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Announcement of McFall Contest

The long-pending manuscript contest suggested and sponsored by Ambassador Jack McFall has now become a reality. Rules for the contest which are published on page 52 invite submission of manuscripts from 2,500 to 6,000 words on almost any aspect of life in the foreign service. Prizes ranging from \$1,000 to \$100 are offered for the best manuscripts submitted. Ambassador McFall plans to bring the manuscripts together in a book to be published in the future and it is contemplated that a considerable number of the manuscripts will be published in the *JOURNAL* or elsewhere before book publication. Provision has been made for a board of judges, with two members from AFSA, two from DACOR and two chosen by Ambassador McFall. Names of the judges will be announced in a forthcoming issue of the *JOURNAL*.

Marriages

GORRELL-VON ZEPPELIN. Cristina Leese Gorrell, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Juan Leese Gorrell, was married to Harro Ferdinand Louis Erhard von Zeppelin, on March 2, in Oporto.

GRAHAM-CRISAFULLI. Diane Graham, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Pierre R. Graham, was married to Frank Crisafulli, on February 17, in Bethesda.

HURTADO-ABREU-HUGHES. Edilia Hurtado-Abreu was married to FSO David A. Hughes, on February 19, at All Souls Universalist Church, Washington. Mr. Hughes is studying Chinese at FSI.

Births

HARBIN. A son, David Alexander, born to FSO and Mrs. William B. Harbin, on February 1, at Stockholm.

Deaths

DEL FAVERO. Louis V. Del Favero, foreign buildings officer, Department of State, died on February 26, in Rome. Mr. Del Favero joined the Department in 1947 and served in Washington until his assignment to Rome in 1966. He received the Meritorious Service Award in 1966. Mr. Del Favero is survived by his wife and two sisters, Mary and Elvira Del Favero of Clifton, N. J.

DORSEY. Stephen P. Dorsey, FSO, died on March 10, at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Mr. Dorsey joined the Department of State in 1944 and was appointed a Foreign Service officer in 1955. He served at Beirut, Khartoum, as consul general at Genoa and as counselor for consular affairs and consul general at Rome. Mr. Dorsey was the author of several historical books, including "Georgetown Houses of the Federal Period" and "Alexandria Houses, 1750-1820." He is survived by his wife and two daughters, all temporarily at 46 Grafton Street, Chevy Chase.

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

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

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

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Microfilm copies of current as well as of back issues of the Foreign Service *JOURNAL* will be available through the University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 under a contract signed October 30.

HEDIGER. Jean Jacques Hediger, FSO, died on February 10, in an automobile accident near Monterrey, Mexico. Mr. Hediger entered the Foreign Service in 1960 and had served at Nogales, Colombo and Mexico City. He is survived by his wife of 1339 East 7th St., Plainfield, N. J.

KEARNS. Walter J. Kearns, FSO, died on March 3, in Berlin. Mr. Kearns joined the Foreign Service in 1965 and served at Chiangmai and Bangkok before his assignment as vice consul at Berlin. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Kearns, 1019 Phillips St., Miles City, Mont.

LEWIS. Henry P. Lewis, FSO-retired, died on March 4, in Washington. Mr. Lewis served at Santo Domingo, Tegucigalpa and Buenos Aires and in the office of the coordinator of Inter-American Affairs before his retirement in 1945. He was a founder and president of the Society of Federal Translators. He is survived by his wife, of 3700 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., five children, and 14 grandchildren.

LITTLE. Robert Roy Little, FSO, was killed in Vietnam early in February. Mr. Little joined the Foreign Service in 1966 and was assigned to AID in Hue. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold R. Little, Lost Mountain Manor, Rochester, N. Y. and two brothers.

LOBIT. Hugh C. Lobit, AID provincial representative, was killed in Vietnam early in February. Mr. Lobit entered the Foreign Service in 1958 and served at Mexico City and San Jose before transferring to AID in 1966. He is survived by his wife and a daughter who were living at Bangkok during his tour in Saigon.

LODWICK. William G. Lodwick, retired Foreign Agriculture Service administrator, died on March 7, in Washington. Mr. Lodwick served as agriculture attaché at Mexico City and Madrid before his retirement in 1962. He is survived by his wife of 4000 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., two children and six grandchildren.

MILLER. Stephen Harwood Miller, USIA, who had been missing since February 7, was found dead of gun wounds in Hue on February 18. Mr. Miller entered the Foreign Service in 1962 and served at Frankfurt and Windsor before his assignment to USIA in 1966. He is survived by his wife of 407 Branch Dr., Silver Spring, and three children.

PHILLIPS. William Phillips, twice Under Secretary of State, the first United States Minister to Canada and former Ambassador to Belgium, Italy and India, died on February 23, in Sarasota. Mr. Phillips became private secretary to the Ambassador to Great Britain in 1903, entered the Foreign Service in 1905 and served at Peking and London, before resigning in 1912. He then served as Regent of Harvard College for two years before appointment as third assistant Secretary of State in 1914. Mr. Phillips became Minister to the Netherlands and Luxembourg in 1920, Under Secretary of State in 1922, Ambassador to Belgium in 1924, Minister to Canada in 1927, resigned to serve as a member of the President's Committee for Employment, was appointed Under Secretary of State in 1933 and Ambassador to Italy in 1936. Mr. Phillips retired in 1942 but frequently acted as adviser to various governmental committees. He published a book, "Venture in Diplomacy," in 1953. He is survived by three sons, two daughters, 13 grandchildren and one great-grandchild. One daughter, Mrs. Elliott B. Strauss, resides in Washington at 2945 Garfield Terrace, N.W.

WORF. Cynthia J. Worf, FSS, died on February 12, at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Miss Worf is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Russell A. Worf, 535 Airport Rd., Sheridan, Wyo.



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Among Our Contributors

Our cover artist, MARY BETTS ANDERSON, wife of FSO-retired W. Stratton Anderson, Jr., traveled with her husband for 18 of his 25 years in the Foreign Service. Her cover painting, "Watering Place, Rangoon," was inspired by the aggressive greens of the jungle vegetation and the Burmese sense of color in clothing. Mrs. Anderson received her art education at the Corcoran, the Art Institute in Chicago and has exhibited in Washington and Rangoon.

XENIA BARNES is the wife of N. Spencer Barnes, who was Deputy Chief of Mission in Tel Aviv from 1961 to 1964. Her depiction of "Easter in Old Jerusalem," appears on page 21. Born in Russia, Mrs. Barnes left after the Revolution and lived in Paris for several years. Mr. Barnes' assignments have taken them to Moscow, Tehran, Berlin, Budapest and Geneva.

ROBERT W. RINDEN, FSO-retired, has left Berkeley for the University of Colorado at Boulder. "It's not like Berkeley," he writes, "For one thing the snow on the ground keeps away the bare feet and sandals, though there is a Students for Democratic Society here and a few scraggly-beard, sullen, New Left types." Mr. Rinden plans to write his Ph.D. dissertation on "The Cult of Mao Tse-tung" with reference to its Chinese traditional origins and the phenomenon of the cult of personality. His view of Berkeley appears on page 38.

WILLIAM HALLMAN, who reports his conversation with Katherine Anne Porter on page 30, is an FSO from Texas whose first post was Mexico City. He has published short stories with Mexican settings. His interest in Miss Porter as a writer was enhanced by their mutual knowledge of Texas and Mexico. After four years in Iran he is serving in the Department.

WILLIAM E. BAUER, first President of Canada's PAFSO, has been a member of the Department of External Affairs since 1952 and has served at Warsaw, Hanoi, Rome and Geneva. Mr. Bauer is now with the Canadian Embassy in Washington. In his annual report to the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Mr. Bauer said he hoped it would be possible "to consult, argue and collaborate with management on a continuing basis in the interests of achieving an efficient, satisfied foreign service staff in which individual and collective morale problems and injustices are remedied when they arise and are thus prevented from becoming sources of friction." Mr. Bauer's description of PAFSO's early days and efforts appears on page 17.

Ambassador HARLAN CLEVELAND, who contributed "The Resurrection of NATO" to this issue, possesses the most intimate possible knowledge of the subject. He has been the head of the US Delegation to NATO since 1965. He has had an extraordinarily varied career in education, journalism and government. Just before his present assignment he was, from 1961 to 1965, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.

ANDREW BOYD authored "Something Very Sinister," page 34, for the January-February issue of VISTA. Mr. Boyd is VISTA's regular commentator on UN affairs and a member of the staff of THE ECONOMIST.

Presstime was too close to permit use of a biographical note on BEVERLY A. LAVIGNE, whose first person account of the Tet offensive appears on page 36.



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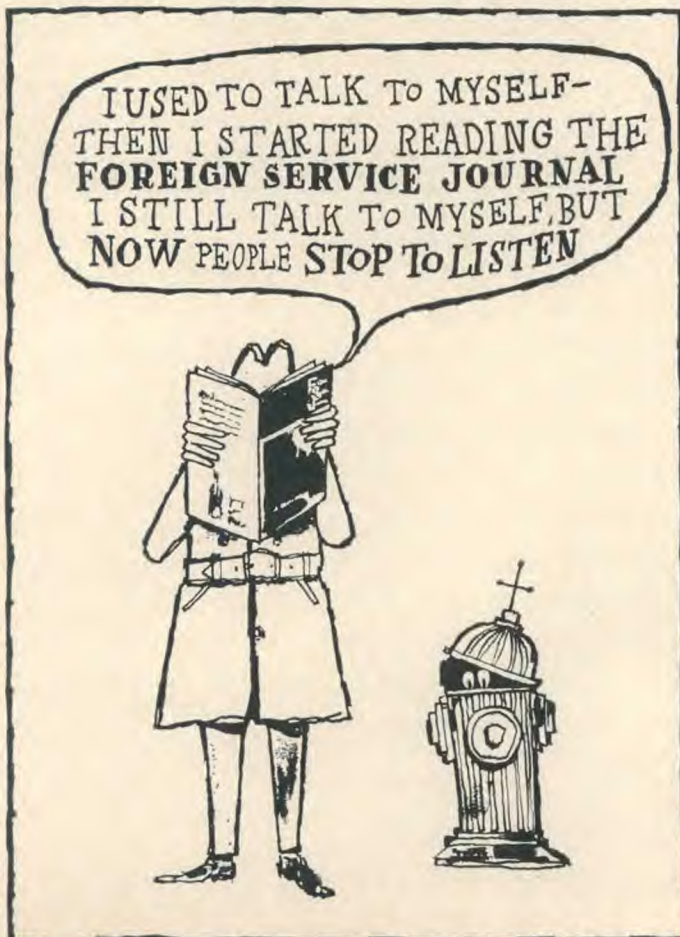
THE RESURRECTION OF NATO

HARLAN CLEVELAND

AMERICANS who work in international organizations are subject to a rather specialized affliction. They have to get used to reading every week or two that their organization is dead. I noticed this in the years I spent working on the United Nations; and when I arrived in Paris two years ago, I found the death of NATO was also being widely and prematurely reported. I don't propose to argue NATO's survival value. But I will talk about the transfiguration of NATO, which, unlike its death, has been inadequately reported. No reason why it should: it's merely good news.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been around long enough so that everybody thinks he knows about it. But the trouble is, what is known seems often to be badly out of date.

Columnists, commentators and professors of political science stream through Paris each year; few of them have time to visit NATO headquarters but all of them write learnedly about the NATO crisis. Expertise about an international organization has a very short half-life; "experts" on NATO are bound to write nonsense if they don't take the trouble to glance at the enormous changes which time,



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circumstance, US policy and Atlantic politics have wrought during the past two years.

I have to read most of what is written about NATO; it offends my sense of the fitness of things to find that a distinguished scholar, writing about NATO in a national magazine, still thinks NATO has a three-nation military Standing Group. Another scholar in this summer's issue of the *ANNALS* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which ought to know better, still thinks the North Atlantic Treaty has to be renegotiated in 1969. It doesn't.

In my business we grow accustomed to critics who haven't done their homework, cherishing their own archaic notions about NATO, asking with asperity why the State Department hasn't done its homework and updated this archaic Alliance. And as our own political calendar moves toward another Presidential election, I suppose we have to expect some of the same sort of thing from elective officials.

From time to time strong Congressional supporters of the Alliance call for "far-reaching steps designed to revitalize NATO." But sometimes they forget to report also that, on the President's instructions, we are vigorously pursuing nearly everything they so vigorously recommend. But it is of course a standard ploy in the game of political polemics to advocate reforms without mentioning that they are already under way, thus implying they are not.

I HAVE been talking with friends and relations, young and old, during my home leave. I find that a good many Americans think the main thing going on in NATO these past two years has been France's defection from it.

I will not deny that France's position on the Alliance lengthens my workday and enormously enhances the complexity—and therefore the enjoyment—of my work. But the "NATO-France crisis," which started in February of 1966, was substantially over by June of 1966. Since then, in France's absence from the NATO defense system, there has been some impressively positive Alliance progress.

When France left the integrated military system, each of the other fourteen governments had to decide whether to follow France's example or stick with its Treaty obligations. When the smoke cleared, the score was 14 to 1.

Western Europe still had to be defended; the Fourteen decided, if that had to be done for a while without France, that was politically tiresome but militarily tolerable. The NATO military headquarters, and their American and Canadian support units, moved out of France with truly miraculous dispatch. And the North Atlantic Council, NATO's political board of directors, decided on its own to move to Brussels.

But then something happened that nobody had predicted. With France standing aside, the Fourteen set up a NATO strategy council of their own; and the renewed political interest in NATO unity had a sudden and galvanizing effect on the quality of the NATO defense system.

Quite suddenly, the remaining members of NATO set about to streamline and modernize the NATO defense system. The NATO Defense Ministers set forth the first new agreed NATO strategy in eleven years. The first messages were sent through an experimental NATO communications satellite system which bids fair to revolutionize the processes of command and control in the Alliance. Our new headquarters in Brussels provide the NATO Council for the first time with a central intelligence and communications center, equipped and staffed to provide rapid and continuous support for crisis management.

Quite suddenly the mood of the Fourteen is not to brood about 1969, but to plan in earnest for the 1970s. The NATO force plans extend through 1972, covering the men, the materiel, the mobility and the money each government expects to devote to the common defense during the next five

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years. And the work on NATO's political tasks reaches even farther into the decade of the 1970s.

There still are plenty of problems, I'm professionally glad to say. I will mention four of them here. In two—the politics of nuclear sharing and of our forces in Europe—the words are familiar but the issues are new. In the other two—the future of East-West relations in Europe and the Soviet role in the Middle East crisis—the issues are familiar, but the implications for the Alliance are new.

ON the military side, nuclear sharing is the most intellectually fascinating, and politically hair-raising, part of my job. For we are engaged, I think it's fair to say, in the first serious attempt to wrestle internationally with the basic issues of nuclear deterrence.

In 1966 NATO finally established without France—though not without long and complicated negotiations among the Fourteen—an agreed framework for sharing among NATO governments the responsibility for planning the nuclear portion of our common deterrent.

It was high time. The invention of a wide range of smaller nuclear weapons—and the fact that Soviet as well as NATO forces now have them—has fundamentally changed the environment of nuclear deterrence since the time when that antiseptic phrase “massive retaliation” seemed all we knew about it, and all we needed to know. Both sides now recognize strategic nuclear war as a form of mutual suicide, and nobody thinks the big intercontinental weapons are very likely to be used first.

Now the deterrent rests on a more complex calculus: the other fellow holds back from starting anything because of his *certainty* that NATO will respond effectively at any given level of violence, plus his *uncertainty* of escalation to nuclear warfare. In this sense the core of the deterrent is the nuclear uncertainty.

The Soviets are bound to be in a quandary as to what we would do with the 7,000 nuclear weapons we have placed in Europe for NATO use in case of trouble. These weapons are indeed an important reason why the Soviets in recent years have acted as if they believed military militancy would not pay off in Europe—though they are not yet quite so convinced of that principle elsewhere in the world.

Soviet uncertainty is soundly rooted in NATO's flexibility of choice. To plan for that flexibility the American, British, German, Italian and Turkish Defense Ministers started meeting in February of 1966, in what the newspapers (though not the American Secretary of Defense) promptly dubbed the “McNamara Committee.”

Since then, at least some of the political leaders of NATO countries have been deeply, personally, and continuously immersed—for the first time—in the international study of nuclear realities. Canada and the Netherlands were added when the North Atlantic Council established the NATO Nuclear Planning Group as a permanent feature of the Alliance landscape; other NATO members will join the work in their turn at later stages.

The difficulty with planning about nuclear war is that there has never been one. This absence of direct experience is certainly an unalloyed blessing. But it means there is no such thing as an “expert” on nuclear planning who has acquired his expertise by doing something; he must resort to theory and extrapolation. There is much and brilliant academic theorizing, but nobody really knows what such a war would be like—except that it would be terrible.

There has indeed been so little experience in making practical decisions about nuclear weapons that some people still think the political decision about the use of nuclear weapons would take place only once—at the beginning—after which it would be left to the military commanders to decide



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which weapons to use on what targets, in what order and for how long. In the real world, unless the total situation was catastrophic, the use of each weapon or groups of weapons would be carefully planned by political and military leaders, and even the smallest and the most "tactical" weapons would be handled with kid gloves by the very highest authorities—on both sides of the battle.

That is why the priority task of NATO nuclear planning this past year was to agree on realistic roles for the theater nuclear weapons already in Europe, in contingencies involving the defense of Western Europe.

ONE crisis in NATO occurred in the winter of 1966 when the prospect of unilateral force reductions by the US or the UK or other members of the Alliance threatened to unravel the fabric of deterrence and thus erode the prospects for a peaceful end to the division of Europe.

Americans may not think our allies should reduce their troop commitments because of what we do. But a leader's example of withdrawal is just as likely to be followed by smaller nations as his example of strength and stamina would be. I doubt that US "domestic politics" wants the unraveling of NATO. If we were thus to abandon our strong Atlantic policy, which has been the most consistent feature of American foreign policy through four postwar Administrations, the reaction of shock and dismay in this country *would* make Atlantic policy a major issue of controversy in American domestic politics—for the first and only time in twenty years.

The President's decision was of course to support NATO, not tear it down. We are consulting our Allies about the idea of rotating some of our front-line troops and combat aircraft to the United States—with arrangements to assure that they will be in Europe within the warning time likely to be available if tension and hostility recur. Under this scheme we are proposing to keep our ready forces just as ready, just as clearly under European theater command, and just as committed to NATO, as they are today.

We would expect our Allies to do the same. And all of them have agreed, as we have, to consult in NATO before making major decisions in this field.

NATO's defense system has flanks as well as a center. Last year's crisis in the Middle East has called urgent attention to a new and dangerous state of affairs in that waterway which washes the shores of four members of the Alliance.

There has of course never been any question of NATO as such having an operational role in peacekeeping outside of its own defense perimeter—which is a quite large enough assignment. But when it comes to political consultation, the agenda of the North Atlantic Council has always been global—which is just another way of saying the world is round.

NATO's members, after all, produce more than half of the world's real wealth, control more than half of the world's military power, and employ more than half of the world's technicians and administrators. In the Council and its committees, we do keep a watching brief on developing situations in other parts of the world, for violence anywhere could affect the interests, and even involve the armed forces, of one or some or many or all of the Allies.

So of course the Council follows, and considers, the war and its aftermath in the Middle East. But while the Middle East in general is outside the "NATO area," the whole of the Mediterranean Sea is part of the defense area within which, the Treaty says, an attack on one ally is an attack on all. What makes the Soviet role in the Mideast crisis especially intriguing in NATO is the patent effort of the Soviets to use

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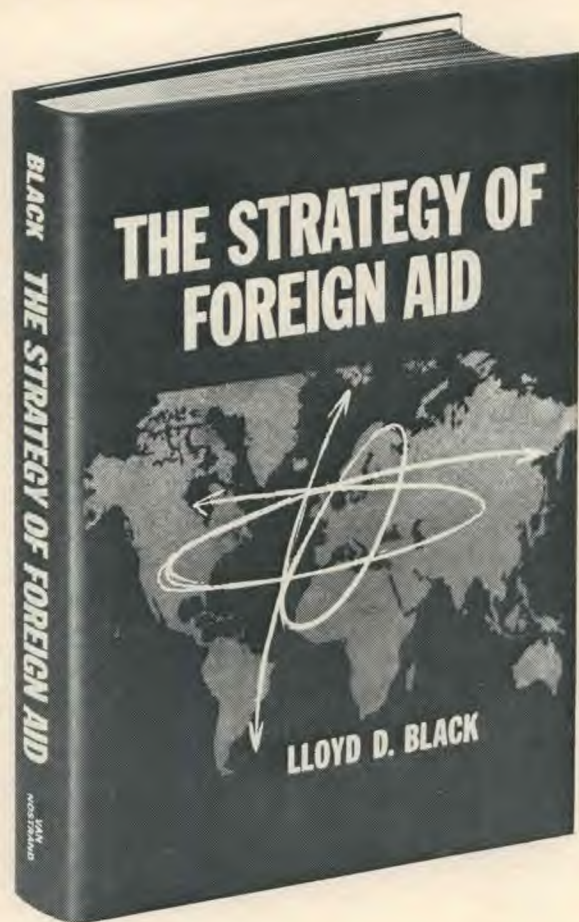
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the regional turbulence to build up their military presence in the Mediterranean area.

The USSR is already the world's second greatest sea power, disposing of the largest submarine fleet the world has ever known. Yet up to 1963, Soviet subs and other warships were infrequently sighted in the Mediterranean. Then, four years ago, the Soviets decided to build their Mediterranean presence, which NATO's naval officers have taken to calling the "Soviet Sixth Fleet." Between 1963 and 1966 the Soviet Mediterranean forces increased tenfold.

Then last year's crisis provided the cover for a further buildup. By July a total of 46 Soviet ships were operating in the Mediterranean, including some of the latest guided-missile cruisers and about ten submarines together with numerous support ships. The US Navy estimates that Soviet operating days in the Mediterranean during the first six months of 1967 were 400 percent greater than the comparable figure for all of 1963. And Soviet submarine operating days in the Mediterranean have increased by nearly 2,000 percent since 1963.

We cannot therefore take it as given that the Soviets, sweet talk to the contrary, have abandoned force as the extension of diplomacy by other means.

YET the growing national debates on defense policy in Britain and Germany and the United States have raised the question whether NATO's big deterrent force is really needed. The Soviets, so the argument goes, have learned by now that military militancy doesn't pay—at least on the continent of Europe. Since the lake above the dam is now so placid, do we really need that expensive old NATO dam any more?

It is true that there are whiffs of a new political atmosphere—partly the result of Western deterrent strength, partly the consequence of internal evolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe. There has certainly been a sharp increase in political chatter through the barbed-wire mesh that still cuts Europe in two. But measured by a practical politician's measure—results—the new state of East-West relations is still a fragile flirtation, with the West pitching most of the woo. In time, if the Soviets remain convinced that force will not get them control of Europe, they and their allies may be led to negotiate about Europe's future with the Western Allies who have so stubbornly insisted for two decades that Europe's future will be founded on freedom and made safe for diversity.

We should not kid ourselves that this will be as easy for them as it will be for us. On the whole, friendly relations with one's neighbors come naturally to us in the West—though the historical exceptions have been notable and bloody. But for the Communists, friendly relations with the West require a radical wrench from the programmatic hostility which has been for so long a way of life in Eastern Europe.

We hold in our hands the awesome power to change Soviet policy—by convincing them that the Alliance, which stood so fast against a naked threat, will hold together in the subtler process of settling the still unsettled issues which brought NATO into being in the first place.

The Soviets are testing Allied endurance right now, with their proposal to abolish both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. I can see why they would want to exercise their military command over other Communist forces directly, without a structure that implies their allies should have something to say about how and when the forces are used, against whom, for what purpose. But whatever they do about the Warsaw Pact, NATO is important to the whole position of the West. There is still a political struggle between the East and West, and the future of Europe is somewhere close to its center. The Soviets, too, know that NATO is important—that is why they keep advocating mutual pacticide.

The West will continue, then, to need the ready armed strength called the NATO defense system. We need it to

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persuade the Soviets and their allies to talk sense about the future of Europe. We will need it to keep them talking when the going gets rough, as it assuredly will. And we will need an effective Western system to keep the deal honest, whenever a bargain can be struck for a durable peace in Europe.

WHAT kind of bargain can be struck? It probably won't be the product of some grand Peace Conference like the Congress of Vienna or the conclave at Versailles. The process of adjustment will surely be lengthy, as befits the importance of the matter. And much of it will probably be negotiated bilaterally by each nation, as befits the pluralism and diversity of our side.

But precisely because we will all be negotiating about the improvement of East-West relations, there is a growing problem of political management and diplomatic coordination. Each ally has its own ideas about how to relax with the Soviets and their friends—the British through a Friendship Treaty, the Germans through their new "Eastern policy," the French through scientific cooperation with the Soviets, and so on around the circle.

Above all, the Soviets sooner or later want to talk with the United States in a practical way about some very practical problems that affect all the Allies: they have done so in the past on space law, they are doing so just now on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and they will (we hope) be doing so in the future on topics ranging from the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles to the prevention of dangerous regional wars. Our NATO allies want us to push for detente with the Soviets; but they also want to be cut in, early and often, on any discussions which affect their interests.

The proposition which we are putting to our Allies is very simple. Each East-West negotiation by any ally touches the

interest of all. We should certainly keep each other closely informed—as we mostly do already through political consultation in NATO. We should practice in the Alliance a Golden Rule of Consultation—you should consult with us as early, as frankly, and as often as you would want to be consulted by us.

We should try to get to each stage of agreement together, not make little deals piecemeal and hand the Soviets the enormous negotiating advantage of setting national self-interest against the common interest of the West. This is what the German Foreign Minister was saying last June when he told the NATO Ministerial meeting that there should be no "discriminatory detente."

The Atlantic Alliance is of course the framework for organizing the politics of detente; and this function falls naturally to the North Atlantic Council. A wide study was made last summer in a Special Group of the Council. The allies are asking themselves—for the first time in practical multilateral discussion—some really tough questions that lie down the road: What are the elements of a German settlement? What kind of a European Security System would be safer and cheaper and otherwise better than the present peacekeeping stalemate in Europe? And how do we get there—together?

So, all in all, it's an exhilarating time for an American to be working in Europe, and in the North Atlantic Alliance. For NATO has not only moved, bag and baggage, from Paris to Brussels; NATO has also moved from peacekeeping to peacemaking, from the management of a cold war to the management of a continuous peace.

(The foregoing is the complete text of a speech given by Ambassador Harlan Cleveland at the National Press Club.)

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Collective Bargaining and the Canadian Foreign Service

WILLIAM E. BAUER

(Founding President and Special Adviser,
The Professional Association
of Foreign Service Officers)

DURING the next few weeks, staff associations representing most Canadian public servants will sit down across a table from representatives of the Canadian Government. This in itself will not be a startling development, since staff associations and the government have maintained a continuing dialogue on salaries and working conditions for decades. From now on, however, the name of the game will be collective bargaining, and all the signs suggest that the new system, introduced by an Act of the Canadian Parliament on February 23, 1967, could revolutionize relationships and attitudes within the Canadian civil service.

The revolution has struck every Canadian public servant; members of the foreign service, however, have experienced a special kind of "culture shock" as a result of their first encounter with trade unionism. Accustomed to negotiating on behalf of their government, they suddenly have had to organize themselves to negotiate with it, and to work out a philosophy which can reconcile the two functions.

The new arrangements made it impossible to organize the entire foreign service into "one big union": the Foreign Service officers were the only group able to meet the new situation both as members of the foreign service and as civil servants. The story of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO), from its embryonic form in early 1965 to its position today as the bargaining agent most concerned with conditions in the foreign service, is therefore the story of the Canadian foreign service and collective bargaining.

The Background

Consultation between the Canadian Government and staff associations representing public servants has been carried on since the beginning of this century, but although the Minister of Finance was usually prepared to listen to arguments concerning salaries, and although individual government departments received representations by staff associations, the system tended to leave civil servants in the position of supplicants largely dependent on the goodwill and the generosity of the Government. Decisions were, in the end, always unilateral. In 1963, when a blueprint was drafted for sweeping changes in the organization and methods of the entire Civil Service, the Government decided in principle to introduce simultaneously a system of collective bargaining and arbitration. A preparatory committee was appointed in August 1963 to study the problem and to make recommendations to the Government. After nearly two years of work the committee submitted its report and on February 23, 1967 "An Act respecting employer and employee relations in the Public Service of Canada" became law. At the same time,

changes were made in the Civil Service Act and the Financial Administration Act in order to bring the entire Civil Service system into line with the requirements of collective bargaining and of the new approach to program management.

The new arrangements are in many respects a complete break with the past, and years may pass before their full impact will be fully appreciated. The legislative package is too complex to be described in detail in the space available. The main results are, however, fairly simple:

- Functions of the Civil Service Commission relating to classification, pay, leave, hours of work and holidays were transferred to the Treasury Board. The Commission in effect is left with responsibility only for staffing policies and procedures relating to the preservation of the merit principle. The Treasury Board, on the other hand, has become the "general manager" of the Public Service, vested with authority and responsibility as the representative of the employer for nearly all the Public Service.
- Organized employees, fulfilling certain requirements as to their representative character, have the right to require the Government (as represented by the Treasury Board) to negotiate agreements setting out the terms and conditions of employment of the employees concerned.
- Approximately 700 Civil Service classes and 1700 grades have been reclassified and boiled down to six occupational categories (Executive; Scientific and Professional; Administrative and Foreign Service; Technical; Clerical, and Operational) made up of 67 occupational groups (e.g. forestry, law, personnel administration, secretarial, clerical, electronics, hospital services, etc.)
- The members of each occupational group are to be represented in collective bargaining and grievance procedures by a bargaining agent. Any staff association having in its membership more than half the employees in any occupational group will be certified as the bargaining agent for that group.
- Bargaining agents, prior to entering into contract negotiations, are required to choose either arbitration or conciliation (with the right to strike) as the method of resolving matters in dispute on which agreement cannot be reached.
- An independent Public Service Staff Relations Board has

been appointed to regulate and, in effect, to referee the collective bargaining and arbitration system.

Many Canadian civil servants, accustomed to the concept of an apolitical civil service forming an organic part of "the Government" expected that, as the legislation developed, it would be hedged about with various safeguards and reservations designed to avoid an adversary concept of employer-employee relations. As the arrangements emerged, however, it became evident that they would have to learn to live with a collective bargaining system which was not only based on that in effect in the industrial field but which went beyond it by embracing scientific, professional and administrative groups.

The Position of the Foreign Service

This revolution in labor-management relations within the Public Service of Canada understandably has required major adjustments in thinking on both sides of the bargaining table. Some areas of the home-based Civil Service were already well covered by existing staff associations, and were psychologically prepared for the intensified recruiting programs which were launched. Members of the foreign service, however, had shown little inclination in the past to participate in staff associations, and because of their dispersion throughout the world, had found it impossible to develop an organized interest in even their own problems. Existing difficulties were aggravated by the fact that the legislation did not recognize the foreign service as a separate entity, but broke it into more than 20 occupational groups—each of which would require a separate contract and its own bargaining agent.

In early 1965, when it became apparent that collective bargaining was going to become a reality, a few members of the foreign service based in Ottawa decided to examine how the interests of the foreign service could best be served in the new situation. It was already clear that under the reclassification process which was being formulated the foreign service would be fragmented. The few hundred foreign service secretaries, for example, would become part of the secretarial occupational group, which would be dominated by more than 15,000 home-based secretaries. Other categories of foreign service employees would find themselves assigned to other bargaining groups which were also predominantly Canada-based. Under the legislation then contemplated, these foreign service employees could be represented only by the staff association claiming as members the majority of the particular group in which they found themselves. It was therefore clearly impossible to form a foreign service association which could represent all members of the foreign service.

Foreign Service officers were an exception. They made up the entire "Foreign Affairs Group" within the Administrative and Foreign Service category, and could thus choose the bargaining agent for the group. It was evident, therefore, that the FSOs were the only occupational group which would be able to concentrate on the specific problems of the foreign service.

The FSOs ACT

In February 1965, the FSOs established a provisional group

to study the implications of collective bargaining and to reach some conclusions about the steps which should be taken to meet the new situation. All FSOs in the Canadian Foreign Service were asked for support and for token donations to finance the operation, and approximately 65 percent of those in Canada and abroad responded. By the end of 1965, the group's executive board had reached the conclusion that the only practical response to collective bargaining was the formation of an association of foreign service officers.

This was not an easy decision. It was recognized that many FSOs considered themselves to be members of a dedicated profession which traditionally had served the Canadian Government uncomplainingly and with little expectation of personal gain. Collective bargaining implied a conscious interest in the terms and conditions of service which clashed with the idea of service. On the other hand, it was clear that the Canadian Government did not share this romantic concept—the foreign service had not been exempted from the new regime, and the careers of FSOs would therefore be directly affected by the results of collective bargaining. Without an organization to represent them, the FSOs could not bargain; without bargaining there could be no contract, and without a contract and the negotiations leading up to it the terms and conditions of employment for FSOs could be expected to deteriorate. Furthermore, collective bargaining and the processing of grievances would henceforth be in the hands of bargaining agents; there was no room in the system for individual complaints. Therefore, in order to participate in the new system and in order to ensure that their individual and collective interests were defined and protected, FSOs had to have a bargaining agent. Those who had worked on the problem for nearly a year recognized that it might be very difficult to convince a majority of their colleagues of the necessity of joining and supporting a staff association. Despite this, the task had to be undertaken.

Once this conclusion was reached, it was necessary to decide whether FSOs should be encouraged to join existing staff associations or whether they should try to organize their own. It was recognized that the well-established associations had experience, financial resources, and leverage in far greater quantities than any association of a few hundred civil servants could hope to achieve. On the other hand, on the basis of past experience, it was very uncertain that FSOs could be persuaded to join any of the existing associations in sufficient numbers to achieve the majority participation required for the certification of a bargaining agent for their group. Even if a majority did join an existing association on an individual basis, there was no assurance that the special requirements and problems of the foreign service could be adequately met. Although all members of the foreign service function under the same legislation governing other civil servant, their lives abroad are affected in detail by a complex body of regulations which do not apply to Canada-based civil servants; existing associations therefore are unfamiliar with them. Finally, it was believed that in the new environment of collective bargaining, in which attitudes on both sides of the table could be expected to harden, FSOs themselves would be better equipped to find ways of reconciling their professional obligations with the requirements of collective bargaining.

Immense difficulties were anticipated in organizing 500 FSOs into an effective, functioning association, with enough determination, finances and cohesion to carry out the responsibilities which would be thrust upon it. In the new environment, any association of FSOs would be a pygmy among giants. Nevertheless, serious reservations of principle and of practice were overcome by what a realistic assessment made clear was an absence of alternatives.

The possibility of affiliation with one of the existing staff organizations was left open. Once the implications of the new arrangements had become clear, and once FSOs had developed through their own organization familiarity with the problems of collective bargaining and confidence in their ability to deal with these problems, affiliation might be a feasible alternative.

In launching the new association, its organizers argued that having, in a sense, been forced to organize, they would be unwise to restrict their objectives to what might be described as purely trade-union activities. They wanted to emphasize that they were members of a profession which was extremely demanding in both its entrance qualifications and its standards of personal and professional excellence. They were anxious to do everything possible to ensure that the status of the profession was recognized and that its standards were maintained. Because of the image of the diplomat which tended to be prevalent in North America, because of the nomadic unsettled existence which they lived, because of their complete commitment to their work and the extracurricular demands imposed on them, the foreign service tended to be a disintegrated group often too much on the defensive. An association would provide a means of improving the image of the profession, of bringing its members together in the pursuit of shared objectives, and of expressing their collective views in matters directly affecting them.

It was also recognized that there were many services and conveniences which the employer could not be expected to provide but which an association could. Group insurance of various kinds was high on the list of priorities. Finally, there was the complex problem of professional obligations as members of the foreign service and as representatives of the Canadian Government (or "employer") abroad. It was clear that there would be many problems encountered in reconciling those obligations with the whole process of collective bargaining and with the position of the FSOs under the proposed legislation as employees in a subordinate position to management.

PAFSO Founded

At the founding meeting of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers on January 12, 1966, the officers of the provisional group therefore recommended the formation of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO). A motion to this effect was unanimously adopted, along with a draft constitution, which set out the aims of PAFSO in ambitious terms:

"to further the interests of its members, to protect the status and standards of their profession, and to maintain and promote the effective functioning of the foreign

service of Canada; to act as the bargaining agent on behalf of its members; and to formulate and express the corporate view of the members on matters affecting them."

The constitution itself had been designed to provide for the widest possible participation in the association and for maximum continuity in its executive. It was already clear that many FSOs would be designated as "managerial personnel" and, as such, barred from direct participation in the collective bargaining process. Despite this, it was strongly felt that every FSO should be able to support and benefit from the work of the Association as a professional group and to take advantage of the various services which would be provided. Two classes of members were therefore created: *ordinary members*, comprising FSOs other than those expressly excluded from direct participation in collective bargaining, and *associate members*, comprising those FSO's who were expressly excluded from direct participation. (Because of the rotational nature of the service, it was also provided that associate members should become ordinary members whenever and for such periods as the exclusion did not apply). Ordinary members enjoyed all the rights and privileges provided for in the constitution, while associate members were not eligible to hold office on the Executive Committee, to nominate members for positions on the Committee, to propose amendments to the constitution, or to serve as delegates to any meeting or function concerned with the relationship of the Association to the employer in collective bargaining.

The Executive Committee was to consist of not less than 11 or more than 15 members of the Association who were to be elected at a biennial election carried out by secret ballot throughout the service. Any member of the executive posted away from Ottawa following his election could be replaced by an officer co-opted from the membership of the Association in Canada.

The Executive Committee was authorized by the constitution to enter into agreements with the employer which would be binding upon all members of the association and to cooperate with and act in concert with any other organization of federal public service employees.

Despite the difficulty of communicating with a far-flung membership, the constitution provided for full participation of all members in elections and the process of constitutional amendment. This involved a minimum of 90 days advance notice for the election process, but on the first elections held late in 1966 no difficulty was encountered.

First Steps

The provisional executive of PAFSO estimated in early 1966 that about a year would elapse before collective bargaining would become law and that another year would pass before PAFSO would enter into contract negotiations. It decided to concentrate, during the first year, on building up a strong organization which could then carry out the preparations required for bargaining.

By means of a series of letters and a tabloid newspaper (*Aide Memoire*) all FSOs were informed of the new situation and urged to join PAFSO. Earlier fears about the attitude of

FSOs were quickly dispelled: within six months, 75 per cent of all permanent officers had joined; today 85 per cent belong. (Interestingly enough, the senior and middle grades responded with slightly more enthusiasm than their junior colleagues. *Noblesse oblige* or harsh experience?)

Concurrently, PAFSO negotiated a series of group insurance programs which have been heavily supported by the membership: 1) life insurance coverage of three times annual salary (up to \$75,000) at a flat rate of 40 cents per thousand per month, without medical evidence of eligibility and regardless of age; 2) salary continuance insurance, providing 50 per cent of an insured's gross salary for as long as he is unable to work; 3) personal liability insurance; 4) personal effects insurance; 5) life insurance on wives; 6) vehicle transportation insurance, and 7) accidental death and dismemberment insurance for members and dependents. The PAFSO insurance package—probably the most comprehensive offered by any staff association in Canada—is administered by the Association in cooperation with its brokers and underwriters.

Using members of the executive and other Ottawa-based FSOs, the structure of PAFSO has been developed to include committees on finance and membership; constitutional and legal problems; insurance, and administration. At the same time, a unit was created to deal with grievances and appeals put forward by members. Finally, a research unit was established to prepare the Association for collective bargaining. More than half the membership completed a detailed questionnaire designed to obtain the views of FSOs about existing arrangements in the fields of leave, allowances, housing, health, education, etc. On the basis of this, the research unit is building up PAFSO's arguments for improvements in many areas, in addition to working out salary demands.

Collective bargaining tends, of course, to overshadow PAFSO's other functions. Nevertheless, once the membership campaign had enabled the Association to speak for a majority of FSOs, other subjects were tackled:

- Canadian civil servants posted abroad are considered residents of Canada for tax purposes, but are denied the right to vote in federal and provincial elections. PAFSO launched a campaign against this injustice through the press, the House of Commons, and the Government.
- PAFSO wrote officially to the Prime Minister of Canada proposing, in the interests of maintaining morale in the service, certain guidelines which might be followed in the appointment of senior officers from outside the foreign service.
- Informal working relationships have been established with other major staff associations in order to coordinate policies and to ensure that the special problems of non-FSO foreign service personnel receive adequate attention.
- A labor-relations lawyer has been retained to represent PAFSO's interests in bargaining and in certification hearings.

Problems and Prospects

With a maximum potential membership of only 600-700 officers, PAFSO does not have the financial resources re-

quired to support a large professional staff. Its day-to-day business has been carried out in modest office accommodations by one full-time employee, but despite this, the 1968 budget has doubled from \$9000 to \$18000. Present dues are \$3.00 per month, and although most FSOs seem prepared to pay whatever is necessary to make PAFSO effective, there are limits. As a result, the Association will continue to rely on voluntary assistance from its members—particularly in the field of research. Although volunteers were not plentiful in the early stages, the full impact of collective bargaining is now beginning to make itself felt, with a resultant increase in enthusiasm.

The executive of PAFSO has been made up predominantly of experienced middle-grade officers. It now appears probable, however, that as the result of proposals made by management, more than 30 per cent of all FSOs—including many in the middle grades—will be ruled to be "managerial personnel" and thus excluded from active participation in PAFSO. PAFSO is now fighting a rearguard action against this decision, which it considers would not only weaken PAFSO but also drive a wedge into the hitherto homogeneous FSO group.

This issue, of course, arises directly from the contradictions implicit in any system of collective bargaining which is applied to the professional and executive classes of a public service. A junior officer posted to a personnel job may be classified as "management" and thus excluded from direct participation in the bargaining process, while a relatively senior officer with greater responsibility in the political field may be considered to be "staff." Any system of classification which plays it safe will, however, result in the exclusion of a substantial number of officers from participation in a system which is, in theory at least, universal. At the same time, the division of the foreign service into two classes inevitably saps morale, and PAFSO considers one of its major tasks to be to attempt to counteract the erosion of solidarity produced by the new system.

The cohesiveness of the foreign service has also been seriously affected by the division of its members into a variety of bargaining units. As the system now stands, each type of personnel could be governed by a separate collective agreement and there is no reason to assume that these agreements will provide comparable terms and conditions of employment. The implications for the morale of the service are obvious and PAFSO is searching for ways in which common solutions could be found to common problems.

It is too early to judge whether PAFSO will be able to reconcile the professional role of its members with the requirements of bargaining. It has been determined from the beginning to avoid becoming a "company union"; despite this it has felt that some problem areas of the foreign service could be dealt with more effectively by quiet diplomacy than by confrontation. There are already signs, however, that central management considers confrontation to be an essential and characteristic part of the collective bargaining environment and not just of the negotiating process. If this trend continues, both sides in the foreign service may find themselves sinking gradually into the trenches of uncompromising labor-management relations. It will be interesting to see whether the special working relationship of the foreign service can survive a heavy dose of orthodox trade-unionism. ■

easter in old jertusalem

XENIA BARNES

THE air of Old Jerusalem generates legends. The desolate desert laps against its walls. The wind carries the hot air, smell of dust, the noise of passionate, guttural voices, a rhythmic clapping of donkey's hoofs.

So massive are the old City's walls, the Mosque of Omar, the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, so light and radiant is the Garden of Gethsemane, with centuries-old greenish-gray olive trees and a profusion of flowers. So much motion is in the narrow streets, with taxis, overloaded donkeys, so many people and urchins crowding every corner, and so many tourists the whole year round, with their guides, polite but officious. A guide intones: "This is the Damascus Gate built by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1539 on the site of an older gate of Herodian times." A camera clicks and some Bedouin women, indignant, turn away to avoid its impertinent eye. And so much inertia is in the Arab men sipping coffee in small shops, in old beggars, and in squatting women selling green herbs in round, flat, straw baskets.

In this Old City where reality and make-believe, the present and the past, are in every stone, on every step, among monks, nuns, Arab merchants, shopkeepers and pilgrims, we spent Easter in the year 1963.

As it happened in this year all churches celebrated Easter on the same day. Western and Eastern—Christian Arabs, Copts from Egypt, Americans, Greeks, Abyssinians, Russian-Orthodox, and Indian converts. Jerusalem began to overflow with representatives of almost every race in the world. "How many tourists would you think are in the City now?" I asked the Abbess Maria of the Russian-Orthodox Convent above Gethsemane. (I stayed at the Convent during Holy Week.) "Tourists?" the Abbess put down her cup of tea on the tray and looked at me. "Twenty thousand, but they are not tourists, they are pilgrims."

Such is the tradition for the Russians coming down from old times. Thousands of peasants came to Jerusalem for Easter before the Revo-

lution. Men and women from remotest parts of Russia. But why? They promised on their sickbed; they promised in unhappiness; they went to save the dying or the wicked; they went to expiate their own and others' sins. They were poor, they had so little money, they brought their death shrouds to dip them in the Jordan river. They swam across the river several times or immersed themselves in the water, trusting their weight to a willow branch. They even had their arms tattooed with the word "Jerusalem." They expected to show this symbol in Heaven on Resurrection Day.

Holy Week changes the course of everybody's life in Jerusalem. From morning till night it becomes a continuous church service and ecclesiastical pageant. Exhausting and exuberant days with exhilarated masses of people.

The early morning on Maundy Thursday was beautiful as we climbed on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre to see the Greek ceremony of the Washing of the Feet which takes place in the courtyard of the Basilica. It seemed as if the whole population of Jerusalem had crowded in and spent the night in this square space and on the adjoining roofs. A young man was sleeping outside the Basilica's window on a narrow ledge protected by a grill, among red geraniums; Arab youngsters were perched on the belfry under enormous bells, and among pigeons. All shapes and colors were clearly distinguishable in the clear air. In the center of the courtyard a platform had been erected. A gold and red velvet arm chair for the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, twelve seats for the priests, a golden bowl, a towel and a golden long-necked ewer.

Late in the morning a procession came from the Basilica. Twelve priests in gorgeous red brocade cassocks, and the Patriarch in gold vestments. They mounted the platform. A short prayer and the Patriarch was disrobed, his crown was removed. He stood in a white, silk gown with a white towel over his shoulders. He knelt heavily. One by one the priests removed one boot and a white sock, one foot held



The Via Dolorosa—the narrow, steep way along which Christ was led to Golgotha.

over the bowl, the Patriarch poured water from the ewer and dried the foot with the towel.

It was all so solemn, so simple, the silence of hundreds of people was so strange, not even a child raised a voice. And only when the Patriarch was robed again in his splendid vestments, when he blessed the crowd, when the bells were resounding with a deafening sound, singing the Glory of God—the people broke out, pressing, pushing towards the Patriarch, who was leaving with his priests through a narrow passage made by the police, walking slowly with the staff in his hand, a ray of sun touching the precious stones of his mitre and the now

Samaritan elders on Mount Geresim awaiting the slaughter of the sacrificial lambs.



empty platform, and the red velvet chair.

Now came Good Friday. It was eight o'clock in the evening. The vast Basilica—The Holy Sepulchre where silence and solitude so often reign under darkened ceilings, with no light save the flickering of dim lamps, was full of people. The Franciscan Custos, priests, nuns, humble believers, curious passers-by, were leaving their Chapel in a devout procession, partaking in the Roman Catholic act of remembrance for the Descent from the Cross.

Four deacons were carrying a large Cross with an image of the body of Christ nailed down, with the crown of thorns around his head, with red spots of blood on his hands and feet. To the sound of the ancient and magnificent music of *Vexilla Regis*, each person carrying a candle, the procession moved through dark vaults. At the foot of Golgotha the priests, with the Cross, climbed the eighteen high, stone steps to the marble-encrusted Chapel of Calvary. Long rows of people followed, squeezing together, body to body with much pushing, disturbance, singing and weeping.

The Custos raised his hand, and all the voices sank into silence. Deacons raised the Cross, people lowered their gaze and knelt. The Custos took off the crown of thorns, held it high, kissed it and laid it on a silver tray. With hammers and pliers he removed the nails from Christ's hands and they fell down beside the body lifeless and still. A woman began to sob loudly, "God in Heaven be our judge, God have mercy on us." The Custos took the nails from the feet, each nail held before the crowd, each nail kissed, each nail laid on a separate tray. The body was taken off the Cross. It was wrapped in white linen cloth and laid on the altar, in a short time to be carried to the Rock of Unction, the flat stone on which the real Body of Christ was anointed. And so the procession moved again. Deacons carrying the Instruments of Passion: crown of thorns, hammers, the sponge, vinegar and nails. "Miserere Mei Domine," muttered an old man. "Deo Gratias," prayed a young Arab girl. The Custos was given an apron, beautiful jars of frankincense and aloe were placed at the stone. "Sicut incensum," the words of the Custos resounded above the kneeling crowd—"May my prayer ascend as incense in your sight." The body was anointed with oils and in white linen carried around the church.

The small Holy Sepulchre in the vast Basilica is the last step. The figure of Christ was taken inside, laid on the marble slate of the Tomb, candles



An old Bedouin woman with a sheaf of candles, which she will light from the Holy Fire.

went out. The church was wrapped in darkness. And only enormous candles in front of the Tomb were casting their long shadows on the marble floor, and dozens of gold and silver lamps glimmered before the sombre, ascetic faces of old icons.

On Holy Saturday, by six in the morning we were at the narrow gate leading to the courtyard of the Basilica. It was impossible to enter the church through the main entrance, so dense was the crowd. The roofs, the nearby minaret, every bit of space was teeming with people. With the help of the Greek Archimandrite Germanos, Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre (now Vice Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop of Sebastia), through the side door, we climbed ladders, then went through windows, ladders again, one being too short for the last climb, a Jordanian soldier pulled me onto the roof, and then down again, ladders and windows, until we were inside the Basilica, near Christ's Tomb.

The ceremony of the Holy Fire dates from the first century of Christianity. It happened that before Easter the oil in the Sepulchre's lamps burned out, so they were filled with water from the pool of Siloam. Fire came down from Heaven, ignited the water and it burned like oil through all the services. Every Easter Saturday the fire appears again at the Sepulchre.

We stood in the Basilica till noon on wooden scaffolding, on narrow planks, on one foot at a time; on the right were boisterous Christian Arabs, on the left the Grand Duke Vladimir, pretender to the Russian throne. All had sheaves of narrow candles ready to light. When the acting Greek Patriarch walked in with the clergy, complete silence spread over the throbbing mass of people. Standing outside the door of the Sepulchre the Patriarch took off his mitre and all emblems of earthly glory. When he entered the

Sepulchre, the door was immediately shut behind him.

The bells were pealing, jingling, resounding in the vast Church. Exaltation combined with suspense and expectation. All held their breath. A few minutes passed, and suddenly through a round opening in one of the Sepulchre's walls blackened by the Holy Fire of other years, burst a blaze of yellow light, spreading rapidly, as candles were passed to candles. It became a sea of light. The hot wax was dropping on our faces and hands. "But the Holy Fire does not hurt," pilgrims used to say. Now mad with ecstasy, people were shouting, singing in a variety of languages; the vast doors of the Basilica were opened and from hand to hand the Holy Fire reached the crowd outside.

Jerusalem at night, sheltered by walls, is usually quiet. It seems to rest in dark shadows. But on Holy Saturday the people were still crowding the streets, spiritually radiant but humble, proceeding in the depths of the night, drawn from all creeds, customs and beliefs. Their destination was churches.

The service on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre this night performed by the black monks of Abyssinia was an echo of ancient African rites. It is called "Searching for the Body of Christ."

After many centuries of struggle against more powerful churches, the Abyssinian monks found refuge on the roof of Christ's Tomb. A large, long brocaded tent was set on the roof. Row after row of Abyssinian women, matrons, young girls wrapped in an abundance of white gauze sat motionless on narrow chairs. Among them a young Royal Princess, beautiful and shy. Row after row of men were facing them.

The tent was full of voices, respectfully low. Then followed a long silence, broken at last by faint drumbeats from a distance, and the sound of a sistrum filled the air with its

Taka Tawfik—High Priest of the Samaritan Community, Nablus.





An Easter Procession: Greek Priests descending into the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre.

shivering tones. This instrument was used in the Temple of Isis in ancient Egypt. A procession of black monks came walking into the tent, leading a sumptuously robed Abbot, all in gold, under a gold umbrella. His brown face with high cheek-bones, swollen, was sleek, without a line. There was so much strength in his massive figure and so much weakness in his dim unseeing eyes. He sat majestically at the far end of the tent, at his feet two monks were beating large drums, their slim, dark hands tapping rhythmically and fast.

And so it went for a while. Slowly the drums began to beat more faintly. The Gospel was brought to the Abbot. In the ancient language of Ethiopia, his voice low and plaintive, the Abbot intoned the story of Christ's Passion. Clouds of incense filled the tent. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him," read the Abbot. Those were

the last words of the service, and the Abyssinians began to carry out the act of partaking in Mary's distress. The tom-toms sounded quicker and louder. The Abbot was leaving the tent under his golden umbrella, surrounded by monks with candles in hand, cross-bearers in fantastic gold garments, men and women in twos and threes, a young man in front, queerly dancing, gesticulating, gyrating, beating a small drum. All of them circled in a weird ritual procession around the Dome of St. Helena's Chapel on the roof, lamenting the death of Jesus, and searching for the Body of Christ.

The flickering candles were reflecting in gold and green robes and parasols, the procession circled and circled, feet moving with drums, the Abbot blessing the crowd with the sign of the Cross. Those were the only sounds, drums and the shuffle of feet, and the wailing of monks in their sorrow.

The rest of the night the Abyssinians spent in the tent, celebrating the Resurrection in the morning when sorrow was turned into joy.

There is very little pageantry in the Russian-Orthodox Services on Easter in Jerusalem. All through Lent the two churches of the two Convents are draped in black, with continuous solemn vigils. In the evening of Maundy Thursday parts of the Gospel, covering the last days of Jesus Christ's life, are read in a long and impressive service: arrest in Gethsemane, the trial, the crucifixion and the entombment.

And after the service a procession starts from the convents—priests, nuns in long veils trailing softly on old stones, and those who feel like joining. It leaves Gethsemane, crosses the valley of Kedron, turns left, passing through St. Stephen's Gate and curving out on Via Dolorosa, the steep, dark way where Christ stumbled so many times.

Jerusalem was asleep, a few lights burned in narrow windows and some curious eyes looked down on the heads passing below. Everyone carried a lighted candle, and the monotonous, soft singing of nuns, tired and frail from the restrictions of Lent, resounded among the walls of the narrow way of the Cross.

With the coming of Holy Saturday the bazaar began to crowd with shoppers, every man, every woman had to buy something. The little booths on Christian street overflowed with candles, Holy pictures, fragrant incense and countless rosaries. Coloured eggs were sold in big baskets, round loaves of bread with a red egg nesting in the middle. Coolies with enormous loads on their backs were shoving the monks, and monks were shoving the tourists.

By midnight the Russian-Orthodox Church of Mary Magdalene above Gethsemane was joyously illuminated, and a row of burning wicks in earthen saucers flickered all the steep way from the gate to the church. Inside silver and gold and white brocade replaced the black velvet of the vestments and the black draperies on the altar. And when, before the outside door of the church, the Priest sings "Christos Voskrece"—"Christ is risen," when the procession with banners, icons, candles, flowers, circles three times around the church and enters it again, one is prepared to remain all night for this Eastern service.

The sunrise over Jerusalem was beautiful. The Russian church is built on the slopes of the Mount of Olives,

(Continued on page 44)

THE JUNIOR OFFICER CRISIS

The Steering Committee of the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club has recently spotlighted two problems which we believe to be of general interest to JOURNAL readers—the new junior officer program outlined on page 17 of the December issue of the Department of State NEWS LETTER, and the effect of the overseas personnel reduction on junior officers.

The memorandum below deals with both of these problems. JFSOC leaders, after consultation with their Washington membership and with Department officials, have submitted to appropriate authorities the recommendations below.

The American Foreign Service Association is following the subject with intense interest. While the AFSA Board of Directors is reserving its position on some of the JFSOC views, we are glad to give this space in the JOURNAL to the exposition of the JFSOC recommendations.

WE are disturbed that the new junior officer program has been announced with very little consultation of those most directly involved. We are also disturbed that Congressional criticism appears to have been the primary factor behind the change. It is true that many junior officers believed the old central complement program could be improved. However, we think the problem not so much in the concept of the program as in a failure to make it work. What was needed was more effective rotation and a greater willingness on the part of supervisors to give their complement officers responsible work to do.

We fear that the new program will create serious morale problems. If officers are to rotate less, they should spend more time in their particular fields of interest, not the other way around. As the new program now stands, it will be a "general policy" to assign junior officers for "at least half" their first tour to consular work. As is well known, most incoming officers do not wish to specialize in consular work. Furthermore, the concept of assignment only to funded positions raises serious questions about the possibility of rotation. As a result, many junior officers fear that they will spend their entire first tour in consular work.

The point we would like to stress is that, *for the good of the Service, it is vital that the incoming officer's first assignment stimulate his career aspirations and provide a valid measure of his talents.* The new junior officer program does not do this. We believe rather that it will intensify the problem of attrition of good officers from the Service. This problem is already a serious one, involving not only resignations but also officers "beaten" by the system and good candidates for the Service who never apply, or who pass the exams but do not come in.

During the course of our consultations, we have been told that the question of spending approximately half of one's first tour in consular work is for the most part non-negotiable. We have also been told that 60 percent of junior officers can anticipate consular work for their second tour overseas. Our reply is that a *major restructuring of the personnel system is needed to achieve a better balance between jobs available and kinds of employees in the Service.* We believe the *present effort to reduce the number of Foreign Service positions overseas provides an ideal opportunity to initiate such change.*

I. Recommendations for Immediate Action

A. Need to Find Challenging Positions for Junior Officers Overseas

JFSOC was gratified to see a circular telegram to the field which asks that junior officers not receive a "disproportionate" share of balance of payments personnel reductions. This directive must be further refined. We would suggest the adoption of the following guidelines:

1. The total number of junior officers (FSO 8-6) overseas should not be cut by more than 10 percent;
2. A special effort should be made to preserve or create (by downgrading) substantive positions for junior officers;
3. All junior officer positions involving routine work of the "visa mill" variety should be abolished;
4. Staff and local personnel should be encouraged to take on most of the remaining work now done by junior officers in the administrative and consular fields; and
5. A special effort should be made to retain junior officers at posts with effective rotational programs.

B. Further Steps for the Effective Implementation of the New JOP

We were concerned that the draft instructions you gave us failed to spell out means for monitoring the program. If the new officers are to be rotated and receive varied and responsible tasks, high-level supervision will be required. We believe that the DCM should be responsible for JOP in the field. He should be required to report periodically to PER/CMA/JO on the progress of the program. PER/CMA/JO, in turn, should be given the authority to recommend the abolishment of junior officer positions at any post where the program is not effectively implemented.

Another change which we would strongly urge is to establish "as a general policy" that the incoming officer be assigned to work in his special field(s) of interest for a substantial portion of his first tour. Such a policy accentuates the positive. It does not exclude consular work for the first tour. At the same time, insofar as consular work is required, we would suggest a general policy of assigning officers only to positions which would expose them to all phases of consular activity.

We would also urge that a special effort be made as part of the new program to locate challenging jobs for junior officers who receive their first assignment in the Department. We believe that the principle of rotation should apply to such assignments. The Bureau Executive Directors might play a role similar to the DCM in monitoring this program and reporting to PER/CMA/JO.

Finally, we are concerned that the guidelines for the new JOP only affect new officers while they are on probation. Action is needed to insure that: (1) rotation during the first assignment continues after the officer receives his first promotion and (2) the officer's second and third assignments offer an appropriate variety of area and functional experience. If an officer spends half of his first assignment in consular work, he should not receive consular work for his next assignment unless he specifically requests it.

II. Longer Term Recommendations

(2 to 3 years)

As we pointed out above, JFSOC believes that present reductions in personnel overseas offer an ideal opportunity for the initiation of far-reaching changes in the personnel system of the Foreign Service. We are happy to note (Idar Rimestad's memorandum on "Some Guidelines for Strengthening Personnel Administration") that a broad review of our personnel system is to be completed within six months. We would urge that this study seriously consider the following recommendations:

1. "Specialists" should be recruited (perhaps as FSSOs) for specialized administrative and most consular work. Recruitment for specialists in these fields should not be through the BEX examination process.

2. A massive effort is needed to reduce "layering" of officers, especially at senior levels. Numerical reductions will probably be required at all levels, though we firmly believe that recruitment of junior officers must not cease. Primary emphasis should be on (a) increased counselling-out and selection-out, (b) better out-placement services for any officer interested in jobs on the outside, and (c) increased incentives for early retirement by senior officers. (It should be noted that we believe there is work for FSOs not being done by anyone at present. To this extent, the need for numerical reductions will decrease.)

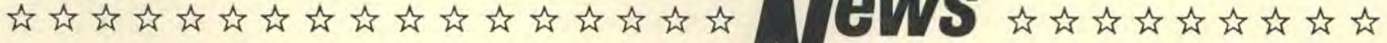
3. Further arrangements should be made for officers to receive responsible assignments to other foreign affairs agencies. Rapid and greatly expanded efforts in this direction are essential if the Foreign Service is to develop effective foreign affairs managers, as envisaged by NSAM 341. Special provisions are needed to insure that assignment to another agency is not prejudicial to one's promotion prospects.

4. A hard look should be taken at the possibilities of restructuring our personnel system on an interagency basis to achieve more flexibility both with regard to 3 above and for the development of specialties such as that under 1 above without having them relegated to second-class status. (We understand that the AFSA Career Principles Committee is currently studying recommendations along these lines.)

Obviously, this list of longer-term recommendations is far from exhaustive. We expect to submit further, more detailed recommendations in the near future. ■

Association News

April, 1968



Our Action Program

The Board of Directors has established the following as its "Short-Term Goals" which will be pursued during the coming months:

1. **Establishment of an effective grievance mechanism.** This is also known as the "Ombudsman" system. The Association should be a forthright advocate of its membership especially vis-a-vis the administrative Establishment.
2. **Actions to assure a rational and humane handling of the reduction in overseas personnel.** This includes our advocacy and support for such matters as special financial assistance, prompt assignment of returnees, rapid handling of travel vouchers, etc. We are in close touch with those who are implementing the program. Suggestions for action will be welcome.
3. **Support for steps to remove the "bulge" at middle and upper levels in the Service.** This includes retirement incentive legislation, more professional out-placement, etc.

Under preparation are position papers on such items as commuted travel, increased per diem, and a home service allowance, on which AFSA hopes to come forward with early constructive proposals.

CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM

Since the March issue of the JOURNAL went to press, we have learned with deep regret of the following additional losses:

Richard Shenk
(AID), Killed

Charles Willis
(USIA), Captured

Our prayers and our sympathy are with the families and friends of these gallant men.

Harriman and Rivkin Awards

The winners of the 1968 Harriman and Rivkin Awards will be announced at the monthly AFSA Luncheon on April 18. The two recipients will be brought from their overseas posts to attend the luncheon and be present to receive the \$1,000 checks which accompany the Awards.

Replies Received to AFSA Letters on Overseas Personnel Cut

Letters have been received from State, AID, and USIA responding to the suggestions made by AFSA in letters summarized in the March Association News. Here are the texts of the letters received from Messrs. Lee, Mosley and Rimstad:

Dear Mr. Walker:

Thank you for your letter of February 1, 1968 relating to the impending reduction in our overseas staff. The Association's interest in the welfare of employees affected by the President's directive is appreciated.

The cut in AID's current-year appropriations, which preceded the President's announcement, made it necessary to review our operations both in Washington and overseas to determine how our funds can be best utilized, and to identify those program elements which might have to be curtailed or eliminated. It is in this broader context that I respond to your queries, in the order in which you posed them.

1) We shall make every effort consistent with law, regulation, and administrative discretion to cushion the impact of cutback on the employee and his family.

2) Since the need for some retrenchment throughout the Agency must be faced, there will be limits on the number of returning overseas employees who can be absorbed. Their retention rights and those of departmental (GS) employees will be fully protected in accordance with applicable law and regulation. We do not contemplate details to other organizations as an outlet of any significance; any individual detail would be utilized wherever possible as a means of retaining capable employees in continued service. We are not considering enforced leave of any kind as a mechanism appropriate to our ceiling or funds problems.

3) Any effort to seek one-time legislation offering unusual incentives for early retirement is not likely, in our opinion, to be successful on behalf of a small group of employees out of the overall Federal establishment. AID's personnel, unlike State's FSOs, are covered by the Civil Service Retirement

System. Any such proposal would attempt to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act and would have to be coordinated within the total legislative program of the Executive Branch.

Of more immediate benefit, in making retirement attractive, is the likely 3½ to 4% cost-of-living increase to annuitants which would be effective as of May 1 if the February index maintains its expected level. This increase will be publicized as soon as it can be verified.

The trial retirement program you suggest has already been studied by us. Regrettably, a case cannot be made for its adoption when the Agency is unable to guarantee the reemployment option which would be the key inducement to the employee.

4) We are looking into your suggestion to contract with an outside, professional organization for out-placement service on behalf of returnees. Apart from the substance of the proposal, there appear to be some legal problems which may inhibit such an arrangement. Without dismissing the idea, we are considering the expansion of State Department's out-placement activity, which has been effective and which has developed a wide and valuable range of employer contacts. Final decision on the means to be utilized in assisting personnel to find other employment will be made as soon as possible.

5) We already have an employee information kit of the type you suggest. We are reexamining it to determine whether any modification is needed to make it more useful in the present circumstances. We will, of course, avail ourselves of the facilities of the Foreign Service Lounge, which we support, and the good offices of the American Association of Foreign Service Women, which includes many AID wives.

I am impressed by the attention the Association is directing to these prob-

lems, and will welcome its further suggestions.

Sincerely yours,
H. REX LEE
Assistant Administrator

Dear Mr. Walker:

We are keenly aware of the personnel problems which may result from the President's order to reduce the American presence abroad and share your concern for the personal welfare of employees who may be affected.

The relocations and reductions of staff necessary to carry out the President's directive will require extraordinary measures to minimize disruptions of operations and to ease financial burdens and personal hardships for employees. We are giving these problems immediate and sympathetic attention. As you imply in your letter, some possible actions will be restricted by lack of authority and we will work closely with the Department of State and AID in support of special programs to help employees through this period.

It is reassuring to know the American Foreign Service Association and the American Association of Foreign Service Women are eager to assist in meeting the needs of the employees affected by these reductions. I sincerely appreciate your interest and thank you for your letter.

Sincerely,
LIONEL S. MOSLEY
Assistant Director
(Personnel and Training)

Dear Mr. Walker:

This is in response to your letter of February 1 expressing the views of the Association on a number of personnel management problems now facing the Department and the Foreign Service.

We are now in the midst of developing detailed plans to carry out the President's Directives of January 18. Your very timely suggestions will be of assistance to us in meeting our responsibilities under the Directives and in mitigating the personnel hardships incident to the reduction in the size of our overseas staff. I have instructed our key officials who have the responsibility for personnel management in the areas outlined in your letter to consider each of your comments and suggestions. You can be sure that we are very much aware of the problems and hardships which we face in the months ahead. Indeed, the cases of all employees already affected

by the current overseas staffing review have been examined individually and in detail in the effort to achieve the most practical and equitable solution in each instance.

Thank you for the interest and concern which you expressed on behalf of the Association. I have asked the Director General to keep in touch with you and other key officials of the Association so that you may be informed of our plans as they develop. I, too, will be happy to meet with you on any aspect of our plans as opportunity affords.

Sincerely,
IDAR RIMESTAD
Deputy Under Secretary
of State for Administration

Preliminary Report of the Subcommittee on Personnel Systems

NOTE: *The following preliminary report was submitted by the Career Principles Committee's Subcommittee on Personnel Systems. It was approved as a basis for discussion by the AFSA Board of Directors at its February 9 meeting. The report is being printed here for the information and reactions of AFSA members.*

THE ULTIMATE GOAL

1. A Unified Foreign Service

The ultimate goal should be the full implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 concept of a unified Foreign Service of the United States administered under a foreign affairs personnel system separate from but bearing a planned relationship to the Civil Service system.

A planned relationship to the Civil Service system should be construed to mean, *inter alia*, (a) applying, to the extent practicable, the same, kind and measure of benefits and perquisites in such areas as annual, sick, and home leave, civilian allowances, hardship post differentials, and life and health insurance, and (b) provision whereby employees may be assigned or detailed with a minimum of formality for temporary service in either Service and, subject to an appropriate evaluation of qualifications and fitness, can transfer from one to the other personnel system.

The Foreign Service of the United States should serve the overseas civilian personnel requirements of the executive departments and agencies of the United States Government which are principally and directly concerned with the formulation and implementation abroad of US foreign policy and programs. For our purposes we would exclude under this definition the Department of Defense even though

AFSA Seminar Held with Schelling

Can an "OSS"—Office of the Secretary of State—solve the problem of managing US foreign relations? Can the budget process be used as a tool by the Secretary? To what extent are FSOs ready and willing to assume management responsibility?

These were the central questions of a joint AFSA-JFSOC seminar with Professor Thomas Schelling, Harvard University, on February 29. A small group, including Department officials concerned with management techniques, was invited. The debate was free-wheeling and informative. While no concrete conclusions were reached, those who remained the full afternoon agreed the dialogue was mutually profitable.

some of its overseas activities are closely allied with the execution of US foreign policy in the broad sense. However, we believe it is now generally accepted that a stepped-up exchange of officers between the Departments of State and Defense would contribute to the effectiveness of both Departments. The Department of State, AID, and USIA are the principal agencies to be served.

Certain exceptions to this concept undoubtedly will be required. The Central Intelligence Agency would retain its special character and operational arrangements and the Peace Corps volunteers probably would continue to function overseas outside the unified foreign service concept.

2. A Planned Relationship With Other US Government Agencies Having Overseas Interests.

Criteria should be established for determining the extent to which the Foreign Service of the United States should meet the program needs of other US Government agencies having overseas interests.

Such criteria might include:

(a) Whether the agency serves on a continuing basis as a resource to the President and the Secretary of State in the conduct of foreign affairs.

(b) Whether the size and character of an agency's overseas personnel requirements are reasonably compatible with those of the agencies which are clearly and predominantly concerned with foreign affairs.

Generally speaking, those agencies having overseas personnel engaged in what is essentially a projection of a domestic function divorced from or having little or no implications for the achievement of foreign policy objectives should be excluded from the

Foreign Service and foreign affairs personnel system. Such agencies would include but are not limited to the General Accounting Office, the American Battle Monuments Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Narcotics Bureau of the Treasury Department, the US Public Health Service, and numerous other agencies.

On the other hand, those agencies which, though predominantly concerned with domestic affairs, have overseas requirements that bear on and are clearly related to foreign policy, that involve negotiations with and representations to other governments, call for continual reporting of information and interpretative analysis, and that require close coordination with traditional diplomatic functions, should look to the Foreign Service to provide these services. Such agencies should have a definite voice in personnel policy and operations pertaining to their functional area or areas of interest. They should be enabled to recommend the temporary assignment of employees of their respective agencies to the Foreign Service.

In view of the foregoing, the current relationship with the Departments of Commerce and Labor should be reaffirmed, strengthened, and continued. The Foreign Agricultural Service and the Treasury Department Attache establishment should eventually be merged with and become an integral part of the Foreign Service of the United States.

3. *Partial Staffing by the Foreign Service of the Home Establishments of the Principal Foreign Affairs Agencies.*

It has been almost universally agreed that it would be desirable to include under the foreign affairs personnel system the total body of personnel of the three principal foreign affairs agencies, namely, the Department of State, AID, and USIA. Such an arrangement would facilitate internal administration, reduce feelings of separatism, and make possible a more rational internal personnel structure. Operating under a common personnel framework and flexible personnel concepts, such as rank in man, agency heads could make most effective use of their personnel resource.

We recognize the obstacles to the immediate achievement of this objective. Hence, we believe an alternate and more realistic approach is to look to the Foreign Service to staff a very substantial proportion of positions in the respective headquarters establishments. In this respect AID and USIA would make considerably greater use of Foreign Service employees in

staffing headquarters activities than is now the case. State already fills a substantial number of its positions by Foreign Service personnel and has a lesser need to extend Foreign Service staffing in the various departmental bureaus and offices. The following are some of the considerations that might be taken into account in making determinations on staffing headquarters positions with Foreign Service employees.

(a) The primary consideration must be the need to fill positions for which overseas experience is desirable or essential.

(b) The need for overseas employees and their families to renew first-hand familiarity with American life and institutions.

(c) The need to provide US assignments for employees and their families for health, educational and related reasons.

(d) The need for giving Foreign Service personnel career development assignments.

(e) The need for long-term continuity and expertise in staffing Washington-based activities.

(f) Similarities and differences between types, numbers, and levels of overseas and domestic positions.

If the "ideal" concept is to be pursued, it should not be based on the premise that all employees should be equally obligated to serve at home and abroad. A considerable body of personnel would, for practical and sound reasons, be utilized exclusively to staff headquarters activities.

4. *Practical Staffing of International Affairs Offices of Primarily Domestic Departments and Agencies and of International Organizations.*

The Foreign Service should be regarded as a key source of professional

personnel to help staff on a temporary basis international organizations in which the United States participates as well as US missions to such organizations. Foreign Service personnel also should be deployed to fill positions in other US Government departments and agencies, such as the Executive Office of the President, Atomic Energy Commission, Commerce, Defense, Labor, Treasury, HEW, Transportation and thereby to acquire meaningful experience as well as to bring to bear Foreign Service knowhow. Such deployment should be based on negotiated agreements with other agencies in order to facilitate orderly manpower planning.

Finally, Foreign Service personnel should be assigned on a highly selective basis for temporary service with non-public organizations in order to acquire useful experience and to help bridge the gap between public and private endeavor in achieving US foreign policy purposes, including, but not limited to business organizations, organized labor, private foundations, educational institutions, and civic organizations having a foreign affairs orientation.

5. *A Flexible Foreign Affairs Personnel System Responsive to Evolving Needs of the United States Based on Modern Personnel Concepts.*

The Foreign Service of the United States must be a flexible instrument flexibly administered and ever responsive to changing needs if it is to meet the complex and heavy demands that will be placed upon it. *Esprit de corps* should be Service oriented, not agency oriented, and parochial attitudes should be overcome by fostering commonality of purpose and mutuality of interest. Compartmentalization which inhibits flexible use of personnel across agency lines or artificial barriers to lateral movement of personnel should



Richard Scammon, Director of the Elections Research Center, Government Affairs Institute, speaks at AFSA's February luncheon.

be avoided.

The Foreign Service of the United States must incorporate tested and valid features that have evolved over the years, including rank in man, competition for promotion as judged by promotion boards, and provision for early enforced retirements. It should also reflect modern concepts of personnel administration and behavioral science and the use of adaptation of new management tools and techniques, such as automatic data processing.

Personnel needs of the various agencies being served will cover a broad spectrum of professional and technical specialized skills and a high degree of expertise. The personnel system must be designed to obtain and/or develop employees possessing these skills and to provide suitable opportunities for advancement and recognition of professional achievement. A corollary need exists to develop a cadre of broad-gauged and widely experienced officers concerned with planning and with program direction and co-ordination responsibilities. These varying needs in turn will require flexible approaches in selection and assignment procedures, maintaining "open" career lines of advancement for specialists, identifying executive talent early in employees' careers, and giving them training and multi-agency experience that will equip them for leadership responsibilities.

Basic personnel policies and standards should apply uniformly across agency lines, recognizing, however, that there will be valid grounds for modifications at times to meet particular, unique, or special needs.

6. *Central Control Over Basic Personnel Policy and Standards, with Integrated Personnel Operations but Adequate Decentralization to Department and Agency Managers.*

Basic personnel policies and standards covering the full spectrum of personnel functions should apply equally and uniformly to all primary foreign affairs agencies. While regulatory authority might best be vested in the President, given NSAM 341, such authority normally should be delegated to the Secretary of State subject to redelegation. The Secretary of State now has such powers under The Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended.

An interagency board or commission to include the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission should advise the Secretary on the formulation of basic personnel policies. As a matter of fact, such an instrumentality now exists in the Board of the Foreign Service, which includes the Chairman

of the Civil Service Commission. An appropriate staff mechanism should be established to serve this Board and ensure that policy decisions are translated into operational practice.

Many personnel operations can and should be carried out by a central facility and staff to which the respective serviced agencies would contribute funds support. These would include, for example, a central in-service training facility (i.e., FSI), a single college relations recruitment staff, a personnel research unit, an integrated manpower planning group, a central examining facility for certain types of personnel.

Other operations should be administered on a more decentralized basis, in order to better meet agency needs, but subject to basically uniform policies and standards. Thus, individual assignments of strictly AID technicians should properly be left to AID, or radio relay technicians to USIA, or visa specialists to State. At the same time the Board of the Foreign Service provides a mechanism to prevent the Foreign Service from becoming a disparate organization of separate foreign services. The central staff mechanism serving The Board of the Foreign Service can, and we assume will, ensure an adequate measure of interagency assignment and will identify the most able officers for promotion to the senior level. In essence, those activities that are best administered by and through a common organization, facility or staff should be so administered so long as all agency program needs and priorities are reasonably met.

Education Funds Expanded

On January 26, the Board approved a resolution changing the name of the Essay Contest Fund to the American Foreign Service Association Fund. The action was necessary to provide the Association with a vehicle to receive and disburse funds for its goals of expanding its educational activities.

The resolution reads, in part, . . . "this Fund shall receive and disburse all monies intended for seminars, sabbatical years, awards for distinguished achievements, and other such educational purposes of the Association, excepting only the AFSA Scholarship Fund which shall continue . . . as at present."

Donations to the well-known *Scholarship Fund* and to the new *AFSA Fund* are deductible for Federal Income Tax purposes. The Board hopes that members will consider—and suggest to others—these funds when faced with the problem of the disposition of profits from the sale of their personal property.

AFSA Expresses Concern About Proposed Travel Taxes Overseas

Dear Mr. Rimestad:

Members of the American Foreign Service Association have expressed their concern to the Board over the applicability of the proposed Expenditure Tax on trips outside the Western Hemisphere for them and their dependents.

On the one hand, the Treasury Department proposes that "A member of the armed services (and his dependents) who is transferred to a duty station outside the Western Hemisphere would be considered on a non-taxable trip during his tour of duty at that station. Any trips he makes back and forth to the Western Hemisphere during that tour would also be exempt."

On the other hand the Treasury Department's technical explanation lists "Other US Employees" and states "An individual employed by the United States traveling in his official capacity will be considered on a non-taxable trip. If he combines his trip with a vacation, only the expenses during the period he is on official business would be excluded from the expenditure tax."

The Association hopes that the Department will seek clarification of the proposed applicability from the Treasury Department, and urges equal treatment with the military for United States Employees (and their dependents) who are on duty outside of the Western Hemisphere.

Sincerely

LANNON WALKER

Chairman of the Board

Club Architectural Contract Signed

The architectural contract for working drawings for the club has been signed with the firm of Cloethiel Woodard Smith and associates. The architect's estimate of construction costs is \$104,300.

Discussions are continuing with management companies to provide complete services for the club facilities. The services include assignment of personnel, accounting, food planning and preparation, menus, decor, and promotion. One of the companies has taken the architect's plan and provided the Board with a detailed layout of the kitchen machinery and equipment required. The board was pleased to find that space provided in the architectural sketch was adequate and that the estimated cost figures equipment were within the earlier estimates.



Sao Paulo. Ambassador John Tuthill, Luis Rodriguez Alves, Executive Director of the IX Bienal, and Consul General Niles W. Bond are shown at the opening of the Bienal.



Freetown. The United States was one of 17 countries represented at the YWCA International Fete and the American booth earned \$204.10 for the YWCA School Building Program. Receiving the check from Mrs. William G. Bradford, wife of the Charge d'Affaires, is Lady Bankole-Jones, President of the Sierra Leone YWCA. From left to right, Mrs. James L. Barnes, Booth Chairman, Mrs. Bradford, Lady Bankole-Jones, Mrs. Gerald O. Schwab and Mrs. Newman Jeffrey.

Service Glimpses

La Paz. Ambassador Douglas Henderson congratulates Nancy Hemenway Barton, wife of Robert D. Barton, AID, on her one-man show at the Centro Boliviano Americano. One of Mrs. Barton's portraits appears in the center.



Washington. Mrs. G. Lewis Jones, President of the Association of Foreign Service Women, presents a check for \$11,000 for the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund to Ambassador Foy D. Kohler, then President of AFSA. The check represented the proceeds of AAFSW's Book Fair.



Tehran. Ambassador Armin Meyer and Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda wish each other "Happy New Year" at the Meyers' New Year's Eve Ball.





SUNDAY MEMCON: A CONVERSATION WITH KATHERINE ANNE PORTER

WILLIAM H. HALLMAN

SHE says that she is old now, and that life is a kind of vigil over her solitude and her integrity, her person and her memories. In her conversation though she reveals that all the while she maintains a passionate watchfulness over a changing America, with that sort of fierce proprietary interest often felt by those who have lived many years abroad. Her seclusion does not prevent her from landing hard on what she regards as a violation of taste or humanity, whether this is a matter of conduct or of ways in which our language, the tool of Miss Porter's trade, is used.

Seclusion with engagement is only one of many paradoxes that go to make up Katherine Anne Porter, an artist of intensity and a woman of worldly and sometimes ribald wisdom, as difficult to set to lines of paper as one of the complex personalities of literature over whom an author may have struggled for years to abstract and define. One tribute to Miss Porter as an artist could be simply that she somehow orders chunks of fictional reality from the vastness of her experience, a life that has known the complexities of both the last and the present century and the span of continents.

Miss Porter says that she is a kind of recluse, protected by lawyers and publishers and an Irish woman whose housekeeping chores are burdened with a single admonition: "You must never come into a room in which I am working . . . no, into a room in which I am present." But should the recluse have a telephone that rings several times an hour, and can anyone in fact claim refuge in America's most relentlessly public of cities? Washington is light years away from Nantucket or Santa Fe, or any other of the haunts where a writer might choose to grow old reflectively. Spring Valley is not Walden Pond, but then Miss Porter is a paradoxical recluse. She is one of the Brontes who packed up a bag late one night and scurried across the moors toward the packet boat and France,

or a Thoreau who wandered among frost-hung evergreens in a penthouse thirty-eight stories above Park Avenue.

"It was chance . . . just the vagueness of chance," was Miss Porter's reply to my question of how it happened that she should have chosen Washington as a place to settle. This is no doubt true at a certain level of perception. Yet one gets the notion that Katherine Anne Porter no more lives by chance than she would allow chance to dictate the setting of a novel or story that she was writing. Her life did in fact have a plan, and a very stern one, although incidents were allowed to collect about this chord of determination in ways that were not a part of the inner life she set for herself.

Katherine Anne Porter allowed herself to be involved in three marriages, each of which gave her happiness and each of which proved impossible to sustain against the demands that she made of herself. This was not in the sense of simply not finding in the married state the leisure and solitude for writing, but in the larger and more complicated sense of being unable to allow herself to develop as a person so that she simultaneously developed as an artist.

She lived for many years in Paris with one husband who was attached to our Embassy there. She was married again while living in this country, but each time a point was reached when it was no longer possible to maintain status as Katherine Anne Porter, who by her very nature was forced to remain passionately loyal to herself, and as a wife the nature of whose status required her to meld a part of her personality with that of her husband. Quite literally she fled without giving notice when the bonds of marriage kept her from herself. The quality of this paradox must have been a most painful one for those involved: that a warmhearted and beautiful woman who could give herself freely in many ways had to remain so isolated in others that anything but a solitary existence was not possible.

"Virginal . . . old, quiet, virginal," she says of herself now. But this is misleading also, for Katherine Anne Porter has

always been a beautiful woman with a heart so in danger of giving over just to the job of living that she would often stop, bring up short a situation or a friendship or a love affair, and say "No . . . no . . . this is not for me, not for me. This is my end as an artist, the last of my detachment, the final violation of that thing I was meant to be." Her life has been a relentless struggle against the undertow of doing just ordinary things for long enough that the extraordinariness of being a writer was lost. It would be surprising if this struggle has been altogether won.

The Recluse of Spring Valley gives seated dinners for twelve that she makes herself, for to be a Cordon Bleu licencee amuses her and occupies her as much as being a first-rate non-professional player of the spinet. Miss Porter was also a recluse so kind and generous that she gave four hours of her time to a non-professional reporter who proposed writing about a conversation with her for the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

It was established within the first five minutes that this conversation was to fly off in every direction, weaving in and out of topics very fast, lighting at times on a point that seemed a common interest, then pouring out one-sided as one person's view or memory seemed in need of a digression. Our talk was to deal generally with "Americans Abroad" from generation to generation, which was unique in being about the only subject during the four-hour interview that somehow we could not get fully into.

"It was the whiskey," Miss Porter said later. I had telephoned to apologize for having taken so much of a Sunday evening, for having strayed so far from the agreed subject of my visit, and, incidentally, for having made my dinner while there from a pound or so selected from her cheese supply. The solid bourbon thinly flaked with ice was, in fact, a distracting element. But it was probably the smallest one. To accuse it of too much disruption would be rather like putting one's glass aside with a wry face because an earthquake had just shaken down the ceiling. Miss Porter is not the kind of woman whom one would suspect of ever having taken second place to a bottle of bourbon whiskey.

Her ambivalence toward money is another symbol of the paradoxes that make Miss Porter a most unlikely recluse. She quotes a favorite old comedian, sardonically: "Now I've been rich . . . and I've been poor. And being rich is better."

With the publication of "Ship of Fools" Miss Porter in fact became substantially rich. Or at least in theory she should be rich, though she is hemmed by enough rules of contracts and the dictates of enough stern tax accountants that she could compare her style of living and economic possibilities with those of a moderately well-off doctor. She pays a whopping rent for her house, and she buys what I suppose must be referred to as "gowns" that cost a great deal of money indeed. On her finger she wears a queenly emerald, "a quarter of a carat for every year that I wanted one and could not afford it," that took her Washington jeweler several months to find. There was simply nothing in the area quite big enough to compensate for those years when financial success did not come.

Yet this hard earned wealth seems as unnecessary and as ephemeral to the kind of life Katherine Anne Porter lives, essentially, as was her lack of money before success was so measurable in financial terms. It somehow seems right that she should continue to live in a rented house, and that the person who helps her care for it should be kept out of her presence. She is gleeful about wealth without being overcome with its importance, just as she was uncomfortable in being poor without that's having an effect on the way she had set out to live.

She says of one particularly harrowing period: "My skin was awful, and my hair was shocky and awful and I was bones . . . just bones." She hopes that this kind of situation

will not continue to plague young artists who may some day produce something of value. Miss Porter does *not* feel that starving is a necessary part of an artist's life, and she regards success as having created for her a responsibility for young people she feels have talent. A great deal of her money goes into a foundation for their support, so that she can say to them, "Look. Here is money. Go. Go away and do what you have to do. Don't come back until you've done your work."

Katherine Anne Porter is one of those pagan Roman Catholics, the scandal and the beloved of the stricter hierarchy, who seem to crop up strangely often in that supposedly staid system of religion. She is devout in her religion from the minute observance to an adherence to the much less finite implications of the theology. She recognizes *ju-ju* for being precisely what it is and has great faith in its efficacy, for she is well tuned to the basic simplicity of the individual as he faces things he cannot understand. She is equally aware of the vastness of a theology that somehow contains Bolivian Indians and Chicago taxi drivers, just as the system has spanned hundreds of years, from catacomb to Vatican II, through war and peace, decline and renovation.

Her interest for many years has been St. Joan, and she pores over manuscripts dealing with the life of the saint that have been overlooked by those of her literary predecessors who also became fascinated by the Maid. The results of these researches, and hours spent simply looking into the distance and considering what, after all, St. Joan might have been, may some day result in the slim volume for which Miss Porter was well known many years before "Ship of Fools" established her reputation as a "big" novelist. Miss Porter's St. Joan will likely say quite as much about the martyred girl as Katherine Anne Porter was able to say about herself during a critical period of her life as the Miranda of "Pale Horse, Pale Rider." Miss Porter will probably not begin writing until fifteenth century France has become as real to her as the Texas she describes in "Noon Wine."

It should not be disconcerting that Miss Porter is a Texan, but somehow it is. Our newer, essentially post-World War II, vision of that great inferno to the south is based on such mangled data and such deliberately fostered myth that one forgets that the earnest, kindly people of "Noon Wine" ever existed.

Katherine Anne Porter grew up in Texas when it was a part of the South, a more gracious frontier than our popular television would allow us to believe. Texas was at that time, however, a geography of cultures diffuse enough that there was little chance of her becoming the kind of regional novelist that Faulkner is. In her upbringing, to be sure, there was that element of atavism, often a part of the South, that refuses to allow the child to live in the here and now but simultaneously burdens and enlightens him with the deeds of forebears who more often than not are remembered to have come from Tennessee or Kentucky or farther in the East.

But Katherine Anne Porter demonstrates another point that is often lost in the shuffle of mythmaking: The wild and woolly Texan was caught not just by the frontier and by the South, but by Europe. Her Texas was one in which the ladies of San Antonio trekked their children to the opera and to music lessons given by a pupil of one who had in turn been the pupil of a German master. (Miss Porter is dead serious when she relates the musical style of Texas pianist Van Cliburn to that of his mother, to that of *her* teacher, to that of a well known German pianist.) Hers was a frontier existence leavened by the side-by-side presence of Spaniards and Mexicans, themselves products of separate larger and older cultures, and by more recent German immigrants who, like Kuno in "The Leaning Tower," imparted more than their statistical share of an Older World into the lives of those good Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists who burned themselves

(Continued on page 45)

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

WHATEVER you may say of the National Gallery's current review of French art (1900-1967) you will have to admit after you have romped around the 152 canvases, that there is something for almost every taste. The collection, assembled by the French government for exhibit in Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco, runs the whole gamut of twentieth century sensibility.

It begins most auspiciously. You encounter such great masterpieces as André Derain's "View of Collioure" and Maurice de Vlaminck's "Landscape with Red Trees." These are flanked by effulgent specimens of Matisse, Bonnard, Vuillard, Utrillo, Picasso and de la Fresnaye.

At that stage of the century one talked of "The School of Paris." It brought back the days when Sienna and Florence and Rome were centers of world art. Twenty-five years ago Georges Duhamel walking in the Tuileries Gardens raised his hand and said rhapsodically, "Ah, le beau ciel de Paris!" The sky over Paris possesses an opalescent quality; it reflects the colors and textures of landscape and buildings. Indeed Marquet during the war complained that the bright blue, classical sky of Algiers thwarted his attempts to paint.

The sky over Paris seemed to have affected not only Frenchmen but many foreigners who came to be classified as "School of Paris"—the Russian Kandinsky, the American Mary Cassatt, the Italian Modigliani, etc.

But the twentieth century had to move on. New impulses were apparent in Braque, Rouault, Picabia, Van Dongen. This present show introduces us to what has been going on in more recent days. We encounter the names of Messagier, Soulages, Dubuffet, le Parc and Vasarely. Whatever their merits they seem little influenced by the skies of Paris. The luminous light of Bonnard, Matisse, Vuillard and company seems to have vanished. Some of the new crop might have been whacked out in caves. Moreover, they all show disparate impulses. In short one wonders if the words "School of Paris" have lost all meaning.

In all this confusing variety, one painter deserves special attention: Nicholas de Staël, not only for what he

has done up to now but for what he might achieve in the future. Look at "The Roofs" and "Reclining Blue Nude on Red Background."

While you're in the zone you might also cast an eye on three guaranteed killers: Hans Hartung's "T 196 R6," Yves Klein's "Fire Color" and Bernard Rancillac's "The Word No. 1—General Assemblage." Then keep them in mind because you never know what these worthies might do next.

Whatever you look at, you will have, in the memorable words often heard at the end of lectures at women's clubs, "something to take away with you."

Tax Exemptions

No more had the press started to meditate on the various projected legislative devices for clamping a tax on travelers abroad, than various readers began to demand certain exemptions. Special rights were claimed, for instance, for students and teachers. A letter in the NEW YORK TIMES argued solemnly that people making their first trip to Europe should not be obliged to pay any tax.

We would like to propose a few more exemptions:

- People who carry gray luggage,
- People who can't spell,
- People who like Khatchaturian's music,
- People who combine Seven-Up and gin,
- People who pinch Gideon Bibles from hotel rooms,
- People who burn toast,
- People who proffer \$20 bills to bus drivers,
- People who trot up to the express get-away in supermarkets with 40 items,
- People who go to Du Pont Circle to look at beatniks,
- People who walk in the streets playing transistors,
- People who buy toy mice for live cats.

All these people *also* have rights!

March Award

A man named Marvin Lee Burris was born in New York City in 1938. In 1967 he got bored with this name and persuaded a judge to let him change it to Vin 42 Ford.

Last month he was back in court again—in San Francisco. He asked

Judge Leland J. Lazarus to change it to Ricardi Strikohits Carronfordo.

In granting the petition the judge asked why the petitioner had chosen the new name. "Because," the new Carronfordo replied, "there are so many people named Ricardo."

May the daisies never trip him! Ricardi Strikohits Carronfordo really deserves the March award. And a supplementary award to Judge Lazarus for taking an affable view of the situation. Why should we go dragging through a whole lifetime with the same name when we could easily brighten up the situation by picking a new one? Think of the rich possibilities! Perhaps Carronfordo will set a new trend.

It Exists!

Long years ago a movie showed a glowing scene wherein Joan Crawford, the Duse of the Silver Screen, was sprinting around a long excruciatingly elegant dining room table a few minutes before the guests were summoned. And what was she doing? She was poking a thermometer into the wine glasses to see that the temperature was absolutely correct!

Well it seemed a creditable flight of fancy on the part of some Hollywood scenario—something like Marie Corelli's factitious descriptions of upperclass didoes in England. But now, *mamma mia!*, the thermometer has become a reality. Made just for wine. Called the "Wine-O-Meter." It costs only \$5.00. The model we saw came from Bloomingdale's in New York. Civilization has reached a peak. The Huns or Visigoths will be at our gates any minute.

Gabbling in the Theater

Paul Hume, the Washington Post music critic, who never loses his equilibrium no matter how good or bad a performance at the opera or concert hall, has taken a firm stand on the ever-increasing vice of gabbling in the theater.

"People talk," he wrote recently, "during concerts while the music is being performed. If you tell me I'm dreaming, that no one would be so foolish as to buy a ticket to a concert and then go and talk while the music was played, I have to answer that you just haven't been to concerts recently."

... At a concert, the music comes first, ahead of everything else. No one has a right to talk to someone else about anything while the music is played. Ever. . . ."

Thirty years ago the writer of Washington Letter tried a similar crusade against babblers in the theater. A severe tirade appeared in *ESQUIRE* and then became a chapter in a book called "Conversation Please."

Here are a few excerpts:

Concert gabblers deserve special treatment. They are far more noxious than the gabblers who infest plays, operas, movies. Since the stage holds visual as well as vocal entertainment, the eye can absorb something while the ear is occupied with a chatterbox. But concerts require the undivided attention of the ears. To get pleasure out of a concert, the listener must be relaxed, free to concentrate on sound, safe from interruption. He pays for the privilege. This amounts to saying that the person who cannot keep still at concerts deprives others of their rights.

No soloist or symphony concert ever set out to provide an obligato for babblers. Their best efforts demand silence.

Why do people talk at concerts? Are they bored? If so, why don't they stay at home and save money? Are they the victims of faulty glands? Why not spend the money on a doctor? Are they by any chance habitually silent people who require some particular stimulus such as a Bach fugue to bring them out? Finding the answers to these questions would require sustained research. Some student ought to use the subject for a thesis.

Have you ever wondered what people whisper about at concerts? What subjects, what specific observations are so important that they cannot be deferred to the intermission? What sudden discoveries justify the buzz-buzz that disturbs the paying customers on every side? Here are six authentic, whispered remarks that spoiled great moments for scores of people. They are an eloquent commentary on concert gabblers:

1. "That coughing is annoying." Made by fat woman to another fat woman while Lotte Lehmann was singing "Allerseelen."

2. "What was that you said about Katie's hat?" Made by college boy to his girl while Toscanini was giving the signal to the chorus in Beethoven's Ninth.

3. "I just happened to think . . . that man's name was Bertie." Made by horn-rimmed young man of type caricaturists call "intellectual" to young woman of same type while Marian

Anderson was singing Schubert's "Ave Maria."

4. "I wished we'd bought the salted pecans, these things are too rich." Made by dowager who had studied pictures of Queen Mary's hats to another dowager still living under Clara Bow influence, while Artur Schnabel was getting into the second movement of Beethoven's Opus 53.

5. "It started off like 'The Isle of Capri.'" Made by man with ear trumpet addressing the first fifteen rows while Kreisler was playing Paganini's 24th Caprice.

6. "Listen, is my face red?" Made by pretty girl to another pretty girl while Wanda Landowska was playing the larghetto movement of Mozart's D-Major Concerto.

Listening to these thrilling revelations what would you say about concert conversationalists? "Thoughtless" might be the word if you are excessively charitable. If you go in for more accurate diagnosis you might experience some difficulty in picking between "oafs," "louts" and "boors."

Are there *no* occasions when one is justified in speaking up at a concert? Yes, let us be fair. There are such occasions. When the remark is of vital importance, when deferring it would spoil the effect. For instance:

"I just happened to remember I put Junior in the oven and turned on the gas."

"Will you marry me?"

"I forgot to tell you the police want you to drop into the Morgue. They've

got a new stiff they think may be your Aunt Clementine."

"That man back of me just pinched my pocketbook."

"Did I tell you the lottery people called up to say you won the Irish sweepstakes?"

If you find anything as urgent as these remarks coming into your head at a concert, by all means whisper or even shout. Otherwise, silence. Absolute silence!

Did this do any good? Not on your tintype! The decibels generated by the gabblers are more crushing now than they were 30 years ago. Still, it's good to see Mr. Hume having another try. Every self-respecting concert-goer must wish him luck!

"The Man"

In the old days when we prated about the weather we used to cite "the weather man." In Washington usage, weather authorities (the number is enormous) say quite simply, "The man, he says it's gonna snow Wednesday."

Peaks on Parnassus

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

Ah, que la vie est quotidienne!

Jules Laforgue: *Les Complaintes*

"Oh, how the days repeat themselves!" or if you like, "Life is so damn daily."

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Maybe he was escalating. You sure as hell overreacted!"

SOMETHING VERY SINISTER

ANDREW BOYD

MY government has instructed me (said the distinguished representative of Egalitaria) to make the strongest possible protest against this whole business of the United Nations staging a Human Rights Year. It is a piece of shocking discrimination. The words "Human Rights" themselves are a part of the wicked machination that has kept a great part of the human race in subjection for many centuries.

Of course, we Egalitarians have always welcomed the UN's action in upholding the principle of nondiscrimination as between sexes, races, and religious creeds. We have supported the work done here in the General Assembly and in other UN organs to improve the status of women, to abolish colonialism, and to make an end of all the ways in which people are denied full equality because of their color, their religion, or their position as members of minority groups. And yet, after all this, we are expected to endorse the use of this grossly discriminatory word, Rights. This word is not merely an insult to half of humanity. It is also a case of continuing and extending the vast brain-washing process through which a small clique of bigoted sun-worshippers in northern latitudes has imposed on the whole world a ruthless system of suppression, a system which through several millennia has caused grave injustice to all persons who happen to be naturally left-handed.

So skillfully has this dominance of one hand over the other been maintained that most left-handed people still believe, even today, that they belong to a small minority. And even if they no longer feel ashamed of belonging to it, they docilely accept the idea that it is too small and weak to expect fair play in a right-handed world. Their time will come. I am sure of that. But they are still the least organized and the least articulate of all the great submerged groups, and it seems they will be the last of all such groups to obtain justice for their claims. How many of us here today will live to see the United Nations proclaim a Human Lefts Year?

Meanwhile these unfortunate people are forced to state their case in the very words that their oppressors have imposed on them to keep them in subjection. They are compelled to talk about Rights. This is typical of the way they have been so long confused and cowed by their opponents' cunning manipulation of language. I have here an outwardly respectable and widely respected dictionary, from which I will quote to you some extracts that show just how the lexicographers have played their part in the great conspiracy. For example:

Left: primary sense, "Weak, worthless," represented in Dutch dialect *loof* . . .

Gauche: tactless, without ease or grace. . .

Sinister: left, or evil omen, ill-looking, wicked, flagitious. . .

Sinistral: left-handed, unlucky, darkly suspicious, unsound. . .

Sinistrous: perverse, malicious, unfair, dishonest, corrupt. . .

The left hand is identified not only with uselessness but with

all that is dark and deadly. Do not think that this kind of thing is confined to the English language. In French, the terms *gauche* and *gaucherie*, which hardly need an explanation, are backed up by *sinistre*, which is actually used as a noun to mean a disaster. The German *linkisch* is just as rude a word as *gauche*, and in Italia *manca* and *mancino* are even ruder. Need I say that the Spanish *sinistro* carries all the ugly echoes one would expect?

On the other hand—if I may use the phrase—you will be amazed, once you look at the way the right hand has been associated with all that is good and true and strong, to see just how far this insidious process has been carried. English has been richly endowed with right-minded words like *adroit*, *direct*, *correct*, *upright*, *righteous*. It has indeed been dexterously done. You can plainly see the dexterous oppressors' urge to dominate revealed in their tendency to link their side with power and authority. *Regal*, *regime*, *regiment*, *regulate*, *rectify*, *direction*—all these words, and more, have been developed from a single source, the Latin *regere*, to rule, and its participle *rectus*, straight or right. In French and Spanish *droit* and *derecho* connote the very laws themselves as well as legal "rights." The German language does the same with *recht* and *Recht* and *Rechts*, and its word *Regierung* brings in the government itself directly (or *adroitly* or *dexterously*). The powerful Italian *direttore* or *dirigente* can maintain a righteous *dirittezza* while practicing an *adroit destrezza*.

Even the so-called political left insists that might is right. Regimes may be leftist, but they are still regimes, issuing directives, raising regiments, and mounting rectification campaigns to root out heresy. The Russian language, after fifty years of Soviet power, still associates the right with authority, truth and justice. From *pravyy* (right-hand, rightful, upright) and *pravda* (truth) to *pravilnost* (accuracy), and *pravitelstvo* (government), and *pravoporyadok* (law and order), and on and on, the Russian dictionaries of today reveal how the dominant dexters have loaded the language so *adroitly* with their words that it takes more than a mere revolution to purge them.

Today, in some of the more enlightened countries (one of which the Soviet Union is not, in this respect), children who naturally prefer to write with the left hand are no longer forcibly rectified. This saves some of them from developing a permanent stammer and permanently illegible handwriting, and it is a welcome sign of progress. But in most cases they

are still obliged to use a script that runs left to right and is thus easier to write with the right hand. Only when they acquire and master a typewriter are they liberated from this form of dextral dominance. Meanwhile, of course, the great mass of children who start with no strong inclination to use only one of their two hands are still trained to write, throw, cut, and so on with their right, and to neglect the training of the left except as an auxiliary.

Because of this training, the pseudo-scientific idea persists that most people are naturally dextrals. Yet three centuries have passed since Sir Thomas Browne exposed as a "vulgar error" the belief that the human heart is on the left, a belief that is still exploited to sustain the theory that the "strong right arm" is naturally the protector of the weak, emotional, vulnerable left side. The unscrupulous dextral conspirators have backed up this kind of superstition with some very dubious dogmas about cerebral dominance, and professors of psychiatry have been found ready to identify a sinister "character type" marked by parsimony, obstinacy and brutality. (People like Danny Kaye, Harpo Marx, Leonardo da Vinci and Babe Ruth?). Well, I ask you, fellow delegates, is it surprising that those who hold out against all the pressures and scorns of a right-handed world tend to seem a little obstinate? Only the tough cookies persist in using their lefts; the others crumble, the other way.

A century ago Thomas Carlyle, in old age, lost the use of his right hand and was made aware of the full extent of the dextrals' domination, which he called "probably the very oldest institution that exists." In fact it seems to have been about 2,500 years ago that scripts favoring the right-handed began to prevail—after a period during which it was common practice to use "ox-turn" writing, ranging back and forth on alternate lines as a plow ranges across a field. The Hebrew and Arabic scripts are among those that still favor the left-handed. (The Chinese, after writing vertically for many centuries, unfortunately came under the influence not of Harpo but Karl Marx and went dextral.)

The sinistrals' misfortunes can be traced right (or left) back to the simple fact that the northern hemisphere contains most of the earth's land areas. Our main cultures and civilizations developed north of the equator. From north of the equator, the sun appears to move clockwise. (To be more accurate, the fact that we like our clock hands to turn that way is part of our sun-worshipping tradition.) Clockwise or sunwise turning—to the right—was auspicious in the earliest rituals. Movement the other way, to the left ("widdershins"), was unlucky, ill-omened, even linked with the powers of darkness. So Buddhist wheels and Christian priests turned clockwise, the right hand was exalted above the left in both the Old and the New Testament, and dim-witted old women caught wandering in circles widdershins were duly burnt as witches. Medieval chivalry brought in the heraldic use of the bar sinister to heap more scorn on the left hand which no right knight would dream of using for sword or lance.

Around the year 1300 Pope Boniface VIII introduced the "keep left" rule on European roads—a rule that favors a right-handed fighter if he meets another traveler who proves hostile. In lands south of the equator, early explorers noted indications of strong lefthandedness among Bushmen and Fijians and Australian aboriginals, none of whom were able to sustain a cultural influence to match that of the dominant dextrals from the northern hemisphere. Only in southern India, a region significantly close to the equator, was there any sort of struggle between equals. There, a long conflict raged between rival sects that upheld the rival hands' claims.

The modern switch to driving on the right might be seen as a belated victor for sinistrals. However, I have visited Sweden since that country changed over to the right hand side of the road only a few weeks ago, and I can testify that such a change no longer strengthens the hand of the southpaws; it is simply not possible to exploit one's skill with sword or whip from the driving seat of an automobile in the way that it could be done from the saddle by a competent horseman. The advance of technology, however, is evening up some things. I have already referred to the typewriter. Left-handed golf clubs have become widely available. Modern telephones are far less discriminatory than the earlier designs. The dextrals have lost much of the advantage in the military sphere that they enjoyed in the age of the oldstyle rifle. You can, it seems (I speak as a representative of a non-nuclear state, without expert knowledge), press the button with either hand, and probably with either foot.

Nevertheless, fellow delegates, I must remind you that we live in the age of rising expectations. We cannot imagine that one great human group will patiently wait for justice when it sees the injustices done to other groups being remedied. Some day these people will be moved to stand up and fight for their lefts. It is a very sinister possibility. Already I have heard talk about what would be called, in any other context, direct action, being planned by an organization that uses the slogan "Might is Left." Admittedly, there still seems to be wider support for the more moderate faction which, while taking the view that "I had rather be left than President," retains some respect for authority and sticks to the principle of "my country, left or wrong." But, I ask you, how can we expect them to behave when we have so long been telling them that they are perverse, malicious, dishonest, wicked, flagitious, and worthless even in the lowest of low Dutch dialects? Have we taught them to know left from wrong? Just the opposite. We have taught them to identify left with wrong.

It is therefore with a sense of extreme urgency that I invite the General Assembly to place on its agenda the item my government has proposed under the heading, "Lefting an Ancient Wrong," and to approve the attached draft of a Universal Declaration of Human Lefts.

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Within the Gates: Memory of a Tragic Day

OLD-TIMERS in Vietnam claim that Tet (lunar New Year) to the Vietnamese is Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Fourth of July all rolled into one. Firecrackers play a large role in celebrations. As ironic as it might appear with the war going on outside, the government has permitted the gay, screaming blasting of thousands and thousands of firecrackers within the city. The celebration of Tet began on Monday, January 29; the Vietnamese took great delight in stringing together hundreds of the small red fuses, dangling the string down from four or five stories of a building, then lighting the bottom one, thereby causing a maddening continuous series of bangs and pops all bur-

bling into a blast comparable to artillery sounds. So it could be said we had an appropriate prelude for Wednesday morning.

Thus it was, with our nerves so keyed, the final overture came precisely at 3:00 a.m. January 31. I was abruptly, frightfully, awakened by enormous blasts, rifle shots, machine gun tating, chopping up the silence of a night which had just settled down from earlier celebrations. It was like the percussion section of an orchestra gone berserk. Deep, growling rolls on the timpani, sharp, staccato booms of the bass, rat-tat-tat on the snare; and the clangs were imaginary, as if my head was placed carefully between each cymbal. The war sounds were

close by, demanding, urgent, and were continuous from 3:00 to 4:00, from 4:00 to 5:00, then tapering into small arms fire. Around 4:00 a.m. shone the stars of Bethlehem, seven air force flares, signaling most clearly the area of action, just in case one had not already guessed that there was indeed a happening at the American Embassy and Independence Palace . . . Independence Palace Day, Fourth of July. The 4:00 a.m. radio news had nothing. I half dozed, anguish heightened by each successive blast, thinking how sad, how sad, to go this alone. Didn't think seriously of death, though it was possible. Just felt alone.

The 6:00 a.m. news had a little blurb about VC entering the Embassy compound and exchanging small arms fire. The Palace had been hit and was played up at that time to be the more serious of the two. Occasional rifle shots were heard at this hour. The apartment where I was staying was six blocks from the Embassy, three blocks from the Palace.

At 8:00 a.m. my thoughts were that I was to work for the Political Counselor, John A. Calhoun, today, and he would surely be in early. I jumped into the car and attempted to drive to the Embassy. The deserted streets were alarming and I felt most emphatically that I should not be out, but the Embassy had always seemed to me a safe haven (especially when out of funds while traveling). I was detoured at one intersection, went around another block, and was stopped by Vietnamese guards. It was a block from the Embassy so I parked the car and walked the rest of the way. One-half block from the rear



gate of the Chancery I was stopped by more Vietnamese guards, ten of them standing with their rifles cocked, forbidding my further entrance. And then they told me: There are Viet Cong in the Embassy.

A platoon of men had just landed on the helicopter pad on the roof to shoot them out. I heard firing. I quickly turned back to my car, demanding no further explanation. With the help of a trigger-happy policeman, a score of backed-up Hondas was cleared away for my escape. I found myself going past the house of the Chief of the Political Section, Tom Recknagel, so I backed up and stopped to see if he knew what was happening. He had been in contact with the Political Counselor, who was in telephonic communication with various people from his home. Stray bullets ricocheted around the Recknagel/Conlon house, three blocks from the Embassy. (Tom Conlon was fortunate enough to be on SMA in Manila.)

When his phone went dead, we drove to the Counselor's home in my car. Our presence screamed out on the silent streets; streets that normally bulged with Honda, taxi, cyclo traffic and their respective fumes, now were empty, and the air very clear. The silence was striking and ominous; it was as though we had been flashed into a completely remote environment.

At the Political Counselor's home, we learned that 19 Viet Cong bodies lay awaiting removal from their positions under the concrete flower circles in the Embassy front yard. The Viet Cong had shelled the Embassy building and entered the Embassy com-

pound. They had not, despite radio reports, penetrated the Chancery itself, but had occupied buildings on the compound, including the home of the Mission Coordinator. He had wounded, then had to strangle, a VC who was coming up the stairs after him. The Marine Guards of the Embassy, the Embassy security men, and the Military Police had done most of the fighting, and were reinforced by elements of the 101st Airborne who had landed by helicopter on the Embassy roof.

At 9:30 a.m. the Embassy was declared secure, and the Minister Counselor and Chief of Political Section left for the Chancery. One-half hour later Dave Lambertson, a Political Officer, and I boarded his jeep and followed. At the Embassy we first noted a three-foot hole in the nine-foot outer protective wall. The wall, just recently whitewashed, was smudged with darkened stains of battle. And how sad it was to look up to see our lovely new building scarred by four blackened cavities. Blood stains on the grass, trampled flowers; scores of soldiers sitting, standing, in the compound area, their first chance of rest in hours. When we entered the compound there were two VC bodies stacked in the corner, the rest having been removed. The eyes of the soldiers were the same: grim and disbelieving, stunned expressions recounting the night's horror; MPs just having seen four bodies hauled away which once were their buddies. Sunday I had been teasing some Marine Guards about how soft was their lot, babysitting for the Embassy. No smiles today; a Marine Guard had also been killed and four wounded. Our security

men with revolvers strapped to their waists looked like bedraggled guerrillas who had just emerged from the jungle. And everyone so tired—talking in low and serious rumblings.

The teak door at the entrance was riveted with bullet holes and could be almost folded back onto itself; yet it withstood a direct bazooka hit. The Embassy seal, a circle of enameled steel, was ripped off its place on an exterior wall and now lay in the gravel. Black marble in the foyer, with streaks of bullet riddling, was beyond repair. An eight-inch hole in the wall behind the reception desk, encountered when they hit the Marine Guard radio. The elevator I took to the second floor was splattered with the blood of a wounded Marine who was taken up to the helicopter pad on the roof for evacuation. And our Political section on the second floor—lying in a film of plaster, a gaping, jagged hole in the protective sunscreen outside one office (one of the four cavities); a bullet hole in a door frame; window casings forced out (the plastic windows performed well and did not shatter).

There were very few of us at the Embassy that first day, January 31. The Armed Forces Radio broadcast that all Americans, civilian and military alike, were to remain in their billets, hotels, apartments, until further notice. I normally live at the Park Hotel (having been in Saigon only six months), but had a week's vacation in a friend's apartment when she was on R & R in Tokyo. A friend at the Park had called in and was almost hysterical; a company of VC were camping in a building directly next to the hotel which afforded an excellent view of the Palace right across the street. Two political officers and I went in search of my friend, and were at first driven back by sniper fire. Had the new experience of sharing the military's C-rations, a pleasant surprise of varieties—we soon learned which numbers had cans of fruit and peanut butter.

Mid-afternoon a squadron of American tanks rolled in parade in front of the Embassy, leaving their bulky toothmarks as souvenirs in the soft asphalt.

So now we are protected by troops on each floor and those surrounding the building and immediate area. Tanks are stationed as sentries at nearby intersections. A jeep manned with machine gun sits inside our lobby. How considerate it was for them to make it an early morning attack. We think of how great our losses could have been. And that was our Thanksgiving. ■



Berkeley and the Foreign Service

ROBERT W. RINDEN

THREE years as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley, together with 26 years in the Foreign Service, have brought me to the conclusion that students at Berkeley and officers in the Foreign Service differ somewhat in their ideas of the good life and correct behavior.

Though hardly startling, this observation may have some practical implications. In coming years, hundreds of graduates of US colleges and universities will enter the Foreign Service and their attitudinal and behavioral norms will probably correspond, in general, to those of the Berkeley students. In short, what goes on among the 9,000 graduate and 18,000 undergraduate students at Berkeley multiversity also takes place in a great many other campuses throughout the land.

The Berkeley scene has been over-exposed, and distorted, on television and in the press. Since the Sproul Hall sit-in of early December 1964, Berkeley has been dramatized nationwide as the epicenter of student rebellion, the place where the action is. Nonetheless, the Berkeley student (the modal personality among the Berkeley students) is no unique phenomenon; he is Every Student, a bit self-conscious perhaps in his role of a vanguard student activist.

Commitment, Participation and Challenge—these three words are key values for Berkeley students and, it is thought, for their fellows across America.

Talleyrand's "*Et surtout, pas trop de zèle*" and Voltaire's "I disagree with everything you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it" may still be quoted approvingly in the Foreign Service but they will not be endorsed by the Berkeley student. They lack a sense of commitment, they reveal a dilution of values. *L'homme engagé* takes himself seriously; he is zealous; he is not indulgent towards error (i.e., conflicting opinions).

To many members of the Foreign Service, politics—both domestic and international—may be the art of the possible; compromise may seem inherent in diplomacy and negotiation. But, to the committed, bargaining and concession violate the conscience. Those who subscribe to the Weberian "ethic of ultimate ends," an absolutist ethic, hold that the end is so crucial that all means necessary should be taken to achieve it and no compromise is permissible.

The man who is sincerely committed acts on his commitment. The Berkeley student does not see his role as that of a passive beneficiary of predigested data bestowed upon him by his teachers and elders in preparation for his later activity

The student movement is and will be important or a childish fancy depending on how it relates to the struggle for human emancipation. It is therefore extremely important that we begin to see ourselves in the historical context in which we live.

—MICHAEL LERNER, *Executive Committee, Free Speech Movement, Berkeley*

after graduation. He is determined to take part right now, and in no mere campus extra-curricular activities. He is resolved to share in formulating national diplomatic and military policy ("Get Out Of Vietnam"), in solving racial problems (civil rights marches and voter registration in the South) and in administering his own university. Suggestions that he should be fully occupied in the demanding task of gaining the educational and professional background essential to achievement and influence in later life or, above all, suggestions that he may not be as well qualified to take the decisions on major issues as those formally entrusted with these responsibilities are altogether unacceptable.

From this moral obligation to be committed and this imperative duty to take action there follows the need to challenge the "conventional wisdom"—to take nothing for granted. The Establishment, authority and age are by no means sacrosanct; on the contrary, they are suspect. As Mario Savio warned: "You can't trust anyone over thirty."

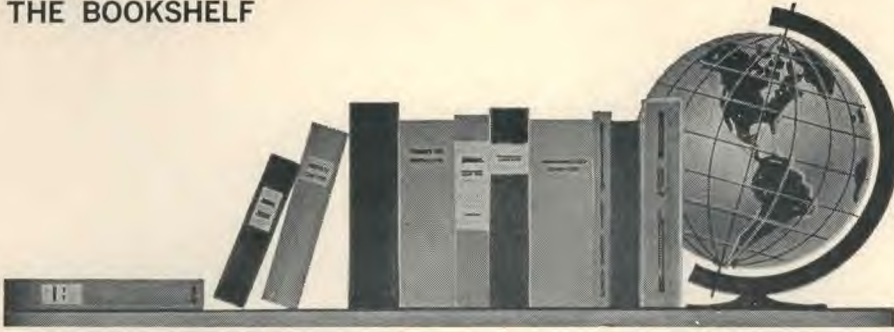
In the urgent quest for truth in a desperate age there is scant time or excuse for formal courtesy or undue concern for *amour propre*. Too much is at stake, the issues are too pressing, to permit time-wasting indirection or facesaving evasion. If the smooth face of mediocrity is thereby affronted, very well, then, let it be affronted. "I will stand here for humanity; and though I would make it kind, I would make it true."

The Berkeley student is kind, and compassionate. The disadvantaged in our society (and everywhere), the societal drop-outs, the disdained minorities of all sorts, call forth his sympathy and help. With 901 former Berkeley students in the Peace Corps (more than any other university in America) and with some 8,000 students active in service organizations (working among racial minorities, illiterates, juvenile delinquents, and the like) Berkeley students have demonstrated what they mean by commitment and participation.

The students from Berkeley, and their counterparts in other US colleges and universities, will find in the Foreign Service exceptional opportunities for dedicated activists. They will bring a great deal of value into the Foreign Service. Among other things, they will bring challenge and, in some areas, confrontation across the generational gap. ■

**The primary need still is to wake up students—
not to constrain them.**

—DR. SEYMOUR LIPSET



Where Has Kremlinology Gone?

LOOK at the variety and spread of books and essay collections published here on the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution suggests several observations on the state of American and British "Sovietology."

First, the number of specialists and scholars on the Soviet Union is dazzling—indeed the real celebration for the many "Sovietologists" in this country should have been for the 20th anniversary of the birth of Soviet studies as a discipline. Secondly, the quality of the scholarship and journalistic reporting on Soviet society is a far cry from the 1930's and early post-WWII period when the field was dominated by some emigrés and a few specialists, very few of whom knew Russian. But sadly there are far too many books and articles produced today about the Soviet Union that are as wooden and dull as PRAVDA itself. Also the many, many new specialists have so burrowed into the detail of Soviet society that there are few of them writing today able to make intelligent observations on the whole of Soviet Russia as such trail blazers as Phillip Mosley and George Kennan have done since the beginnings of American "Sovietology." Thirdly, few of today's analysts write about the Kremlin "power struggle." Except for an occasional contribution from Tatu, Conquest, or Zorza the Kremlin watchers seem to have given way to the conventional sociologists, economists and political scientists. Maybe "Kremlinology" was only an art of the Khrushchev era—his heirs are so similar and dull what difference does the power struggle make anyway? But watching Shelepin's unspectacular but progressive decline at the hand of Brezhnev proceed with nary an article, I ask with nostalgia, what has become of Kremlinology? Finally, the scholars of the American "melting pot" seem uninterested in and unappreciative of the national minorities of the Soviet Union. It is indeed ironic that as nationalism comes alive throughout the world, including the

communist world, and as we are divided in racial conflicts, the nationalism of the minorities within the Soviet empire hardly received a mention by American scholars in the 50th anniversary year.

The following are a few comments on some of the collections of essays on the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The NEW YORK TIMES collection "The Soviet Union: The Fifty Years," which was an impressive daily series in the weeks before the November holidays is now out in a handsome expanded book with photographs and maps. The eminently qualified group of TIMES correspondents and Soviet specialists have reported the strengths and weaknesses of Soviet society today admirably and fairly. Fred Hechinger's two wide ranging essays on education are particularly well done. Harrison Salisbury's lead essay which discusses the fifty years largely in the words of leading Soviet citizens provides the personal touch on Russian history rarely available to us Westerners. Mikoyan told Salisbury that the anti-Stalin speeches in 1956 "were carefully planned . . . we fought and fought for [them]." Galina Serebryakova discussed Stalin's sinister aide Poskrebyshev who had told her of the fate of a friend killed in about 1938—"he must have been shot, we didn't start using poison until 1940 or thereabout."

The N.Y. TIMES efforts to be objective resulted in some distortions, however. A generous article on architecture has some surprising judgments on the appallingly monotonous and prematurely decrepit "modern" Soviet buildings. It is certainly worth noting that the Soviets are way out in front in sheer volume of housing units built but the TIMES architecture critic concludes that "the norm (of Soviet architecture) is better than much of Western production, particularly technologically, even if it is below Western design" and that "the USSR has helped redefine architecture in the 20th Century." The most serious omission of the TIMES book is its failure to mention the Soviet minorities—over 40 percent of the Soviet

population. A mediocre article on soviet Jews, the only discussion of a minority, only served to dramatize the void. Nonetheless, the NEW YORK TIMES book is a highly readable and interesting view of Soviet Russia today for the non-specialist.

Eugene Lyons' "Workers' Paradise Lost" is on the other end of the spectrum from the NEW YORK TIMES effort as a dispassionate commentary on Soviet society. Lyons is still a pamphleteering anti-Communist who is more anguished by Communist ideological pretensions and political hypocrisies than impressed by Soviet social and economic progress. Another exposé of Soviet "myths and realities" was probably called for in their fiftieth year but it is frankly a bore. Lyons draws on many distinguished authorities to support his thesis that Soviet Russia is "a pile of poverty, confusion, agrarian peonage, oppression and frustration." He comes short of predicting another revolution.

For the specialist, several fine collections of scholarly essays appeared in the field's three leading journals, PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, SURVEY, and STUDIES ON THE SOVIET UNION.

The most refreshing approach was taken by POC's creative and energetic editor, Abe Brumberg, who devoted his September-October issue to the "Soviet Nationalities." POC's comprehensive survey of the current state of the Soviet nationality problem was the only serious study of this much neglected aspect of Sovietology to appear in 1967. It most certainly should come out in book form. In November-December, POC filled in another vital gap by devoting the entire issue to the "Victors and the Vanquished" of the Bolshevik leadership struggles. In his stimulating concluding essay to articles on Trotsky, the SR's, the Mensheviks, Bukharin, etc., Leonard Schapiro asks: "Is it not remarkable that after 50 years the Soviet leadership still believes that the only criterion of immortality is success, that history must be written exclusively by the victors, and that those historical figures whose ideas—whatever their merit—did not prevail deserve either contempt and calumny or, at best, oblivion?"

One of the most comprehensive and provocative collections of essays on the state of the Soviet Union after fifty years was offered by SURVEY in its July and October issues. SURVEY's articles by top scholars came closest to providing a broad commentary on the whole range of Soviet problems and accomplishments. I found the articles on the economy, planning and education particularly enlightening.

Finally, the "Studies on the Soviet Union" from the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich devoted a full issue to "1917-1967, Promise and Realization" which placed a good deal of stress on Soviet foreign policy. Wolfe's article on the Soviet Military and Pipes' article on the Nationalities were the most provocative in this collection.

As one final thought—the irony for "Sovietologists" in 1967 was that of all the books published in America on Russia, the two most popular by far were "Nicholas and Alexandra" and Svetlana's "Twenty Letters to a Friend."

—WILLIAM H. LUERS

THE SOVIET UNION: THE FIFTY YEARS, edited by Harrison E. Salisbury, Harcourt Brace & World, \$8.95.

WORKERS' PARADISE LOST, *Fifty Years of Soviet Communism; A Balance Sheet*, Eugene Lyons. Funk and Wagnalls, \$6.95.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, *USIA, September-October 1967 and November-December, 1967*.

SURVEY, *A Journal of Soviet and East European Studies*, Information Limited, London, issues No. 64 and 65 of July and October 1967.

STUDIES OF THE SOVIET UNION, Vol VI, No. 3, 1967 (1917-1967 Promise and Realization), Institute for the Study of the USSR, Munich.

Origins of American Diplomacy

MAX SAVELLE'S exhaustively researched "Origins of American Diplomacy" is, astonishingly, the first comprehensive study ever made of diplomacy affecting this continent before the American Revolution. It describes, with great clarity, the efforts of Spain and Portugal to establish a monopoly in the New World, the challenge to that monopoly by the English, French and Dutch, the effect of the New World on European great-power diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the New World's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession, the "Concert of Europe," the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

As the colonies developed, American diplomacy acquired another dimension—largely neglected by historians until now—through direct relations between the colonies and international relations along our frontier. The colonies also had a considerable impact upon the evolving theory and practice of international law, an impact which provides many illustrations of the close relationship which has always existed between that law and diplomacy. From this international context emerged an American public opinion about foreign affairs, which Professor Savelle summarizes in a concluding and stimulating chapter.

The only American historian of

stature to become interested in this profoundly important area of American history was a woman, Frances Gardiner Davenport, whose magisterial collection of "European Treaties Bearing Upon the Territory of the United States and its Dependencies" was published over a 17 year period, 1917-1934, and constituted for 33 years the only significant work on the subject. Her contribution, however, was not narrative history but a collection of treaties with scholarly introductions to each and a thorough bibliography. Her introductions formed a series of brilliant but unconnected essays and it has been left to the distinguished historian of Stanford, now professor emeritus at the University of Washington, to fill the need for a narrative history.

As Professor Savelle points out with impressive erudition, there was a good deal of diplomatic correspondence between the English, French and Spanish governors in the New World; much jockeying for the friendship and support of the Indians; disputation over boundaries, allegations of infractions and derivative discussions; threats of making trouble, brandishes of reprisal and, of course, actual "trouble." The dividing line between diplomacy on the one hand and exploration, trading, settlement, incitement of Indians, piracy and war on the other was blurred, which reminds us that the difficulties we are experiencing today with subversion, guerilla warfare and movements of "national liberation" are not unique. All this had its repercussions in the diplomatic exchanges between the French, Spanish and English courts in Europe, but, as Professor Savelle points out, the preliminary diplomacy was developed on the new continent. Indeed, an important point made in this study, which disputes a commonly cherished notion, is that by 1756 the American "colonies were no longer pawns on a European diplomatic chessboard. European diplomats danced, and European armies marched, as colonial issues piped the tune."

This brought the English colonists useful diplomatic training. The later demonstrations of skill in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods by the Benjamin Franklins, Thomas Jeffersons, James Monroes, *et al.*, were not the product of fortuitous genius: they evolved from a long period of colonial experience.

If any criticism is to be ventured of this monumental work, it would be that it lacks detail and refinement of description of the techniques of the diplomacy practiced by explorers, traders, negotiators and spoilers of

Indian alliances and the colonial governors with one another and their home governments. No doubt this falls outside the historian's task and is one for the political scientist. If so, the historian's task has been superbly performed by Professor Savelle.

This is the fourth volume to appear in the American Diplomatic History Series under the general editorship of Armin Rappaport, other titles in the series being "Challenge and Rejection, 1900-1921," by Julius W. Pratt; "The Uncertain Giant," by Selig Adler; and "Prelude to World Power," by F. R. Dulles. Professor Savelle's work adds considerable distinction to the series and every student of American diplomacy rests greatly in his debt.

—SMITH SIMPSON

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, by Max Savelle. Macmillan, \$12.95.

What Americans Think

EVERY officer in the Foreign Service whether he belongs to the State Department, AID, or USIS, should be well informed—at least in broad terms—about the basic patterns and trends of American public opinion.

No other recent book can inform the general reader as succinctly and intelligently about American political beliefs and attitudes as "The Political Beliefs of Americans" by Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril. The Foreign Service Institute will do well to consider it as required reading for courses, such as the Mid-Career course, that deal *inter alia* with basic elements of the American scene.

The authors have to their credit a number of highly specialized books for readers who wish to go deeply into the study of American and foreign public opinion; but the present book sets forth the quintessence of the evidence and of their wisdom. It explains, for instance, the basic ambivalence of American distrust for government and increasing American reliance on government for certain basic functions. It analyzes American attitudes toward foreign aid.

It explains why the self-labeling of Americans as "liberals" or "conservatives" is often to be distrusted; how conservatism in internal politics goes hand in hand with certain views on international affairs; how age affects political beliefs; how deeply certain prejudices are ingrained in American opinion; and why some people, despite widespread and vociferous support from certain elements of the electorate, can never get elected to national office.

This reviewer found especially startling the revelation that according to

recent scientific opinion sampling, more Americans now identify their interests with those of the "working class" than of the "middle class"; that prejudice against Catholics is more widespread than prejudice against Jews; that a majority of young people are in favor of stepping up the war in Vietnam; and that a clear majority of Americans favor a "two Chinas" formula.

There is also food for thought in the observation that according to a simple test administered to a representative sample of our population, "more than one-third of the United States population is perhaps too uninformed politically to participate intelligently in the democratic process." In fact, there is much food for thought in most of the book's findings.

The only criticism that must be made is that for a volume with only 181 pages of text (the rest are appendices), ten dollars is a rather steep price. Yet "The Political Beliefs of Americans" is sound value in terms of the insights it conveys into the minds of the people whom we represent abroad.

—M. F. H.

THE POLITICAL BELIEFS OF AMERICANS, by Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril. Rutgers University Press, \$10.00.

"No Red Carpet"

THIS chapter-heading in Katharine Allen's "Foreign Service Diary" could well be the title of her unvarnished account of the ups and downs of a Foreign Service family abroad.

Any youthful Foreign Service wife, preparing for her first post, would do well to give priority to "Foreign Service Diary," buying it before she gets her first phrase book, plans her wardrobe, or begins her search for a pair of comfortable cocktail-party shoes. She will laugh, learn, and make notes as she reads.

The book begins as the Allens arrive in Patras, Greece, in 1934, Mrs. Allen a bride and her husband a Vice Consul—at a salary of \$2,750 a year. After Patras, George Allen progressed rather more rapidly than most, for, after being Third Secretary in Cairo and doing a stint in Washington, he became Ambassador to Iran and, subsequently, to Yugoslavia and India. (The rounding of the circle, when Mr. Allen returned to Greece as Ambassador, is not covered in this book.)

Ambassador Allen, who is famous in the Service for his consistent ability to pull an appropriate anecdote out of his top hat, has a rival in his wife. In "Foreign Service Diary," one amusing story succeeds another. The following tale, however, is one that this writer

has never happened to hear from Ambassador Allen himself.

As Mrs. Allen tells it: "I must now relate an amusing anecdote about my husband, who is not at all observant regarding ladies' clothes. He knew that after two years abroad, I would have bought some new clothes during my trip home, and since we had been married only two years, he schooled himself to notice each new dress as it appeared. While in America I had retrieved my wedding dress, which had been put aside in haste two years earlier. I had the train cut off and had it dyed a soft Nile green. When I donned this dress one night, he remarked, 'How charming!' I replied with a hurt expression, 'Don't you remember this? It's my wedding dress.' 'Oh,' he replied naively, 'I didn't remember you were married in green!'"

Obviously, not only those new to the Foreign Service will enjoy this book. Old Timers, too, will take pleasure in coming across familiar names and situations and, like this Old Timer, will close the book, sighing, "That's the way it was!"

—REBECCA H. LATIMER

FOREIGN SERVICE DIARY, by Katharine M. Allen. Potomac Books, Inc., \$5.00.

Who Put the Light Out in Greece?

EVER since the "colonels' junta" seized power in Athens last year and imposed on Greece a bumbling fascist dictatorship, insinuations of American foreknowledge of the coup and possible participation have been circulating. Now these have been assembled by Stephen Rousseas, economics professor at New York

University and former Fulbright lecturer in Salonika. Although he is not quite sure that our Embassy knew about this coup in advance, he does charge that the United States was part of a "Big Junta"—involving "the generals, the King, and the ubiquitous Queen Mother, Frederika," which was preparing to suspend constitutional government before the national elections, scheduled for May 28, and thereby prevent George Papandreou's Center Union party from coming triumphantly back to power. The colonels—the "Little Junta"—merely jumped the gun. Though Washington and the palace would have been happier with the generals, the prime objective had been achieved: Andreas Papandreou was not going to be permitted to step into his aged father's boots and lead Greece toward "economic and social reform" and a more independent foreign policy.

Professor Rousseas' reconstruction of the events leading up to the coup rests on a conglomerate of fact, rumor, press speculation, reports of the goings and comings of Greek and American officials, and conversations that could hardly have been tape-recorded, all cemented together with inference and surmise. Reviewing the history of American involvement in Greece, he finds a consistent pattern of support for reactionary elements centered on the palace and the royalist wing of the armed forces, political manipulation through pressure, bribery and the giving or withholding of aid, and a panicky anti-Communism. Against that background, American connivance in the



Church of St. Nikolas, Aegina, by Heath Bowman

events of April 21 would appear to be an eminently plausible assumption.

This is Professor Rousseas' thesis. It was his hard luck, however, that one of its major props was knocked out, just five days before his book came out, by King Constantine's pathetically inept attempt to rally the army and the people against the junta. The author can probably explain this away: like the sorcerer's apprentice, the King found he could not control the forces he had conjured up. But there are other developments that do not fit his ingenious script. Why were "right-wing" politicians, including many with whom the American Mission had worked closely, thrown in jail along with "left-wing" leaders? (I put the terms in quotes because, as Rousseas himself admits at one point, these western European concepts have little relevance to Greek politics.) And why, when the maintenance of a strong NATO bulwark was our primary interest, should we put into power a gang that, according to the *NEW YORK TIMES* (Dec. 18, 1967), has critically weakened the Greek armed forces by weeding out most of the competent higher officers, many of them trained in the United States? Sorcerer's apprentice again, maybe.

The trouble with the book, I am afraid, is that Professor Rousseas started out with a thesis and a hero. His thesis I have summarized, I hope not inaccurately. His hero is Andreas Papandreou, whom he served as confidant and adviser, and who is obviously the source of most of his material. His emotional involvement causes him to select, interpret and often distort evidence to fit his thesis and magnify his hero. Though my notes are full of examples, I have room for only one. Whatever American shortcomings may have been, how can a historian dismiss with a sneer Greece's remarkable economic growth during the years of American aid and say that at the end of Constantine Karamanlis' seven-year administration the country's economy "was in no better shape" than before?

It's too bad. The whole story of the Greek tragedy has not been told, and there are enough ambiguities in the American record, before and after the coup, to warrant some disquiet. Since the villains of the piece—Ambassador Talbot and his staff—may be unable to talk back, perhaps somebody else, closer to the events than this reviewer, will step forward and set Professor Rousseas right where he needs further correction.

—TED OLSON

THE DEATH OF A DEMOCRACY: Greece and the American Conscience, by Stephen Rousseas. Grove Press, \$6.50.

There'll Always Be . . .

UNDER a glib facade of verbal dexterities, David Frost and Anthony Jay, both graduates of Cambridge University and both reasonably well-known through TV and the *SPECTATOR*, the *OBSERVER* and the *NEW STATESMAN*, have provided a scathing resumé, if not indictment, of Britain today. The book pretends to be—and is—facile, light, clever, full of sex and sin but is, in this reviewer's opinion, a book written in all seriousness. The table of contents lists chapter headings such as "The Classless Society," the "Industrial Evolution," "Sin," "Sex," "Women," "Le Sport, Weekend and the Haute Cuisine" and finishes with a chapter entitled "The White Man's Burden."

The foreword begins with the following: "What has happened to the English? For years they have impressed other nations with their reserve, their effortless superiority, and their massive sense of propriety and responsibility. The bowler-hatted, pinstripe-suited retired colonel with the bristling white moustache served as a satisfactory stereotype; he may not have been universal, he may not even have formed the majority, but it was clear that England was run by him and for him, and that he was the model towards which his less favored compatriots molded their aspirations.

"And then suddenly the picture changed. It was not a slow fade, not even a dissolve, but an abrupt cut to a picture of a young man with long hair, very little reserve, and no sense of propriety or responsibility whatever."

So it seems by all accounts that the British are definitely on their last legs. They have huge debts, inefficient industries, antiquated unions, uncompetitive managements, inadequate exports, depleted reserves, congested roads, irresponsible adolescents and decaying cities. According to a number of foreign observers, the most enduring (if not endearing) characteristics of the English are hypocrisy, snobbery and frigidity. Are we to lose these tokens of a great past via the Soho strip joints or Liverpool pop groups? We can only hope not, at least not by so shoddy a route!

The book is imparted in a deft, neat package of modern prose, balanced through wry comparisons and juxtapositions which the reviewer is sorely tempted to over-indulge in. But he hopes that the reader will bear with him through some of the phrases which not only spark the style of the book but convey an acute apprecia-

tion of the British capacity for self-criticism.

"Members of the young generation of the 1960's attract particular condemnation because they so blatantly prove what the right wing have always suspected: that all the money the right wing have nobly disgorged for maternity benefits, welfare food, national health, family allowances, education, unemployment benefit and national assistance was not merely received without gratitude, but was so unnecessary that it has all been spent on motor scooters, outrageous clothing, guitars, and cups of espresso coffee; and not a penny on haircuts." And, if the reader can stand one more, I will quote briefly from the Chapter on "Sex"—"Clearly the answer to the whole youth problem is to raise the school-leaving age to 48. That will satisfy everybody. It will keep the bounders out of mischief, please the politicians, and fit in with the current system because it is becoming clear anyway that whoever education may be for at the moment it is certainly not for children."

But while Frost and Jay obviously have enjoyed themselves in writing this book they have not spared themselves or their fellow countrymen in making it trenchantly clear that bad habits, bad thinking and bad management are at the root of Britain's present critical dilemma. As they say in their penultimate paragraph: "England is immeasurably the best place in the world to live. Its people are more tolerant and more talented than even they believe. It has a uniquely important part to play in the modern world. What Athens was in the Roman Empire, England can and should be in the American Empire of the 1970's." They can hardly be blamed for asking the question which finishes the book: "England has all the qualifications to play the role of Athens. Why on earth then does she insist on crippling herself without point or purpose by trying to be a mini-Rome?"

—BARRETT PARKER

THE ENGLISH, by David Frost and Anthony Jay. Stein and Day, \$5.95.

A Necessary Classic

The Struggle For Indochina 1940-1955," published in 1966, is a reprint of "The Struggle For Indochina," originally published in 1954, supplemented by an article, "The Struggle For Indochina Continues," first published in 1955.

The profundity of Dr. Ellen Hammer's scholarship, the lucidity of her presentation, the authoritativeness of her analysis of the complex forces-in-conflict in Indochina during the

1940-1955 period have been lauded in so many learned journals as to make further praise presumptuous—not to say superfluous. Suffice it to say, then, that anyone concerned with Vietnam really must have this book in his library. It is a classic, and it is without rival.

Dr. Hammer deals in the body of her work with Vietnam and the French experience. In the April 1966 preface to the current volume she permits herself a few observations on Vietnam and the American experience. Remarking that the US was "sucked into the area (Indochina) by the pressure of events during the last phase of the war with France," she declares: "Washington's persistent misreading of the nature of the Vietnamese people has impaired the effect of the generous US aid program, and of the sacrifices made by Americans for the cause of Vietnamese independence. The sad history of Ngo Dinh Diem epitomizes this psychological failure."

With Diem's demise, the "mandate of heaven," according to Dr. Hammer, shifted to the Buddhist movement led by Thich Tri Quang and to those Catholics who placed nationalism above transient advantages derived from religious ties with the West—and to the "Viet Cong, taking advantage of both the popular discontent created by the intensification of the war and the anarchy created by the power struggle among the generals."

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDOCHINA 1940-1955, by Ellen J. Hammer. Stanford University Press, \$8.50.

Here Is Wisdom

WHEN Charles W. Yost speaks about foreign affairs, it behooves us to listen. No other career officer has surpassed his service to the US in the field of foreign affairs. Recently retired, he has been Ambassador three times, Minister twice, and for five years—under Adlai Stevenson and Arthur Goldberg—our Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations. His is the voice of experience.

It is also a voice of candor and wisdom, and of great modesty. The candor and wisdom make for the strengths of his book, the modesty for its single weakness.

"The Insecurity of Nations" covers a wide gamut of things that Ambassador Yost has had on his mind: He deals with human nature, science, economics, government, and recent history; he surveys the major problem areas of the world (except Latin

America); he discusses economic development and international organization. There is greatness in the way his far-ranging mind boxes the compass of the human condition, of the problems of war and peace.

The final section of the book sets forth tentative conclusions which advocate the agreement on non-proliferation, point out the limits of air power, and call for recognition of China, a thinning-out of weaponry in Central Europe, and de-escalation in Vietnam, all in measured and rather discursive form. This is not a hard-hitting book.

In fact, the author's modesty leads him to appeal too often to the authority of others, or even to cite just the felicitous phrasing of a thought for which no other authority than his own would be required. The book abounds with quotations ranging from Kafka to St. Thomas Aquinas. Meticulous credit is given in the text to authors of articles in newspapers or scholarly journals, as well as to the more prominent ("A.C. Monteith remarked that . . ." etc.) Even the final paragraph of "The Insecurity of Nations" is a reference to what someone else (in this case, the aged Marshal Lyautey) has said, not much more eloquently than what the author has said before.

Yet Ambassador Yost can be impressively persuasive, as in this penultimate passage of this book:

"The revival and re-enforcement of the United Nations no doubt seems, and at the moment may be, Utopian. The point to be made again and again, to be hammered unmercifully into our proud, hard, silly heads, is that the attempt to achieve the security of nations by national means under modern circumstances is still more Utopian. Even assuming uncommon sense or, more likely, some tragic demonstrations of calamity, the invigoration of the United Nations will take a number of years. The passing of powers from old to new, from parochial to ecumenical, from states separating peoples to institutions uniting them, will not be accomplished quickly or easily. Still it seems high time to begin."

These are words of wisdom.

—M. F. H.

THE INSECURITY OF NATIONS, by Charles Yost. Praeger, \$6.50.

Gambia: The Improbable Nation

CURSED with a nearly total lack of natural resources, a small, illiterate population, a one-crop economy, few trained technicians, and

absurd borders, Gambia is an unfortunate laboratory of Africa's economic ills.

So states ex-NEWSWEEK staffer Berkeley Rice in his racy account of the miniature African state of Gambia.

Rice takes his readers on a highly instructive and colorful journey up the Gambia River aboard the creaking "Lady Wright," he sits in on meetings of the parliament and the Bathurst city council. He makes field trips with British advisors and district officers. He talks with Gambian leaders and with village headmen, Lebanese traders, and students.

Out of it all comes a penetrating picture of this tiny land of 320,000 souls and 4,000 square miles—a nation surrounded (except for a small stretch of seacoast) by Senegal. Can this improbable state with its strong British ties, survive with its one-crop (peanuts) economy in the face of decreasing aid from London? Author Rice provides hundreds of meaty facts, but leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

—JAMES O. MAYS

ENTER GAMBIA, by Berkeley Rice. Houghton Mifflin Company, \$6.95.

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OLD JERUSALEM

(Continued from page 23)

and the Old City spreads out beyond the Kedron Valley, a canvas of cluttered buildings, minarets, coral in the rising sun. The illuminated Cross on the Holy Sepulchre dominates the City. The big bell of the Basilica sent its deep voice across the valley. The gold dome of the Mosque of Omar caught the first rays of the sun, the serpentine, dust-gray road to Absalom's Tomb and rows of green cypress trees were still in shadows, but the corner of Herod's wall and the Golden Gate were delicately pink. Crenellated walls encircling the City were like massive bits of lace thrown against the blue sky.

Another rite takes place at this time of year that is not strictly speaking Christian, but still has roots in the traditions of our Biblical Forefathers.

The Shechem of Genesis—the ancient town of Nablus, lies in Samaria. There are only four hundred Samaritans left. And every year on the Eve of Passover these Samaritans sacrifice lambs on the top of Mount Gerizim above Nablus, the barren, flat Jebel el Tur—the Holy Mountain, where once a rival to the Temple of Solomon in

Jerusalem stood. The sacrifice is carried out exactly as Passover was carried out in Old Testament times.

Many small wooden barracks and tents are erected on Gerizim for the worshipers. The Samaritans stay in Gerizim for seven days. Men, lean and tall, are dressed in long, snow white robes, red fezzes draped with white cloth. Women are in black.

The sun was setting, a cold wind blew from the hills and the plain. On the rough, empty ground the Samaritans were praying. The High Priest, a tall old man with eagle eyes, was in front on a small rug, on his knees with outstretched arms, or with his face flat on the ground, others standing or kneeling with prayer books—all facing the rock on the Summit of Gerizim—the site of the Temple, wailing and chanting. Women stood around, and a few foreigners. A dozen sheep, "a lamb without blemish, a male of the first year," guarded by young men were gathered at one side. The sun was sinking among leaden clouds. The High Priest was reading from Exodus, and as the last rays slowly died away the Priest intoned: "and the whole congregation of Israel shall kill it . . ." just as the word "kill" resounded in the tense silence, a young man began

to cut the throats of the bewildered lambs. One after the other. No sound must be heard from the victim. The blood of the first sacrificial lamb was smeared on the head of a male child, held high above the crowd.

And suddenly it was a delirium of joy, Samaritans shouting, clapping their hands, kissing each other. Boys poured hot water on lambs to pluck the wool, and with swift movements of a short knife the lambs were cleaned, the entrails carried in cupped hands by small boys to the altar—a hole with a fire burning under it. The sacrificial offerings remained until they were entirely consumed.

It was dark now, the glow from large pits reflected the animated faces, lambs were spitted, lowered in the pits and roasted there until midnight. Then the meat was eaten, "in haste, with unleavened bread and with bitter herbs." Only by Samaritans.

The High Priest asked us to his house. A pale young man brought a tray with small cups of sweet coffee. The room was large and crowded, with benches along the walls covered with white linen. And all the men sat motionless, smiling faintly and kindly, an unquenchable light on their faces—the fulfillment of Samaritan law. ■

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out against a soil which, until it began to produce oil, offered mostly hardship.

It was likely this kind of background, so little caught up in a particular time or geography, that enabled Katherine Anne Porter to write her first published story, "Maria Concepcion," which goes into the skin of Mexican culture quite as thoroughly as anything written by Juan Rulfo or painted by Siqueiros. Denver, where she lived briefly, was not a strange place to Katherine Anne Porter. For us, her readers, it is the place where Adam and Miranda came to life; for her it was one particularly useful resting place at which she was able to order into rational facts about living and dying what could have dissipated into an unsharpened melancholy experience.

New York, Mexico during the painful years of its Revolution, Paris, and long voyages between continents were other stops along a way that somehow, to our surprised good fortune, led to Northwest Washington. The result was a "regional" writer who could be at home within a variety of regions, but who basically can be charted, if chart we can, as a uniquely American writer able to react against the stimulus of another kind of world.

It is more difficult to say what contributed to the contemporary quality that makes Katherine Anne Porter, despite her professions of great age, a writer whose "now" is and no doubt will continue to be as valid and recognizable as the "now" of such earnestly topical writers as Salinger, Roth, O'Hara and Baldwin.

"They have to say the things they do. It is their right and their duty, although I wish that some of them could say them with a little more grace and ability."

Miss Porter, whose age has become a matter of public record through an honesty in answering "Who's Who" queries that could perhaps be emulated by some of the other ladies listed, has some ideas about youth that would leave rebellious spirits distraught by the sad-but-true limited options of history repeated.

"If they would but try something *different!* Do you know that . . . Good Lord, when? the very early twenties? . . . I went to the opera in Paris with great flowers painted on my knees? Bathing? Well, that's always been a matter of individual preference, although I'll admit to liking the idea for, well, rather personal reasons . . . and now not to take baths is considered quite wondrous and demonstrative of something or other. What could it be?"

She has thoughts on the improvement of our Foreign Service: "Fire the cultural affairs officers . . . there's probably no group around with less culture . . . At least I *hope* there isn't!"

And on husbands: "If they could only be as nice *out* of bed as they are in it."

And on foreign policy: "*Stop* the war in Vietnam. Stop it, I say. Stop it! Who *are* we to dictate to the world?"

On the role of diplomats: "Isn't it just a matter of handing 'round hats? Don't the junior people just hand on the hats of the senior people? I was married to one, you know, and that's what he always said he was doing."

And on Paris: "Hardly the kind of place I'd want to spend much time in any more." (Alas for the Texas patriot, she says the same of her home state.)

And Rome: "The main problem seems to be getting them to let you stay on in a hotel after the beginning of the tourist season."

It seems undisciplined, after all, never to have talked around the subject of "Americans Abroad," my ostensible reason for interviewing Miss Porter.

She said to me later, remorseful over the failure of my mission, "Well . . . we'll just have to do it all over. But the next time *first* the Americans abroad, *then* the whiskey." ■

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25 YEARS AGO

APRIL 1943

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Plantings

Some of the ideas for the post-war world took root at this time. Treasury Secretary Morgenthau announced April 1, 1943, that finance ministry representatives of friendly nations had been invited to Washington to review plans for stabilizing currencies. The American "White Plan" competed with the British "Keynes Plan." The first called for "Unitas" as a single stabilization fund of five billion; the second for "Bancor," defined in gold, and an international clearing house. Unitas and Bancor were the names suggested for the proposed international currency.

Plans for a United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture took shape. The opening at Hot Springs was deferred from April 27 to May 18. Judge Marvin Jones was named chairman of the US delegation. A number of officers of State and Agriculture were included in the delegation. State representatives included Emilio Collado, Paul C. Daniels, Raymond D. Muir, Leroy D. Stinebower Theodore C. Achilles, Warren Kelchner, Frank A. Waring, Loyd V. Steere, Owen L. Dawson, Lester DeWitt Mallory, Frederick Reinhardt, and Philip P. Williams.

On April 19, 1943, there opened in Bermuda an Anglo-American conference on the problem of refugees. Harold William Dodds, President of Princeton, was head of the US delegation. R. Borden Reams, Foreign Service officer, was designated Secretary. Dodds noted in his opening address that, "From the advent of the Hitler regime to June 30, 1942, American diplomatic and consular officers had issued 547,775 visas to persons who were natives or nationals of the countries now dominated by the Axis powers, that a great many of these persons were refugees from Nazi oppression and persecution. A total of 228,964 visas were issued during the war years 1939-43." The joint communique at the close of the conference said two tests had to be applied to each recommendation: Would it interfere or delay the war effort? Was it capable of accomplishment under war conditions?

Reasons of security restricted the news about the proposals taken up by these conferences.

At Dakar

The JOURNAL OF April 1943 carried an article about Dakar by Thomas C. Wasson. He was transferred from Vigo in September 1940 to open an office at Dakar, whose strategic position attracted much attention after the fall of France. The name had a ring of mystery then, with overtones of menace. The Governor, General Boisson, received Wasson without exequatur. Eight days later the Free French assault began. Fragments of shells crashed through Wasson's roof and windows. Harry Villard had given him oral instructions to make sure American ships could call, report on activities of Germans, and keep tabs on commercial air services. The air fields of French West Africa, links with the Near East, were more numerous and easier to maintain than those on the Guinea coast because of the topography and climate. There turned out to be virtually no German activity. French naval vessels and personnel steered clear of Germans. The 165 German residents of French West Africa had been interned and then repatriated in 1940. Germans would have infiltrated but for the refusal of Boisson and his officials to be wholly guided by Vichy and be complaisant. The British could not spare resources for much defense in their areas of responsibility in West Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast,

Nigeria). Brazil might be vulnerable if the Germans got a foothold in West Africa. Wasson wrote that he always found General Boisson a square shooter. Right after Pearl Harbor the Governor sent for Wasson, cordially wished the United States well, and expressed confidence we would win the war.

Vice Consul Donald A. Dumont, Vice Consul Frederic P. Culbert, and Jerome R. Lavallee were added to Wassons staff. Dumont protected foreign interests, inspected internment camps, and helped hundreds of shipwrecked seamen. After 18 months, Fayette L. Flexner replaced Wasson as Consul.

At Helsinki

Strains in relations with Finland, then still at war with Russia, were reflected in the withdrawal of all American personnel except one, from the Legation. The Minister, Rudolf A. Schoenfeld, had been recalled in December 1942. In April 1943, George West, Third Secretary, and American staff personnel left with their families for Stockholm. Robert McClintock, Chargé d'Affaires, was left there alone.

At State

Sociological surveyors concerned with morale in the crowded capital distributed to State Department employees a two-page mimeographed circular and questionnaire. It asked whether they lived in a boarding house, rooming house, apartment or private home and what their living conditions were. It asked, "Are you having any fun?" It listed for checking a wide range of what they might think most needed for a well-rounded life, such as education, travel, husband, wife, nylon hose. There was space to fill out under "Something else—Such as what?"

Rugged Individuals

Canada's postage rates went up one cent at the beginning of April 1943. In Saskatoon, just before the deadline, William Kinnear of Fifeshire, Scotland, mailed all his 1943 Christmas cards.

After fighting for five months in the Pacific in the Navy, Calvin Leon Graham was sent home to the 7th grade. He was 13 years old. He said "I still want to be a sailor."

When Johnny Pucek, 24-year-old Wisconsin farmer, asked his draft board to induct him the board ruled he was more valuable as a one-man home front. Each day he got up at 5, milked 22 cows, drove 27 miles to a foundry and labored as a molder, returned at night to milk the cows again and work in the fields until 10 or 11 p.m. by the light of his tractor's headlights.

Second Career

Perry Laukhuff, one of whose assignments was as Director of the Office of German Affairs, is now living at 15 Glen Avenue, Norwalk, Connecticut. He has been elected Vice President of the John Price Jones Company, New York, which he joined as a survey director upon his retirement from the Foreign Service. This company is one of the leading fund-raising firms in the country. He was once an instructor in political science, is a consultant to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and has written a number of magazine articles. He is active in community affairs in Norwalk. He is on the Board of Directors of the Common Interest Group, Inc., and Vice President of the New Canaan Avenue Area Association.



A daughter, Irene Edna, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Stanley Sparks on March 6, 1943, in Havana, where her father was serving as Third Secretary and Vice Consul.

After the early years with her parents abroad she studied at a school in Los Angeles and then went on to dePauw University

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in Greencastle, Indiana, where she graduated. Then she spent several years abroad, chiefly in Germany, Spain and Morocco. In September 1965 she was married to William A. Godfrey, Jr. They have a daughter, Bobbe Anne, and have been living in Washington where William has been serving in the Army. As for Joseph Sparks, his second and retirement career is a busy one. He is Vice President of the Alexander Hamilton Institute in New York.



A daughter, Pamela Lippincott, was born to Mr. and Mrs. W. Paul O'Neill on January 2, 1943, in Winnipeg, where he was Vice Consul in charge of the visa section of the

Consulate General. Pamela studied at a French language school in Brussels and at a Dutch language school in Indonesia before going to the Potomac School in McLean, Virginia, and then to the Putney School in Putney, Vermont. She went to Radcliffe and majored in African history. She followed up her hobby of photography by taking film courses at Radcliffe and, in summer, at UCLA. After graduating in 1965 she joined an educational film company in Boston. She is now working in New York as a film editor. She was married in December 1966 to Bruce Swain who is studying at Columbia for a Ph.D. in English. Her father sent this information from Salisbury, where he is in charge of the Consulate General.



Miss Kathryn E. Hyde and John C. Hawley were married on April 4, 1943, in Douglas, Arizona. John was then at his first post, Agua Prieta. After service in Ciudad Juarez,

Port-au-Prince, Venice and Florence he taught languages for several years. He joined the United States Information Agency in 1955 and served in Rome, Trieste, La Paz and Ottawa. He is now Director of African Regional Services, attached to the USIS in Paris. The Hawleys have three daughters. The eldest, Beatrice, is married to Henry Burkhardt III and lives in Berlin, Massachusetts. Katherine is a senior at George Washington University, and the youngest, Elizabeth, is in her last year at the American School in Paris.

At College

Patrick Dumont, 21, son of the Honorable Donald A. Dumont whose early service in Dakar is mentioned above, has an interesting job at Columbia where he is a senior. He conducts tours of the campus as part of a service at the university for helping the thousands of tourists who come every year. For this service he serves both as a guide and an administrative assistant. Each guide has the basic facts but develops his own routine and has his own favorite areas and anecdotes. The only interrogation that stumped Patrick was the one by the Dean of the University of Cannes who asked him a lot of questions about the university budget. Before the Dean left Patrick supplied him with 200 pages of answers.

Lawrence E. Gruza, Jr., whose father is now assigned to the Department, is a freshman at Colgate after graduating last spring from Villa St. Jean, Fribourg, Switzerland. He is concentrating on political science but has taken on the extra-curricular job of traffic manager of the Colgate University radio station WRCU for the year beginning February 1, 1968. The broadcasting and business staffs are made up of 140 students, about 8% of the student body.

FORTY YEARS AGO

The Reverend Otis A. Glazebrook

The Foreign Service JOURNAL of April 1928 published an account of the growing and processing of olives. This affords an excuse for supplying a summary of the author, the Reverend Otis A. Glazebrook, an interesting personality of earlier days in the Foreign Service, who was then Consul in Nice. Under an Executive Order dated February 10, 1914, he