jewelry, passenger cars, boats, film, facial tissues and handkerchiefs.

The Sunday NEW YORK TIMES feature, "Sidelights," reported on February 21, 1943, that the smallest of many concerts for members of the armed forces had taken place that week. Army Sergeant William Pritchard, while visiting friends of Grace Moore, was put in touch with the singer by telephone. Just for him, she sang "One Night of Love." Another sidelight of the week was the Navy's announcement that henceforth fishing kits would be standard equipment on navy and merchant marine lifeboats and on airplane rafts. Accompanying instructions would include precautions that the sea turtle's jaws bite even after the head is cut off and that a person cast ashore can safely eat monkeys, lizards, frogs and grasshoppers, but not caterpillars.

At the end of the month it was disclosed that the anti-aircraft guns on the roof of the Congressional Office Building were made of wood and manned by dummy soldiers. The War Department explained to reporters that the use of dummy gun positions was customary procedure for preventing enemy

agents from gaining an accurate picture of actual defense installations.

From Jim Stewart

While clearing out his desk a while back the Honorable James B. Stewart came across a story that he thought good enough to bear repeating so he kindly sent it on from Denver: A young lady had a conversation with Gladstone. A friend asked for her comments. She replied that she left with the impression that he was the cleverest man in England. Later she had a conversation with Disraeli and her friend asked her about him. She answered that he left her with the impression that she was the cleverest woman in England.

In the Department

A Departmental Order of February 1, 1943, established a new Division of Exports and Requirements as a part of the Board of Economic Operations under the supervision of Thomas K. Finletter. Christian M. Ravndal was named Chief. Olaf Ravndal, Albert M. Doyle, Charles F. Knox, Jr., Russell W. Benton, and William C. Trimble were designated Assistant Chiefs. The Division was made responsible for foreign policy matters involved in administration of the Lend Lease Act and the Export Control Act.

Another Departmental Order the same day created the post of Associate Adviser on International Economic Affairs in the office of the Adviser. Dr. Emilio Collado was assigned to this position while carrying on at the same time other duties relating to inter-American economic and financial matters. John S. Hooker and Jack C. Corbett were named Assistant Advisers.

Virginia Parker Cooke and Robert F. Woodward were married on February 20,1943, in Lima, Peru. Robert was then Second Secretary at La Paz and was doing his first stint as Deputy Chief of Mission. Later he was DCM at Guatemala and Habana and twice Deputy Chief of the Division or Office of American Republic Affairs before his service as Counselor in Stockholm, Chief of Foreign Service Personnel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Ambassador to Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Chile, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, and Ambassador to Spain. In July 1967, after 13 months of retirement, he undertook the job of Interim Director of the newly established Office of Water for Peace. On completion of this assignment in the near future he may well take on other assignments. Since "retiring," he has had time to delve more deeply into Spanish and Latin American literature he could never get at in busy times in the ten Spanish speaking posts where he served. He has also worked on several pet projects, one of which is facilitating travel on the Inter-American Highway.

A daughter, Janet Hana, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley G. Slavens on February 2, 1943, in Habana, where her father had recently begun serving as Second Secretary and Consul. At the time of Pearl Harbor the Slavens were in Japan so until the exchange they were confined at the Embassy in Tokyo. In August 1942 they returned from Lourenço Marques on the *Gripsholm*. Janet attended school in Torreón, Monterrey, and Santo Domingo. After her father retired she went to school in San Antonio, Texas, and graduated from the Episcopal school Saint Mary's Hall. She entered the University of Texas and graduated there in 1964 with a B.A. She plans to get an M.A. in Latin American studies at Texas University but in the meantime is teaching Spanish. For two years she taught in the Anaheim area of Southern California. This year she is teaching in Indio near Palm Springs. The Slavens have lived in San Antonio since retirement. Stanley is

President of Phi Beta Kappa in the area and is a director of the San Antonio zoo. The Slavens are busy with other civic activities as well. ■

Among Our Contributors

Our cover artist, JEANNINE V. PRESIDENT, wife of FSSO Samuel R. President, was born in France, at the border of Normandie and Ile-de-France, the Cradle of Impressionism. Mrs. President's art instruction, begun under her father's tutelage, was continued at the Kunst Schule in Hamburg and with a tutor in Saigon, during her husband's assignment there. She has participated in art exhibits in Saigon and Karachi and had a one woman show at the American Cultural Center in Khartoum last year.

GLEN WRIGHT, author of "Fishing is Royal Sport in Afghanistan," in last April's JOURNAL, writes that he erroneously referred to Sultan Hamid as "one of the King's favorite cousins." He is not a relative of the King but the King's photographer.

ROBERT S. SMITH is Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa of the Agency for International Development. He served on Ambassador Edward M. Korry's "team" in the summer of 1966 and subsequently was a special assistant to Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Joseph Palmer 2nd, helping with the follow-up to the Korry Report. He has been with AID since 1961, and is a former member of the JOURNAL's Editorial Board..

"Is the Foreign Service Losing Its Best Young FSOs?" is the work of two young officers, ELIZABETH (Betsy) BEAN and HERBERT J. HOROWITZ. Miss Bean joined the Foreign Service in 1964, shortly after graduation from Wellesley. She spent two years in Paris where rotational assignments included NATO, OECD and the visa section. Miss Bean is serving in the Department on the Benelux desk.

Mr. Horowitz also entered the Foreign Service in 1964 and served a two-year rotational tour in Guatemala City. Now assigned to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Mr. Horowitz is a member of the Board of JFSOC and chairman of the club's Committee on Information and Statistics. While the authors accept full responsibility for opinions expressed in the article, they wish to acknowledge participation in the study by other Committee members, including Carl Cunningham, Edward Lollis and John Jessup.

J. J. HANLIN was a foreign correspondent for many years in Central and Northern Europe. He authored an article on Poland for the JOURNAL some years ago. In that he found diplomats playing cards everywhere, and probably frequently with Piatniks, he felt they might want to know something about the Piatnik family.

HOWARD R. SIMPSON is known to JOURNAL readers as a steady contributor of cartoons, as well as for articles on Vietnam and D-Day. His two novels have been published by Knopf and Harper & Row. Mr. Simpson is a student at the Naval War College. "Winter of the Wolves" appears on page 20.

DR. ROBERT R. R. BROOKS is Cultural Attache in New Delhi, on leave from Williams College where he was professor of economics and dean. Dr. Brooks joined USIA in 1963. His rules for a Foreign Service game, "Place Dropping," are given on page 23.

WILLIAM N. STOKES who authored the JOURNAL's January lead article, "The Future Between America and China," is Counselor of Embassy for Operations Coordination in Bangkok. He was the principal deputy to Consul General Angus Ward during the initial contacts with the Chinese Communists discussed in that article and was in charge of the Consulate General during Mr. Ward's imprisonment. His analysis of the events in Manchuria in 1948 and 1949, from which this article was prepared, has been broadcast to mainland China in Mandarin by the VOA.

He's probably heard about the Ku Klux Klan.

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Ralph Tornberg & Assoc.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

Homage To Henry Hoyt

RECENTLY the JOURNAL ran an article alleging a certain sense of ingrownness and inter-breeding in ARA. This essay pointed out that the Latin American Bureau had a number of officers who seemed to serve perpetually in the Western Hemisphere south of the Rio Grande.

Over the weekend, one of the protagonists of ARA who fitted at least in part the JOURNAL's description, Henry A. Hoyt, died at his post where he was serving as American Ambassador to Uruguay. Hank Hoyt had previously served with me in Argentina and was one of two successive DCMs who moved from that Embassy to ambassadorial appointments.

Hank differed from the editorial picture of the inbred Latin American specialist because throughout his long and constructive career he kept a sense of perspective and a divinely appointed sense of humor. His horizons were by no means as limited as your editorial would suggest. He was so homely in appearance as to be instantly likeable—in the same sense as that of a favored fairy tale character who evokes a warm response when his face appears in the fable. Hank was no master of 5-5 Spanish, but with his infectious grin and his instinctive knowledge of how to deal with a Latin American audience, he invariably brought a sympathetic response.

I can not help but feel that his valiant heart wore out in his constant endeavor to assist the nations of the New World to realize the objectives of the Alliance for Progress, particularly in Uruguay where the Charter of Punta del Este was signed. In this sense he was one of the *Mártires* of which our Latin American friends are so worthily proud.

ROBERT MCCLINTOCK

Washington

"Lift Not Up Your Horn on High"

As one of the Spotless Six who held DCM ships in Latin America in March 1967 I am compelled to make the following comment regarding the article by Semper Fidelis in the November issue of the JOURNAL.

Mr. Fidelis is, I think, unduly exercised. There is simply no evidence at all that advancement and rewards, either in terms of class or functional responsibility, are the result *purely* of a consistent geographic assignment or persistent association with any given geographic bureau. Indeed, those of us with long service in ARA have been painfully aware of the admonition contained in the 75th Psalm (King James version)

"Lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck.
For promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, *nor yet from the south.*"
(Italics are mine)

VIRON P. VAKY

Washington

What Does Diversity Mean?

TOM HUGHES' talk at the November AFSA luncheon was brilliant —witty, substantive and stimulating. Despite a distortion of the medium, the message I received was loud and clear—that Americans who conduct foreign affairs should conduct themselves in tune with New World democracy and not Old World expediency.

I mentioned a distortion of the medium, in this case of the spoken word. If we grant Marshall McLuhan's thesis that the medium is the message, then Tom's choice of words to convey his message assumes an importance beyond semantics.

It is at this point that I would like to take issue with him. It seems to me that he committed an increasingly frequent error of speakers and writers by taking a good word and making it a bad one. I refer to his use of the word *diversity*, which he contrasted unfavorably and extensively with *democracy*. Diversity, which for me has always been a lilt word, suddenly became a guilt word, clothed in the shame of everything bad in human relations—a word as thoroughly allied to the side of Lucifer as democracy to the side of the angels. As I understood Tom, diversity stands for hypocrisy, purposelessness, superficiality, privilege, pusillanimity, etc.—everything an American diplomat should abhor. On the other hand, he described democracy as standing for all the opposites. With that I do not quarrel.

But why take it out on diversity? Is not the latter one of the attributes of democracy? True democracy provides the most favorable climate for the growth of the individual. The development of the potential of the individual inevitably and desirably results in diversity or multiformity. Totalitarianism, on the other hand, suppresses the individual and produces conformity. Why not use a word like conformity or expediency, therefore, to describe the negative qualities Tom attributes to diversity? Conformity no! Diversity yes!

DAVID H. MCKILLOP

Washington

Ruminations of a Retiree

IT hardly seems possible that it was twenty-odd years ago that I first trod with awe the impressive, high-ceilinged halls of the old State Department building with its oak doors with their handhammered brass hardware. My awe was mixed with considerable pride, for to me it was quite an honor to be able to say that I was an officer of the Department of State.

The intervening years have been exciting, broadening and filled with much personal satisfaction, as well as the normal share of frustration and disappointment. In retrospect, I would not exchange my experiences for any other career I know about. The passage of time may have diminished the feeling of awe, but it has not appreciably affected the pride which I still feel in the Service and in my colleagues.

What has changed, however, is my former confidence that there is really much room in the Foreign Service today for people who regard it a solemn obligation to weigh the facts and call the shots as they see them. In a service second to none in the Federal Government, there now seems to be a premium on conformity, on being the company man, on avoiding at all costs taking unpopular positions or voicing views with which the management is certain to disagree. This is not to suggest that some do not risk their careers by bucking the tide, or acting, as they believe, in the best interests of their country. But the names of these individuals seem to appear less and less frequently on the annual promotion lists. Their fate is harsh, for they must either learn to conform or find themselves faced with the unhappy choice of voluntary retirement or involuntary separation.

I realize that many officers in the Foreign Service will challenge the picture I have painted. If they do so, it will at least in some cases simply be because they are reluctant to admit something which is unflattering or distasteful. And it is perhaps precisely for this reason that no serious effort has been made by responsible officers to remedy the situation and thus cut the ground out from under those who criticize the Foreign Service as a group of spineless conformists.

You may ask: "What changes

would you make in the system?" In reply, I believe that only four changes are really necessary in the Foreign Service personnel system which is for the most part a satisfactory and effective one. First and foremost, I would terminate the system of confidential efficiency reports which permits incompetent and/or vindictive rating officers to ruin an officer's career with almost complete impunity. To permit an officer to read such reports only upon his return to Washington is a completely hollow gesture which may assuage the conscience of the Service but is of no value to the victim. If we can't hire officers with the intestinal fortitude to face a subordinate with an unpleasant rating, the Foreign Service richly deserves the criticisms directed against it in this department.

My second recommendation is that the precepts of the Selection Boards be so drafted as to rule out explicitly the possibility that the evaluation of *one* rating officer can seriously damage a subordinate's career or place him in jeopardy of being selected out. This has apparently been allowed to happen far too often and immediate steps should be taken to preclude such a patently unjust practice in the future.

A third suggestion is to revise the personnel system to ensure that a rating officer who is known to be vindictive can not go merrily through his career onward and upward leaving a trail of bleeding, mangled bodies and careers behind him. There must be some correlation between the known record of superior officers in their treatment of subordinates over the years and the ratings which they give a given subordinate.

My last recommendation has the virtue of having already been made by the Secretary, although it has not as yet been accepted and implemented. That is simply that an appeals mechanism worthy of the name be established to ensure Foreign Service officers a day in court in cases where they sincerely feel they have been grievously wronged. This would not seem too much to ask.

If the Foreign Service is to preserve its honor and is to continue to be regarded as a desirable career, some steps along the lines I have suggested must be taken promptly.

VIRTUTE NON VIRIS

Chicago

Rockefeller Awards Program

IN the December 1967 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, mention is made on page 2 of a Rockefeller Foundation award in the field of Foreign Service received by Foy D. Kohler.

In fact, the award was a Rockefeller Public Service Award, administered by The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University. The awards program is made possible through personal contributions to Princeton by Mr. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, an alumnus and Charter Trustee of the University.

We can appreciate how confusion can arise due to similarity in names, but we would like to have the proper organization receive its due credit.

MARSHALL H. PECK, JR.
Information Consultant
The Rockefeller Foundation

New York

Disenfranchisement: A Hope

CONGRATULATIONS on a lively and interesting JOURNAL!

Jean Collins' article "The Disenfranchised" (November 1967), urging that effective procedures be established to enable Americans living abroad to vote will be warmly applauded overseas. As she points out, our constituency is quite as large as a number of the less populous states and might easily swing a close election.

Unfortunately, the article does not refer to a bill, (S. 1881) the Residency Voting Act of 1967, which the President sent to Congress last June. This bill, together with the amendments proposed by the Bipartisan Committee on Absentee Voting (page 48 Senate Hearings) would provide a procedure much more in line with the existing electoral machinery and might therefore have a better chance of passage by Congress. In brief, the bill provides an absentee *registration* procedure for those states (about half) which have no such procedure but which do have absentee voting procedures (all but two states). This removes the first of the two main barriers to voting by Americans abroad.

A second problem arises from unduly strict state requirements defining eligibility, such as the need to maintain currently a home in the state—not required, for example, in Connecticut.

The Bipartisan Committee on Absentee Voting has proposed a simple amendment which would meet this second problem. It would provide that no state should bar a citizen from voting who was previously qualified to vote and has not qualified in another state simply because he no longer maintains a place of abode in the state.

The Supreme Court decided a few years ago that no one should lose his US citizenship simply because of residence abroad; surely it is paradoxical to simultaneously take away State citizenship and the right to vote for the nation's highest officers.

The Constitution has specifically authorized Congress to legislate with regard to "the time and manner of voting" in Federal elections.

At this stage in history, all citizens of voting age should vote for President and Vice-President.

JOHN E. FOBES

Paris

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