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Photographs and Illustrations

Roberta Schneidman, "Dewi Suprabawati Riding on Garuda Bird," cover; Department of State, photographs, pages 16 and 28; S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 33 (Maureen O'Sullivan and Johnny Weissmuller, "Tarzan, the Ape Man"); Michael Kristula, photograph, page 39; Ernest Wilson, cartoon, page 47.

Among Our Contributors

Our cover artist, ROBERTA SCHNEIDMAN, is the wife of Harold F. Schneidman, USIS, Rome. Mrs. Schneidman received a degree in economics at the University of Pennsylvania and has studied at the Pennsylvania Museum School of Art, The Tyler School of Fine Art and at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania. She works almost entirely in mosaic and metal sculpture and has exhibited at the Philadelphia Print Club, the Philippine Art Gallery and the Luz Gallery in Manila. Mrs. Schneidman is soon to have an exhibit in Rome. The cover is a mosaic of Venetian tile.

A chapter of THOMAS C. SORENSEN's book on USIA and American propaganda, "The Word War," begins on page 16. Mr. Sorensen served in USIA from 1951 to 1965, the last four years as Deputy Director (Policy and Plans). His posts included Beirut, Baghdad and Cairo. In 1962 he was a recipient of the Arthur S. Flemming Award. Mr. Sorensen is now Vice President of the nine-campus University of California. "The Word War" will be published in mid-May.

SUSANNE DAVIS NEWBERRY was a staff correspondent for the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR at the United Nations during the era of Khrushchev's shoe-pounding and Fidel Castro's chicken-plucking antics. She interviewed many of the headline makers but the JOURNAL article on Rosemary Murphy, page 34, represents her first interview with a theatrical professional. In the Foreign Service Mrs. Newberry earned her own credentials by a tour of duty with USIS, Paris. Now sharing the Service life with her FSO husband, she seizes the occasional respite from child-tending (ages 3, 5 and 7) to serve as chairman of the "advanced" French-speaking group of the AAFSW.

LEO J. REDDY, now in EUR/RPM, served with Ambassador Rivkin for two years in Luxembourg. His tribute to the Ambassador appears on page 27.

Ambassadorial Nominations

HENRY CABOT LODGE, to *Western Republic of Germany*

GEORGE C. MCGHEE, *Ambassador at Large*

FRANK E. MCKINNEY, to *Spain*

ROBERT SARGENT SHRIVER, Jr., to *France*

Marriages

SIRACUSE-MATZ. Sherry Peters Siracuse was married to FSO James Richard Matz, on March 2, in Washington.

Births

HARTER. A son, Lal Mikesell, was born to Mr. and Mrs. John J. Harter, on February 29, in Geneva.

Deaths

BARRETT. Mrs. Margaret M. Barrett, FSS-retired, died on March 10 in Mexico City. Mrs. Barrett entered on duty in Mexico City in 1941 and served at Ciudad Trujillo, Tangier, Tel Aviv, Manila and Seoul before retirement in 1960.

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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She is survived by a daughter, Sra. Caroline Escalante, Ibarra 37, San Angel, Mexico, D.F.

BELL. Raymond E. Bell, AID, died on March 24 in Washington. Mr. Bell entered on duty with ECA in 1947 and in March of 1967 was appointed director of the office of administrative services. He is survived by his wife of 5009-24th Ave., Hillcrest Heights and two daughters.

BELL. William A. Bell, FSO, died on March 19, in Washington. Mr. Bell entered the Foreign Service in 1951 and was assigned to USIA the same year. He served at The Hague, Bonn, Bucharest, and Madrid before assignment to Washington in June of 1967 as assistant director of USIA for Europe. He is survived by his wife of 3702 Corey Place, N.W., a son, FSO William A. Jr., a daughter Elizabeth F., and two grandchildren.

CROCKER. Edward Savage Crocker II, former Ambassador to Iraq, died on April 6, in New York City. Mr. Crocker entered the Foreign Service in 1922 and served at San Salvador, Warsaw, Rome, Budapest, Stockholm, Tokyo, Lisbon and as Ambassador to Iraq. He then acted as State Department Adviser to the Air War College and the Naval War College before his retirement in 1954. Mr. Crocker was serving as first secretary in Tokyo at the time of Pearl Harbor and received from the Japanese their declaration of war on the United States.

GWOZDZ. Jozef Paul Gwozdz, AID, died February 20 in Saigon. Mr. Gwozdz served as a legal consultant for the Committee for Free Europe before joining AID in 1963. After seven months in Tunisia, he volunteered for service in Vietnam. He is survived by his wife and two children of Washington.

KUTTLE. Harold J. Kuttler, USIA, died on March 27 in Reston, Virginia. Mr. Kuttler joined USIA in 1962 and was serving as deputy chief of the contracts and procurements division. He is survived by his wife and two children of 11227 South Shore Road, Reston.

LANCASTER. Nathaniel Lancaster, Jr., FSO-retired, died on March 18, in Mechanicsville, Virginia. Mr. Lancaster entered the Foreign Service in 1930 and served at Mexico City, Bombay, London, Lourenço Marques, Lisbon, Bangkok, The Hague and as consul at Rotterdam, consul general at Curaçao and at Belfast before his retirement in 1961. He is survived by his wife of Eastern View, Route 1, Mechanicsville.

LIVENGOD. Charles Alfred Livengood, FSO-retired, died on April 7 in Washington. Mr. Livengood entered the Foreign Commerce Service in 1921. He served at Havana, Madrid, Rome and Bogotá and, during World War II, as adviser to the US political-military mission in Algiers. In 1947 he was appointed consul general with the rank of minister at Batavia. Before retirement in 1952 he was US Representative on the International Authority for the Ruhr. He is survived by his wife of 3214 Porter Street, N.W., a daughter, two grandchildren and three great grandchildren.

STANTON. Willard Quincy Stanton, FSO-retired, died on March 6, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Mr. Stanton entered the Foreign Service in 1927 and served at Durban, Capetown, Lourenço Marques, San Salvador, Casablanca, Nairobi, Stockholm, and as Consul General at Capetown and Lagos. He retired in 1951. He is survived by his wife, whose temporary address is 802 Gold Ave., S.W., Apt. 10, Albuquerque, and a son.

WATERMAN. Henry S. Waterman, FSO-retired, died on February 25 in San Francisco. Mr. Waterman entered the Foreign Service in 1916 and served at Moscow, Christian-sand, Guatemala, Corinto, San Jose, Shanghai, Saigon, Breslau, Sheffield, Bombay, Bordeaux, and as consul general at Monterrey before retirement in 1946. He is survived by his sister-in-law Mrs. Teresa Hess, 2095 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109.

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, May, 1968

"THE WIDER THE EXPERIENCE THE MORE VALUABLE THE OFFICER"

JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER

BEFORE taking a broad look at the Foreign Service, we ought to take a brief glance at the fundamental postulates of the Service. In the first place there is the vital importance of the Service itself to the United States Government and to the people of our country: It is our eyes and ears abroad. The second postulate might be described as the discipline of the Service, which indeed is comparable to that of the military services. We must accept the obligation to serve in any post, and we must accept to serve under any conditions. That is wholly necessary if we are to manage and direct a Service which can attain the purposes for which it is designed. The third point might be described as the nature of the Service, which I think most of you know is highly competitive and based upon performance. It is that kind of a system, and in that respect also it is comparable to the military services.

The rewards of this Service can be and, in my opinion, are very great. I do not pretend that they are necessarily financial in character, but I think from the point of view of intellectual satisfaction, they are very impressive indeed. So if today I draw upon the past in commenting on my own 37 years service, it is primarily for the purpose of seeing to what extent this personal history may have some importance for the future.

The Service is very different from what it was, let us say, in 1929. I entered just five years after the passage of the Rogers Act, which is indeed the charter of the career Foreign Service as we know it today. At that time, of course, the conditions were vastly improved over what they had been, but not in any sense comparable to what we enjoy today. To give a few simple examples, when we were ushered into the Service, we had a few months instruction, usually not more than two or three months in what was known as the Foreign Service School, and then we were shipped out to our respective posts. There was no such thing as a quarters allowance. There were no government quarters except in a very few posts. Home leave was granted, but it was only granted at the officer's expense for himself and for his family. There was no assistance, effectively speaking, for the education of our children. And there was in most posts, indeed, no such thing as official transportation. The salaries, as we know, were relatively low in comparison with what we now enjoy.

Nonetheless, in those years the Department of State did succeed in attracting to its service what might be described as top level university graduates. It did not offer large financial

rewards, but it somehow was able to bring into the Service those who had both intellectual attainments and the desire to serve their country.

If we see a Service today which in many respects offers much more than that which was possible in 1929, I think we must recall the names of a few of those who did so much in its development. I speak here of such persons as Wilbur Carr, Selden Chapin, Jack Erhardt, Andrew Foster, Edward T. Wailes and others of more recent vintage who have brought us to the point where we now are.

Concomitantly since that time the scope of our work has vastly expanded. There was a time in the 1920s when the average Foreign Service officer did one of two things. He helped to run and manage the Consular Service with all that that implied, or for the most part he wrote gilt-edged reports which were sent back to Washington and read by other experts there. There were some negotiations, there was a certain amount of taking care of visiting Americans, there were important matters that required our attention, and there were, in certain regions of the world, such as South America, very active embassies. But the Service as a whole did not represent anything comparable to what we see today in our activities. This enormous widening of the scope, of course, has led to something that we had never seen in the twenties, namely, a need for specialization and the absolute necessity of developing management responsibilities and training.

Administration today is on an unparalleled scale. We have had, for example, since the war large participation in military governments, in enormous aid programs, in the whole development of the publicity field such as the USIA. In turn we have vastly expanded our relationships with the other departments of government. Therefore, the Foreign Service officer of today is under the absolute necessity of understanding the problems of not only his own particular department and service, but of many other departments of the government.

I think it is hard, perhaps, for some of you to comprehend the enormous development that has taken place in the world in respect of the conduct of American foreign relations since the end of the war. Today this variety of demands upon our personnel can, of course, be found at almost any post. I recall in my first post, Geneva, in the days of the old League of Nations, that we became experts on narcotics questions because, although the United States was not a member of the old League, we had nonetheless a direct interest in the control of the drug traffic. Once I became a delegate to a conference

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on bills of exchange, promissory notes and checks. I was never more startled in all my life, but I had to do it. I boned up at night and hoped I could do my best. However, such specialization was the exception rather than the rule.

In Berlin before the war, of course, we faced an enormous array of problems because of the persecution of the Jews. This was the kind of post where in the morning we would receive a telegram from the State Department saying, "You must make the strongest kind of protest about the case of Herr so-and-so." But in the afternoon in would come a telegram saying, "Do everything possible to get Herr this-or-that out of Germany." I of course had to interview the same official—frequently on cases involving German citizens in which we had no recognized right to interfere.

Once the war broke, we ran into the most demanding situation, in that the American Government was requested to take over the representation of practically all the belligerents' interests in Germany. I have heard us criticized from time to time for not being good managers, but I think that we have had in the Foreign Service, and have today, a number of highly trained managers. For example, in those years the embassies were very small: the entire staff in Berlin before the war probably consisted of about ten officers, counting the military attaches. After the fall of France, the number of prisoners for whom we were responsible, that is to say, in the representation of their interests, was over a million. I recall very well that when I left the Berlin Embassy in 1941, the number of employees in the accounting office alone was 36 persons, practically double the entire embassy when I went to Berlin in 1936. At the same time, we had laid upon us the

duty of carrying out all the obligations of the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention, which necessitated constant travel throughout the entire country.

I happened to return to Washington in 1941 and went over to the Board of Economic Warfare, again a type of work which was almost unknown to the Foreign Service before the war. That led to an assignment in London where we amalgamated our office in the London Embassy with the British Ministry of Economic Warfare. This represented both a large administrative and executive task, together with the application of blockade measures, with which the American government was not entirely familiar. Therefore it required both executive ability, knowledge of Germany, and the capacity to work with another government. Now I cite these as things that have happened in the course of only one officer's career, and I think that as you go on in the Service, you will find that you will likewise be faced with these responsibilities as we move forward.

After the war, it was back to Germany again, the Foreign Service establishment having become a part of the military government. I recall one friend saying to me, while shaking his head: "Riddleberger, if you don't stop this habit of stepping in and out of the Service, your career will be ruined, because you are now again out of the main current of our work, and therefore your promotions will be very, very dubious." But I said that I did not look at it that way. It seemed to me, in the first place, that the requirements of war demand that everyone do whatever he can. In the second place, it has always seemed to me that a wide variety of experience can do no harm to any Foreign Service officer.

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Therefore I have always been somewhat skeptical of the feeling that an officer must pursue, let us say, a career devoted exclusively to political work, which I know is regarded as one of the most desirable. But political work, like all other kinds of work, also involves routine and tedious endeavor. I should think that, over the long run, the wider the experience a Foreign Service officer has, the more valuable he is going to be to the Foreign Service.

After the termination of military government, we went through another transition in Germany, namely, from military government to the High Commission, in which the State Department took over the leading role from the Defense Department. And again, on the subject of management, I should like to cite a few statistics of what this involved for the State Department, which was relatively small in comparison with the military.

The High Commission had to assume a great many of the functions which had formerly been within the province of military government. It is true that simultaneously a high degree of sovereignty was returned to the German government—to the West German government—but nonetheless there were powers and functions that were reserved for the High Commission. For example, when we took over the headquarters staff of the displaced persons camps, this staff alone was 96 officers. We took over the Combined Travel Board. We took over the entire civil aviation function. The staff in the office of the political advisor's section in 1949 had some six thousand employees.

In 1950, I went on loan to the Marshall Plan organization in Paris and again left the normal work of the Foreign Service.

But I never regretted it. Two years later I returned to the Department to take over the German Bureau and was plunged into Congressional hearings on the contractual agreements with Germany and the complicated German external debt settlement.

One of my colleagues said to me, I think it was in Belgrade one night, some years ago, that he really pitied American ambassadors because they were burdened with the necessity of appearing before committees of Congress. As you know, in most European countries it is the minister and his parliamentary secretary, to use the British phrase, who carry all of the interventions within the Parliament. With us, of course, the system is altogether different. We can be and are summoned before committees of the Congress, even though we are non-political. However, in looking back over it, I cannot honestly say that I deplore this experience, however difficult it may have been at certain times. I said to my European colleague: "It is perfectly true, of course, that we are exposed to hearings and questioning that may make it more difficult for us to execute our function when we return to our post. But at the same time the average American ambassador frequently has a domestic political experience that is denied to most of his foreign colleagues. We are compelled by the very nature of our Constitution and government to take account of and to take into very careful account, the attitudes and the feelings within the Congress. I think it makes our role somewhat more difficult in many respects, but I cannot say that I deplore it, and the advantages compensate for the difficulties."

Belgrade was followed by Athens where we had the long

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Cyprus negotiation. Again I can say that while it was a part of the world with which I had had practically no experience, it does no harm to be projected into a geographic area which is not earlier known. After that I returned to Washington for what has often been described as the most difficult job in town, next to that of the Secretary of State, and that was as Director of the International Cooperation Administration, a position which I held for two years, from 1959 to 1961. It is very rare to have a career officer in this position, for the simple reason that it is highly vulnerable politically, and I can assure you that never a day passed without being subjected to the arrows of congressional criticism. On the other hand, it had the added advantage that again it gave a professional diplomat an opportunity to gauge the sentiments in Congress, and to have an idea, and sometimes a very detailed idea, of what may animate our representatives on the Hill.

As I look back over these many years with their manifold experiences, I think that all of you will find in one way or another that opportunities inevitably will arise. I beg of you to recognize an opportunity when it comes. I have heard complaints occasionally about those who thought they never had a chance to show what they could do. I recall one incident in Berlin at the outbreak of the war. One of my colleagues got very annoyed when it was suggested that he help out on some of the emergency war work. He said no, that he was dedicated to economic reporting, and economic reporting he would continue. It so happened that at that time he was writing a very long study on, I think, the trade of Germany with a very small European country. I pointed out that with the outbreak of the war, I doubted that people in

Washington would be holding their breaths until this report was received: he took that in not very good grace. In the meantime, the country had been gobbled up by the Germans, but he stuck to his specialty and never relented. He likewise retired well below Class I.

I abjure you to remember that we never know what may stand us in good stead later on. I recall in Germany also, after the war, that by an act of Congress passed a quarter of an hour before midnight on June 30, we were compelled to reopen our immigration from Germany, our visa system, on July first. We had no plans for that and we had no officers who were really experts in this field. Nonetheless the Consul General and I managed, by scraping the bottom of the barrel, to get enough officers together and we opened on time, a little shakily I admit, but we did it. I have never forgotten how grateful I was that in my very early days I had had consular experience, because I'm certain that without that it would have been far more difficult.

I should like next to say a very few words about our system. You have today entered a highly competitive service. Every year reports will be forwarded on your performance. These, as you know, are commonly called efficiency reports. Many times I have heard the criticism made that the system is faulty. I suppose in one respect it is faulty, in the sense that all human institutions are certainly not infallible. Nonetheless, and speaking as one who has sat on many boards, I would like to say that it seems to me that over the long run the system seems to operate in a fair and equitable manner. I admit that not everyone can have the same opportunity. I admit there are officers who do have bad luck. At the same time, in

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reviewing a long series of reports, I have been impressed how continuously good work stands out, and how a career seems to follow a certain line of development. If there is a radical break in that line at some point, I think the tendency of the boards is to look very carefully at the adverse reports. Therefore, while you are entering a highly competitive service, at the same time I think you are entering a system in which everyone will have his chance and in which judgments will be fairly made.

I suspect that in our service there is no such thing as a permanent doghouse resident or a permanent teacher's pet. Do not feel discouraged if your reports are not always what you think they ought to be. It may be well that too much concentration on efficiency reports is unnecessary because I strongly suspect that a mind that is capable of making, let us say, a complicated political or economic analysis, is equally capable of self-analysis and deciding where the faults are and what the mistakes have been. Rather than giving too much attention to the reports (here the career development people may not agree with me) I would say to most officers, do your best and don't worry too much about the efficiency reports.

One other word before I conclude. We have in our Service two fundamental powers. One is a power of recommendation to the Secretary of State and eventually to the President in the development of our foreign policy. The second is a power of execution, but that is in effect a delegated power. Sometimes we may think that our recommendations and our delegated power of execution do not correspond very well, in spite of the expertise that we may have developed. That is one

of the constant problems of the Foreign Service—how to reconcile expert, honest, good advice with what one can do. If the difference becomes too great, of course, the choice is very simple. Then we must resign, because I think that, above all, a Foreign Service officer must give advice as he sees it, and he must report the situation as he sees it, irrespective of how he thinks it may affect his career. At the same time, he must have the tolerance and the understanding to realize that no matter how good his advice may be, no matter how well based his counsel may be, it is not always going to be possible to follow it. Therefore, he needs patience and tolerance and at the same time the skill to carry out the desires of his government.

I have not said anything about the role of the wives in the Foreign Service because I saved that on purpose until the end. They have a hard life. It is not easy to sustain constant moving, nor is it simple to bring up a family in conditions of constant change, of new languages and of difficulties of climate and food. Therefore, I beg of all the wives to maintain a composure which I think is absolutely essential to the Foreign Service wife. Her recompense will come in other ways. The fact that she has been able to support her husband in his official duties, to give him a home to which he can return with pleasure, to bring up children under the most difficult circumstances, that in itself becomes a recompense, plus the fact that she enters on what I think is one of the most interesting lives that the world can offer.

(The foregoing is the major part of a speech given by Ambassador Riddleberger to the members of the 73rd class of incoming junior officers at their oath-taking ceremony.)

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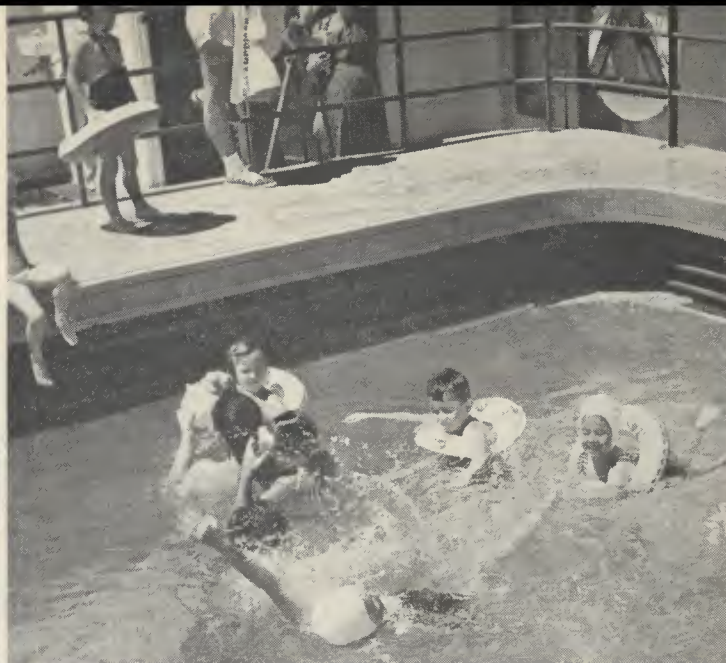
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"Diplomacy Is the Art of Executing It"

HENRY J. TAYLOR

STATESMANSHIP is the art of creating policy. Diplomacy is the art of executing it. This starts with protocol. Protocol is derived from two Greek words: protos, meaning "the first" and kolla, meaning (strangely) "glue." An ancient Greek protokollon summed up in a few words the contents of the enclosed despatch, glued to the top leaf of the papyrus. Thus the idea of being "glued on first," or of taking precedence, was created and survives in diplomacy's word.

The difference between a Minister and an Ambassador is that a Minister is accredited (only) to a foreign government whereas an Ambassador is accredited by the President of the United States to the chief of state. The Ambassador is the President's alter ego in the host country and, as such, takes precedence there over even a visiting Vice-President, the Secretary of State or anyone except the President himself.

His commission, addressed to the chief of state, reads in the oldest traditions of diplomacy: "Great and Good Friend. Having made the choice of The Honorable John X. Blank, a distinguished citizen of my country, to reside near Your Excellency in the capacity of my Ambassador. . . ." It is enscribed by hand, closed with white wafer seals, must be opened personally by the chief of state and only in the presence of the Ambassador and is formally called the Letter of Credence.

The 15th Century Italians were the first to establish embassies abroad. Diplomatic privileges, including diplomatic immunity, in turn, were finally codified at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15. And, along with Talleyrand's classic pronouncements, an ambassador's guide is British diplomat and writer Sir Harold Nicolson's famous observation in which he stated that a diplomat should have "accuracy, calm patience, good temper and loyalty" and then forestalled comment that he had forgotten "integrity, knowledge, discernment, prudence, charm, courage and tact" by explaining that he had "not forgotten them but he had taken them for granted."

The art of the art is to make the work seem artless. This isn't always easy. Diplomacy can be like a man who was walking in the woods and stopped when he saw a snake. But the stick he picked up to kill it with turned out to be the snake.

The business of diplomacy is to think things, but not always to say them. A good diplomat improvises what he says but carefully prepares what he does not intend to say. The two useful D's are discretion and delicacy, and mutuality is the operative word. A good diplomat always leaves the way open and saddles a horse for his adversary's retreat.

Diplomacy, properly executed, is not like a puzzle you can lay aside and continue later. It is like playing tough bridge; you have to work at it all the time or you are lost no matter what cards you have in your hands.

In the shadowy world where diplomacy's honors are generated and granted, one's integrity, not popularity, gets the medal, along with the respect, not popularity created. In fact, overzealousness in seeking popularity was known as bad diplomacy long before Talleyrand made the fault famous.

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THE MURROW YEARS: TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY

THOMAS C. SORENSEN



The final fifteen months of Edward R. Murrow's stewardship were marked by triumph and tragedy, both of which tested the mettle of the ten-year-old US Information Agency. The first challenge came in Cuba, but the danger was Soviet, nuclear, and considerably deadlier than mere Castro subversion: a sudden confrontation of American and Soviet power. Murrow had strengthened and prepared the Agency, but he was ill when the test came and the burden of leadership fell on Acting Director Donald M. Wilson.

After the Bay of Pigs, Fidel Castro drew closer to Communism. Although in 1959 Castro had denounced "ignoramus" who called him a Communist, in late 1961 he proclaimed: "I am a Marxist-Leninist until the day I die!" In early 1962 the Organization of American States expelled Cuba and denounced Communist penetration of the hemisphere. That summer, Soviet aid to Cuba increased sharply, and five thousand Soviet "technicians" swarmed onto the island. In August surface-to-air missiles were installed; the Kremlin went out of its way to assure the United States that all arms supplied Cuba were exclusively defensive in character. Nonetheless, President Kennedy ordered intense surveillance of the island.

On September 11 the Soviet news agency Tass distributed a harsh statement. It proclaimed that Russian missiles were so powerful that there was no need to locate them outside the

USSR, charged that the United States was "preparing for aggression against Cuba," and threatened "aggressors" with "a crushing retaliatory blow." In an unusual move, USIA replied directly to the Tass statement; even more unusual, Murrow wrote the reply himself:

The Soviet statement . . . reflects a lust for power and disregard for truth. The Government of the United States threatens no nation and no people. . . . The Soviet statement regarding Cuba appears to say "Stop doing what you have no intention of doing, or terrible things will happen to you."¹

Terrible things were exactly what the Soviets had in mind.

Swiftly and secretly, they shipped to Cuba forty-two medium-range ballistic missiles of the type using atomic warheads and began construction of twenty-four reusable launch pads for medium-range missiles and sixteen launching sites for intermediate-range rockets. Had construction of these sites been completed, Soviet nuclear striking power against the United States would have nearly doubled, the credibility of America's willingness to use its nuclear deterrent would have been damaged, and Moscow would have been given a powerful bargaining tool on Berlin, overseas bases, and other issues.

Early Sunday morning, October 14, a U-2 plane flew a routine reconnaissance mission over western Cuba. Photo interpreters late Monday spotted the telltale signs of a medium-range missile site, and the President was informed the first thing Tuesday. Three hours later his top advisers were convened to consider what should be done. There was not much time; construction was being carried forward so rapidly that in two weeks the missiles would be targeted on American cities and defense installations. The President called for absolute secrecy, so the Soviets would not know a minute sooner than necessary that they had been found out. A group of advisers, later designated the Executive Committee or "Ex Com" (of the National Security Council), met at least once, and often several times, daily from then until the end of the crisis.

The complete story of the Cuban missile crisis has been told elsewhere. This is an account of USIA's role, one of the most important in the Agency's history.

It quickly became clear that communication was a key element of the crisis. The US Government had to consider several foreign audiences: the men in the Kremlin, the Cuban Government and people, the governments and people of Latin America, allies, and the nonaligned nations. It was essential that the United States not tip its hand prematurely and not mislead the Soviets into making a miscalculation that could lead to nuclear war. Once the US response was announced, it would be essential that the government's intentions and its will and ability to carry them out be understood by all. Persuasiveness, accuracy, and speed were paramount. If this was "news management," as some journalists later charged, so be it.

USIA was not immediately brought into the deliberations. On Wednesday morning, after a routine Cabinet meeting, Robert Kennedy asked Wilson if Murrow would be "available" on the weekend. Wilson said no, Murrow was in the hospital with pneumonia and would be away for some time. "Too bad," said Bobby. "Will you be available?" Again Wilson replied no; he was planning to visit his mother in New Jersey. "Please don't leave town this weekend," asked the Attorney General, and Wilson said he would not. That noon I

This article is adapted from Chapter 8 of Mr. Sorensen's forthcoming book THE WORD WAR. It is the last of four chapters dealing with the period, 1961-1964, in which Edward R. Murrow served as Director of USIA.

lunched with my brother Ted at the White House. He obviously was deeply preoccupied, but refused to tell me why or to comment on my speculations.

On Friday morning Robert Kennedy telephoned Wilson and asked him to see Under Secretary of State George Ball and Latin American Assistant Secretary Edwin Martin "on a secret matter of urgent importance." That evening Ball and Martin briefed Wilson on what was happening and told him to work out means of keeping the Cuban people informed throughout the crisis. McGeorge Bundy amplified the instructions on Saturday morning, and Wilson brought Latin American Assistant Director Hewson Ryan, VOA chief Henry Loomis, and me in on the planning shortly thereafter.

Although Robert Kennedy was working closely with his brother on the crisis, there apparently was a breakdown in their communication. The President seemingly had not wanted to bring USIA in that soon, and was momentarily annoyed when he learned of the Bundy briefing, instructing my brother Ted to enjoin us to secrecy. (Kennedy apparently never was aware of Wilson's session with Ball and Martin.) But on Sunday morning he welcomed Wilson to the latter's first meeting of the Executive Committee, and a day later officially designated him a member of the group.

While "Ex Com" was deciding what course of action to recommend to the President, USIA organized its effort. The Agency's first task was to improve its broadcast capability to Cuba. VOA transmitted to Cuba and Latin America only by shortwave, whereas most Cubans had radio sets that could receive only medium-wave broadcasts. USIA had considered medium-wave broadcasting to Cuba, but had been unable to convince FCC engineers that our transmitters could be sufficiently directional not to interfere with US commercial broadcasting. A USIA mobile medium-wave transmitter, under construction in Texas, was rushed to a Florida key and hastily installed. A second transmitter was supplied by the Navy. But that was not enough; we quickly came to the conclusion that we would need the help of private American radio stations. VOA had a list of nine that would blanket Cuba.

On Sunday President Kennedy approved our plan. The White House communications director was instructed to arrange for direct, continuously open telephone lines to the radio stations involved. Presidential Press Secretary Pierre Salinger was briefed on the crisis Sunday, and he and Wilson agreed that Federal Communications Chairman Newton Minow was essential in gaining the cooperation of the stations. Minow had left for New York that night and could not be found, but Wilson located him early Monday morning and told him cryptically that he must fly back to Washington at once. Minow did so, abandoning a luncheon speech and arriving about noon.

The three men met in Salinger's office and agreed on the following: Minow would immediately investigate the legal aspects. Salinger would schedule telephone calls to the owners of the stations for 6 P.M., one hour before the President was to address the nation and disclose the crisis and the US response. USIA would draft a statement for Salinger to read to the owners, and as each one agreed to cooperate, the White House communications experts would tie the Voice of America into his station.

The plan worked perfectly. At the appointed hour Salinger called the owners in rapid succession (alerted in advance, they were standing by). All agreed to relay VOA nighttime broadcasts to Cuba from the President's Monday evening, October 22, speech until the end of the crisis. The VOA rebroadcasts were limited to the hours from dusk to dawn because, due to atmospheric conditions, that was the only time the stations could be heard in Cuba. The cooperating medium-wave "broadcast band" stations were WGBS, WMIE and WCKR in Miami; WSB in Atlanta; WCKY, Cincinnati; WKWF, Key West; and WWL, New Orleans. Also adding

their facilities were two private shortwave stations, WRUL of New York and KGEI in San Carlos, California.

The use of commercial radio stations was unprecedented, but so was the crisis. Six weeks later President Kennedy honored the stations in a ceremony at the White House. "We were anxious," he said, "that medium wave be used and the only device that we could use was the radio stations. We went to all of them. They immediately volunteered their assistance. None of them put forward all of the objections which they could have. . . . I think they showed two things: first, how significant radio is in getting across a message beyond national boundaries, and secondly, how patriotic were those men who ran these stations."

While the radio plans were being worked out, Salinger met with the press officers of State and Defense to work out a policy of news coordination. To avoid contradictory statements which might mislead friend or enemy, they decided nothing should come out of either department without prior White House approval. Meanwhile, the President and the State Department laid plans to notify our allies—and the Soviets—at the appropriate moment. US ambassadors were instructed to brief the highest officials of their host governments.*

Salinger took one more step to make certain the Soviets got the message. In arranging the limited "pool" of reporters from the large Washington press corps who would be in Kennedy's office while he broadcast, he deliberately chose Mike Sagatelyan of Tass. When the surprised Russian asked why, Salinger told him: "I want to be sure that you read the President loud and clear."²

The Case for America

But neither Tass nor foreign statesmen could be expected to argue America's case before the bar of world opinion. A major share of this task was borne by USIA. It had to convince the world that the Soviets were actually doing what Kennedy said they were doing, that the danger to the peace and security of America and the world was real and imminent, and that the US response—initially a blockade of Cuba, until the missiles and bombers were removed—was necessary and appropriate, neither more nor less than the situation required. USIA sought to convey the picture of an unpanicked but determined America, unflinching in the face of intimidation but avoiding war unless Moscow made it necessary.

The President's speech, calm, measured, but determined, was the best weapon in the Agency's arsenal. When Kennedy's text was ready, Russian, Spanish, and French translators were summoned to put it into those languages for immediate transmission abroad once he started speaking. The translators were given their assignments Monday morning, put into adjacent rooms, and told to speak to no one. I wrote a "lead" story, to be used by VOA and the Agency's Press Service. I also wrote a classified policy guidance, to be transmitted to all posts in code as soon as the President went on the air, and an unclassified Potomac Cable to go out on the Wireless File. The Potomac Cable laid down our line:

*No matter how carefully American ambassadors or USIS officers explain the issues, however, there is always a question as to how much of the message is heard and understood. The Chinese Communist attack on India occurred the same week as the missile crisis, and many American ambassadors explained the US position on both matters when they called upon high government officials of the nations to which they were accredited. One African Foreign Minister listened with apparent great interest to what our ambassador was telling him, clucking sympathetically at the right moments. When the ambassador was leaving, feeling he had done a most persuasive job, the Foreign Minister escorted him to the door and then remarked heatedly: "But why would Chiang Kai-shek want to attack India?" The disillusioned ambassador went home, took a long cold shower, and reflected on the mysteries of intercultural communication.

The United States has acted swiftly, firmly and decisively to protect the security of the Western Hemisphere and the peace of the world. . . . The issue was simple: Secretly and under cover of fervent protestations to the contrary . . . the Soviet Union has swiftly been constructing offensive nuclear missile sites in Cuba. . . . These new, clearly offensive, mass destruction weapons threaten the safety of the entire hemisphere and the peace of the entire world.

The response of the United States to this grave threat clearly indicates the US desire to keep the peace—and equally clearly indicates that the US cannot accept this “deliberately provocative and unjustified” act by the Soviets. . . .

No shots need be fired; no blood need be shed. This is not an act of war but an act to prevent war. . . .³

Late that afternoon I asked the Policy Application Officers of the media services and the geographic areas to come to my office at 6:30 P.M., where copies of the English and foreign-language texts of the President's speech, the Potomac Cable, the classified guidance, and the official news story were piled high. Within USIA, at least, the secret had been well kept; my colleagues by that time knew from the press that a crisis was brewing, probably about Cuba, but they did not know its nature. After being briefed they picked up their copies of the documents and soberly hurried back to their offices. For many in USIA that week, each working day extended far into the night.

The Voice of America carried the President's address “live” from the White House; it was followed by Spanish and Portuguese translations to Latin America and repeats in other languages at peak listening hours. The Latin-American service stayed on the air around the clock for the duration of the crisis. As had been true in other times of crisis, the Voice's audience mushroomed enormously. People everywhere wanted to know what the United States was doing and saying. The British Embassy reported massive listening in Havana.

Two special Russian-language programs were beamed daily by VOA to the Soviet “technicians” in Cuba. These broadcasts were largely identical to those transmitted to the USSR itself, but they also made it clear—mostly by implication—that if hostilities erupted, the Russians manning the missile installations would be the first to pay for Khrushchev's folly. However, the Agency never learned whether these broadcasts were listened to or whether they had any impact.

As the President was speaking to the nation, USIA's Wireless File radio teletypes were transmitting the text of his address, in English, French, and Spanish, to all USIS posts around the world. Within hours these posts delivered translations of the address to hundreds of foreign newspapers and radio stations and thousands of government officials and diplomats. Drawing on the classified policy guidance and the Potomac Cable, USIS posts prepared and distributed their own news releases and “backgrounders” to support the American position.

Within a week, the Agency's regional printing centers in Mexico City, Beirut, and Manila published illustrated pamphlets with the text of the President's address in several languages, as did many individual USIS posts. Two hundred prints of a film of Kennedy's speech, dubbed in many languages, were sent abroad. A film clip of highlights was produced for foreign newsreels. A ten-minute motion picture on the Cuban situation was sent overseas in forty languages. USIA's TV service quickly produced documentaries based on proceedings at the UN and interviews with Cuban refugees. One hundred copies of a photo exhibit were rushed to Latin America.

There was some discussion within the Executive Committee on whether the U-2 photographs should be made public to bolster the American case. The longest discussion took place the day after Kennedy's speech, when world reaction—not all

of it favorable—began to come in. Wilson, supported by Salinger, argued strongly in favor of releasing the pictures. CIA, supported by the Pentagon, was opposed, arguing that it would compromise their operation if the Soviets knew how sharply we were able to determine each little detail on the ground. Kennedy reluctantly decided not to release the photographs, but he was concerned by the skepticism of several important British newspapers, some of which even questioned whether in fact there were any offensive missiles in Cuba.

Then, within hours, USIS-London inadvertently released the photographs to the BBC, which promptly showed them on television. Kennedy was surprised but not too disturbed; British Ambassador Ormsby-Gore had been urging him to release the pictures, and he had been reconsidering the matter. Stevenson used the photos in a scathing attack on the Soviets at the United Nations, and USIA—working its limited photographic laboratory around the clock—sent out over the next few days 64,215 photographs of the missile sites and related matters. The pictures proved indispensable in convincing the world of the presence of offensive missiles in Cuba.

Latin American expert Hewson Ryan and I prepared a one-page leaflet in Spanish, featuring the best of the missile site photographs, for dropping by plane over Cuba. Press Service Director Ray Mackland flew secretly to the Army's Psychological Warfare Headquarters at Fort Bragg and arranged for the printing of six million copies. Four airplanes, armed with canisters of the leaflets, moved to an advance base in Florida. Kennedy, however, never gave the order to drop—possibly because he did not want to be accused of unnecessary provocation. (After the crisis was over, Wilson asked the President, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, for permission to cancel the leaflet operation. Kennedy asked how many had been printed, and when Wilson replied “six million” there was a gale of laughter around the table. Although several inelegant uses for them were suggested, the leaflets were subsequently destroyed.)

USIA also briefly considered, then discarded for technical reasons, putting a television transmitter on a plane circling between Florida and Cuba. The idea was to relay television broadcasts of the UN proceedings on the crisis to the Cuban people.

Within the Executive Committee, discussions of USIA operations dealt mostly with radio, photographs, and leaflets, and such schemes as the airborne TV transmission. But there also was constant consideration of the effects of possible US moves on foreign opinion—a far cry from the deliberations that led to the Bay of Pigs, when world opinion was ignored. Throughout the missile crisis USIA compiled a twice-daily bulletin of foreign editorial comment which went to the President, members of the Executive Committee, and other senior government officials.

Khrushchev had hoped to surprise the United States with the missiles in Cuba; instead, the US response caught him off guard. Moscow newspapers waited fourteen hours before reporting Kennedy's speech, and then made no mention of its conciliatory passages or even of the Cuban missile bases. Nor did they mention the President's statement that “it shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.” Radio Havana did not tell its listeners that the Organization of American States had unanimously endorsed the US blockade, merely quoting Castro as saying that OAS acceptance of US leadership was an “act of betrayal.” VOA, of course, put heavy and repeated emphasis on the hemisphere's support of the blockade.

On Wednesday the Voice began alerting listeners behind the Iron Curtain to stand by for a saturation broadcast the

next day that was designed to penetrate Communist jamming with the truth about the US quarantine of Cuba. Fifty-two VOA transmitters totaling 4,331,000 watts of power—the equivalent of more than eighty-six of America's strongest commercial radio stations broadcasting simultaneously—were used on eighty frequencies in an eight-and-a-half-hour-long radio barrage. The audience was alerted in advance because Communist jamming was so flexible that only three unjammed minutes could be gained by a surprise move, and the alert would assure a much greater audience than normal.

Suspense—then Triumph

In the days between the President's address (October 22) and Khrushchev's backdown (October 28), the reaction abroad was mixed. De Gaulle of France and Adenauer of Germany were unstinting in their support of the United States. British Prime Minister Macmillan was less sure, and he was joined in his doubts by Labour Party Leader Gaitskill. The usually sensible Manchester *GUARDIAN* thought the US had "done its cause, its friends and its own true interests little good." But generally, friends and neutrals believed the United States had acted prudently and with necessary firmness in the face of great provocation. Stevenson's acid eloquence in the UN ("This is the first time that I ever heard it said that the crime is not the burglary but the discovery of the burglar") helped. The logic and necessity of the American position, as disseminated by USIA and the private news media, began to have their effect.

THE *DAILY EXPRESS* of London said: "The full extent of the menace which Cuba has become is dramatically exposed by the American photographs. These enormously strengthen the American case." *ASAHI*, Japan's leading daily, commented: "We can understand the fears of America over the construction of Soviet missile bases in Cuba as tantamount to jabbing a pistol in your side." The Nairobi *DAILY NATION* concluded that "if the American information is correct, then it is impossible to condemn President Kennedy's action, however dangerous the consequences may be." *LA NACIÓN* of Buenos Aires noted approvingly that Kennedy had "refused to act drastically . . . until evidence warranted."

Another Potomac Cable sought to answer those who equated Soviet missiles in Cuba with NATO missiles in Europe:

The secretly built Soviet rocket bases in Cuba . . . are totally different in conception and purpose from the NATO bases in Turkey and Italy. . . . At a meeting of the fifteen NATO heads of government in December, 1957 . . . they agreed that, as long as the Soviet Union persisted in its saber-rattling, NATO had to mount the most modern and effective defenses it could devise. . . . Agreements were concluded with the Italian and Turkish Governments to establish missile bases in their countries, and the world was told about it. The bases were built neither secretly nor with extraordinary speed. Mr. Khrushchev knew about them. He knew that they were purely defensive. . . .⁴

The President's calm courage gave strength to the Executive Committee and hundreds elsewhere in the government. I saw Kennedy once during that week. I was in his outer office Saturday morning, October 27, when he joined a handful of his aides to discuss the latest developments. He appeared tired, but in complete control. Suddenly Roger Hilsman, State Department Intelligence chief, burst into the room with the news that an American U-2 had accidentally strayed over Soviet territory and had been pursued but not caught by Soviet planes. Bundy uttered a short expletive. The President gazed out the window at the vast green of the White House lawn, silent for a long moment. Then he said calmly: "We must let Khrushchev know it was a mistake, so they won't make something of it."

That Saturday night was the gloomiest of all. Soviet ships

appeared likely once again to challenge the US blockade and Khrushchev's messages to Kennedy alternated between belligerency and conciliation. One American U-2 had been shot down and its pilot killed; another such incident could bring us to the brink. Wilson telephoned me at a not very cheerful party to convey the latest instructions for USIA; his remarks were guarded over the phone, but his pessimism was evident. Later, I was awakened just after 2 A.M. by the howl of fire sirens; for a moment I thought that war had come.

Sunday morning Wilson and I were considering the USIA's next move when at 9 o'clock the Reuters ticker began chattering out the report of a Moscow broadcast on Khrushchev's latest letter to Kennedy. Half unbelieving, we read the good news: the missile sites would be dismantled, and offensive weapons shipped back to the Soviet Union. The great confrontation was over. Kennedy's strategy, to stand firm but to give the Soviets a chance to back down without losing too much face, had worked.

There was jubilation in Washington, but USIA was careful not to let it show in pronouncements lest the hard-liners in the Kremlin use it as an excuse to reverse Khrushchev. The Agency took its line from Kennedy's response to the Soviet Premier; a Potomac Cable sent to all posts that sunny afternoon sought to avoid euphoria in the aftermath of crisis:

Crucial problems—both short-run and long-range—remain with us. Short-run problems include the prompt and verified removal of the offensive Soviet missile installations in Cuba, the continuing threat of indirect aggression based in Cuba and directed against other nations of the Western Hemisphere, and the threat to the freedom of the people of West Berlin. Among the longer-range problems are the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other nations and in outer space, the related need for an effective treaty banning nuclear testing, and wider measures of disarmament. . . . The removal of these bases will be no cause for complacency.⁵

But victory it was, and the accolades properly belonged to President Kennedy. Within USIA, it was Donald Wilson's finest hour. His effective leadership of the Agency and his useful counseling within "Ex Com" had helped make USIA a meaningful and responsive tool of American foreign policy in that policy's greatest test in recent years. From Murrow's hospital bed came a message to all in USIA: "Well done. You have handled the emergency like the dedicated pros I know you to be."

There was one sharp dissent. Writing on USIA a few months later, former Director George V. Allen charged that Agency efforts "actually did more harm than good" because they enabled Castro "to pose, with convincing evidence, as the target for the largest concentration of propaganda effort unleashed against an individual since Stalin tried to purge Tito by radio in 1948." The fault, he said, was "in thinking of USIA as a propaganda agency," whereas if its functions were "properly conceived and executed," it would act no different from "the Associated Press or the Rockefeller Foundation." But "nothing has served to label USIA more indelibly than the anti-Castro campaign," he concluded, "and nothing could have helped Castro more."

There was no way for USIA—or Allen—to test Cuban opinion, but his view was not borne out by postcrisis samplings of attitudes elsewhere in Latin America. Even before the missile confrontation, Castro had been losing support in the hemisphere, and the crisis speeded the process. In Latin America and elsewhere, American prestige was given a big boost, based in equal parts on the restrained use of power by the United States and on the solid indication that in a test we could be relied upon. No doubt the world would have taken a different view had the United States rather than the Russians backed down, or had the crisis been resolved in some less satisfactory fashion. But the US blockade *was* successful, and

the British newspapers, for example, that had been frightened and querulous after Kennedy's speech, subsequently lavished praise on his leadership.

Interestingly enough, Soviet prestige—and specifically that of Khrushchev—also rose. Soviet propaganda took the line that it was the restraint of the Kremlin that had saved the peace, and the line found wide acceptance in Europe and elsewhere. In addition, the successful resolution of the crisis permitted increased restlessness within the Atlantic Alliance because some of its members, notably France, believed that the Soviets, having been turned back in a major effort at nuclear blackmail, no longer posed so great a threat to European security.

In early 1963 USIA sponsored public opinion polls in Britain, West Germany, France, and Italy. In all four countries the net favorable impression of "what the American Government has been doing in international affairs recently" was sharply higher than the readings taken in each of the three previous years. "US actions in the Cuban crisis were the major factor in the high level of approval for US foreign policy . . . particularly in West Germany," the Agency's Office of Research reported. "In Britain and France, belief that America is basically trustworthy, reliable and firm in its intentions is widespread."

In Britain, for the first time in four years, a solid majority believed that America was "doing all it should to prevent a new world war." A plurality was achieved for the first time in France on the same question, and in Germany the net favorable view of the United States was quadrupled. American credibility ("what the United States does in world affairs" compared with "what it says") rose sharply, as did confidence "in the ability of the US to provide wise leadership for the West."

At the same time, the polls showed a considerable increase in favorable impressions of Moscow. While few thought the Soviets had gained from the Cuban crisis, about one-fourth believed that the two powers had come out "about even." Except in Germany, where opinion was evenly divided, Western Europeans generally favored the removal of American nuclear missiles from bases near the Soviet Union. (About the time the poll was being taken, the United States—as it had long planned—did remove its missiles from Italy and Turkey, substituting Mediterranean-based Polaris submarines.)

What the polls could not show was the most important consequence of the autumn confrontation: both great powers had looked into the abyss of nuclear war, and they did not like what they saw. For the first time since the beginning of the Cold War, a new atmosphere paved the way—and governments had the will—to take some meaningful if hesitant and partial steps toward real peace. The changing political climate required changes in the tone of American propaganda.

"Peace for All Men"

In the months following the missile crisis, the talents of USIA were enlisted in the Administration's push for solutions to the outstanding problems that Kennedy had enumerated in his October 28 letter to Khrushchev. Murrow, who returned to his desk in mid-November after his illness, believed that the United States should clarify what kind of government it would encourage in Cuba after Castro. Kennedy was interested, agreed that the US should make known its support for the aims of a non-Communist, non-Castro liberal revolution, and declared in a speech that "we will be ready and anxious to work with the Cuban people in pursuit of those progressive goals which a few short years ago stirred their hopes."

The details of getting the Soviet missiles and bombers out of Cuba occupied much of the President's time, and much public attention. But Kennedy recognized, as one aide put it,

that "the new fluidity in the post-Cuban Communist camp . . . presented opportunities which seventeen years of cold war rigidities had never made possible before."⁶ Murrow felt the same way. The Administration had not given up its fight for a ban on nuclear testing, and when Khrushchev indicated after Cuba that he was ready to talk of new agreements, a test ban topped Kennedy's list.

Disarmament talks were reconvened but continued to founder on the Soviet refusal to accept an adequate number of on-site inspections of suspicious seismic events. Nonetheless, the Administration persisted. Kennedy and Macmillan proposed high-level negotiations in Moscow on a test ban treaty, and the President decided to announce the offer publicly in a commencement address at American University in Washington on June 10, 1963. At the same time, he proposed to pledge that, once the current series of American nuclear tests was completed, the United States would not be the first to resume testing in the atmosphere.

The speech was prepared with some secrecy. Desiring to break away from the usual clichés of the Cold War, the President did not work from the customary State Department draft, although some of us from the foreign affairs agencies contributed material and participated in a meeting called by Bundy to review Ted Sorensen's draft.

June 10 was a Monday, and the President was in Honolulu the previous weekend to speak at a conference of US mayors. While he was there, putting finishing touches on the speech, Khrushchev cabled his acceptance of the Kennedy-Macmillan offer of nuclear talks in Moscow, and it was incorporated into the speech. Bundy's able deputy, Carl T. Kaysen, obtained clearances and last-minute suggestions from the departments and had the final version typed. I went to Kaysen's home Sunday night to pick up copies of the speech and deliver them to Voice of America Russian translators. VOA would carry the speech "live" in English, but we wanted to broadcast it in Russian to the Soviet Union as quickly as possible thereafter.

Kennedy's speech was powerful and persuasive, going far beyond what USIA or any department might have thought of proposing on its own. War, said the President, "makes no sense in an age when a single nuclear weapon contains almost ten times the explosive force delivered by all of the allied air forces in the Second World War. . . . I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary rational end of rational men."

Recognizing that some say such talk is "useless until the leaders of the Soviet Union adopt a more enlightened attitude," Kennedy said he also believed that "we must re-examine our own attitude" for "our attitude is as essential as theirs. . . . Every thoughtful citizen who despairs of war and wishes to bring peace" should begin "by examining his own attitude toward the possibilities of peace, toward the Soviet Union, toward the course of the Cold War and toward freedom and peace here at home." The world's problems "are man-made; therefore they can be solved by man."

He was not, said Kennedy, referring to some "absolute, infinite concept of universal peace and goodwill" but to "a more practical, more attainable peace—based . . . on a series of concrete actions and effective agreements which are in the interest of all concerned." A test ban treaty, ending the poisoning of the atmosphere and inhibiting the spread of nuclear weapons, would be just such an agreement. "It is an ironical but accurate fact that the two strongest powers are the two in the most danger of devastation," he pointed out. "In short, both the United States and its allies, and the Soviet Union and its allies, have a mutually deep interest in a just and genuine peace, and in halting the arms race."

So, he went on, "let us not be blind to our differences—but let us also direct attention to our common interests and to the means by which those differences can be resolved." (This was a theme that USIA had never touched upon in three administrations, as was his next point.) Americans should remember,

said Kennedy, "that we are not engaged in a debate, seeking to pile up debating points. . . . We must deal with the world as it is, and not as it might have been," persevering in the search for peace "in the hope that constructive changes within the Communist bloc might bring within reach solutions which now seem beyond us." And he announced the Moscow talks, and his decision not to resume atmospheric nuclear testing if others did not.

For USIA, Kennedy's address was the most useful Presidential pronouncement in years. The Agency broadcast the speech or a summary of it in many languages, and sent abroad film and video-tape coverage. The full text was supplied to thousands of foreign newspapers and radio stations. Although it received surprisingly little attention in the United States, the speech's impact abroad was impressive. Thousands of individuals asked USIS for copies. In India alone the printed text went to more than 35,000 who requested it—an unprecedented response. Most important of all was the Soviet reaction: Moscow stopped jamming VOA broadcasts, three weeks later announced its willingness to accept a ban on atmospheric testing, and six weeks later initialed the long-sought treaty.

Other steps of *détente* followed. That autumn Kennedy approved the sale of wheat to Russia. Over the years, USIA had produced—for distribution in underdeveloped countries that might be tempted to follow Soviet practices—great amounts of literature on the weaknesses of Soviet agriculture. The propaganda was more or less persuasive, but not nearly as persuasive as the news that Communist Russia had to come to capitalist America to buy grain because Soviet farmers could not produce enough. USIA reported every step of the transaction. It was not necessary to comment on the story; it spoke for itself, and the lesson was not lost on such countries as hungry India.

The lessening of tensions was enormously popular throughout the world, and the United States was given its deserved share of the credit. The Agency's media priorities were revised, with themes on "the pursuit of peace," "strength and reliability," and the "rule of law" added. The emphasis on rule of law applied to both domestic and international relations. Some foreigners still clung to the notion, nurtured by Hollywood films, that lawlessness prevailed in the American West. "We will continue to work toward perfecting the rule of law at home and encourage its extension to and among all nations," proclaimed the USIA theme. But it had not yet been perfected in this country, as soon was to be demonstrated in the Southwestern city of Dallas.

The Kennedy Phenomenon

Friday the twenty-second of November, 1963, was quieter than usual at USIA headquarters in Washington. Murrow was out ill and the President was out of town, and when Kennedy was away the bureaucracy's pace was always more relaxed. Then, at lunchtime, came the awful news: the President had been shot while riding in his motorcade in Dallas. Frantic calls to a dozen restaurants finally located me, and I ran three blocks back to my office. Anguished and unbelieving, a group of colleagues and I sat silently before a television set. Throughout the building typewriters slowed, then stopped. Everyone watched, listened, and waited. Some prayed.

Finally the irrevocable news came that Kennedy was dead. A stunned city, a bewildered nation, and a frightened world dissolved in grief, excitement, and uncertainty. It was early evening in London when BBC told its listeners. Russians heard Radio Moscow blame the killing on "racist reactionists." In Saigon, where President Diem had been murdered three weeks earlier, US military advisers heard the news at breakfast. In Washington work came to a halt in dozens of government buildings. But not at the Pentagon, which alerted American armed forces around the world, and not at USIA.

The Agency had a big job to do, and it had to be done immediately. The world needed to be reassured that, in Garfield's words when Lincoln was shot, "God reigns, and the Government in Washington lives"—to be reassured that the assassination was not the beginning of World War III—to be reassured that Lyndon B. Johnson, Kennedy's constitutional successor, would carry on Kennedy's policies—and to be reassured that while the nation, and indeed the world, had suffered a terrible loss, they would recover.

From the assassination Friday through Johnson's address to Congress the following Wednesday, USIA put all its energies into reporting and interpreting the transition from one President to another, with the aim of building foreign confidence in Johnson. The new President cooperated fully in the effort. VOA provided "feed" relay broadcasts to hundreds of foreign radio stations. The Wireless File transmitted a pamphlet text on the new President, and it was quickly published in many languages. Inserts were prepared for the current Russian and Polish editions of *AMERIKA* magazine. Several hundred prints of motion picture coverage of Johnson's Congressional address were sent abroad; language versions were produced in Spanish, Portuguese, French and Arabic. A brief biographical film on Johnson and a longer documentary on Kennedy and his successor were produced for television. A short color movie and two thousand copies of an eight-panel exhibit on Johnson were sent to the field. Five thousand copies of "The Lyndon Johnson Story," a campaign biography by Booth Mooney, were bought and air-pouched to USIA libraries.*

The private media, as always, did the lion's share of the job. But thanks in part to the intensive Agency effort, Johnson—who, a month earlier, had like most Vice Presidents been relatively unknown abroad—soon became one of the best-known men in the world. USIA sought to dispel speculation about the circumstances of Kennedy's death. The Warren Commission Report and summaries of it were distributed overseas in vast numbers. Agency efforts were not completely successful, however. The fact that Johnson came from Texas, scene of the assassination, aroused some unwarranted skepticism. Johnson's totally different manner and his small-town Texas background were not as understood or as appreciated as Kennedy's had been. But Johnson was quickly accepted overseas, if grudgingly in some quarters, and a share of the credit belonged to USIA.

Abroad as well as in this country, Johnson was both helped and handicapped by following an enormously appealing President. America was, of course, politically divided over Kennedy and his policies, but the domestic differences were unimportant overseas. In the months preceding November, 1963, it had become increasingly apparent that USIA's greatest asset in building foreign confidence in the United States was President Kennedy himself. Programs, policies, and statements that could be identified with the President personally found a much more receptive audience than run-of-the-mill USIA output.

During the 1960 campaign, columnist Murray Kempton had written that Kennedy was a man at whose funeral no stranger would weep. The prediction could not have been more wrong. When Kennedy was killed, more strangers wept honest tears of grief and despair than had done so on all similar occasions in man's history. From La Paz to Lagos, (Continued on page 28)

*Though not much of a book, Johnson loved it. Mooney had taken a leave of absence from Johnson's staff to write it, and one Texan who knew them both called it "a hymn of praise from invocation to benediction." Johnson's friends, wrote Larry L. King, "were forever having gift copies show up in the mail, lovingly autographed not by the author but by the subject. Congressmen, critics, or even casual office visitors might suddenly find LBJ pressing a copy of Mooney's book on them." By late 1966, according to King, USIA had bought and distributed 214,000 copies.⁷

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., believed in the dignity of the individual and in a decent life for all people no matter what their nation, no matter what their race. It is for the courage that he gave to so many, no less than the inspiration and the leadership he gave to the cause of equal rights, that we, of the United States Foreign Service, join with all who mourn his loss, with all who recoil in shock at the violence of his death. The monstrous idiocy of Dr. King's murder is rendered all the more cruel by those who defame his life's work of non-violence by resorting to still more violence in the name of angry grief.

Dr. King was not an angry man. He was a troubled man—troubled by an American society that, with all its affluence and all its imagination, had not yet cured the sickness that impoverishes, in opportunity and in spirit, so many of our citizens. He was troubled by a society that knew the difference between right and wrong but could not quite bring itself to exorcise the evil from its midst. But he respected human life, even that of his enemy, and he dedicated himself to a peaceful course that, he was convinced, would yet overcome. He was, in a sense, not only the conscience of one group of people, he was the conscience of the nation, a nation he sought to unite in decency.

He used his gifts of eloquence and idealism to make the high goals his country has always proclaimed a reality of life. Accordingly, his peaceful struggle for equality was above the secular limits of a political movement, for as a devout man who believed in the viability of his religion, he knew that the rights of men were higher than the state. He was convinced, too, that ultimately the great promise of America—equality under the law—would be redeemed. So his was a dual crusade, one that believed in testing the law but in respecting it, and, above all, respecting the people the law is intended to serve.

It is true this past decade has seen more civil rights legislation passed and implemented in our country than in any 100-year period in our history. It is also true that with all that has been done, more—far more—remains to be done before the shame is wiped out and we are made whole again. Sadly, though, the work of redemption is slow, and while we strive, too many must still live below the dignity line, too many must still grow up in an America in which equality, shiny though its promise, remains a distant goal for anyone less than white.

None can say this fact has no bearing on our foreign policy interests, that it does not offer our enemies their most potent weapon and our friends their greatest frustration. Nor can anyone say this fact can be relegated to the sole province of so-called domestic issues, not in a day when the have-nots of the world are rising up and demanding their fair share of the birthright that belongs to all people. They will not be denied, and ours is the task in the community of our world to help see to it that they become an integral part of that world—peacefully and without violence. And the same is our task no less in the community of our nation.

It is for this reason that the slaying of Martin Luther King has immediacy and concern to us in the Foreign Service. We cannot have it two ways. We cannot proclaim a foreign policy in which the dignity of the individual and the human rights of all people (those basic tenets, too, of Dr. King's philosophy) are paramount factors, and then turn around and tolerate any vestige of the reverse in our own midst.

But there is a larger reason. We are foreign service officers but we are also citizens of the United States, and together with all other citizens we bend our heads in shame.

Too many of us have for too long been removed—and not by distance alone—from the heart of the problem. But we will serve our country in no more effective manner than by helping now, no matter what our assignment, to find answers that will encourage the peaceful adjustment of our American society. We have a contribution to make here, and the tragedy that is inherent in the assassination of Martin Luther King makes it mandatory for us and for all Americans to stand together to bind each other's wounds—not to hide them, but to cure them.

Peace, as John Kennedy once pointed out, is after all nothing less than human rights. The truth holds at home no less than abroad, and if Martin Luther King's death will yet vindicate it among all Americans, of all colors and economic stations, we may yet hold high our heads. But not until then.

First Annual AFSA Awards Dramatize "New Departures"

As we go to press on the eve of the first presentations to be made under the AFSA Awards program, there is abundant evidence that the April 18 Awards Presentation Ceremony in many ways will have exceeded the tentative goals set last year by AFSA's Planning Committee. The Committee called for the Association to "dramatize the new departures" in AFSA by establishing three awards to be given annually to the junior, mid-career, and senior levels of the foreign services.

The senior officer award still remains to be capitalized and the Association hopes to find funds for it within the coming months. Meanwhile, thanks to the generosity of Governor Harriman and the friends of the late Ambassador Rivkin, and out of a rich variety of nominations from around the world, the judges have selected outstanding recipients for the Rivkin and Harriman Awards.

Fortuitously the careers of the two winners also dramatize the expanded area of AFSA membership and interest—a USIS officer who has served with AID and a State economist working in a back-to-back assignment with AID. (Would the Peace Corps now like to enlist the 1968 winners?).

In the theatrical sense the real "dramatization" was still pending in the weeks before the awards luncheon. Efforts were being made to bring the two winners back to Washington to receive their awards in person. The President of the United States headed the list of invited guests who had not "regretted." He was followed by Vice President Humphrey, who had served as Chairman of the Board of Judges for the Rivkin Award. The fact that these two leaders still held on their beleaguered calendars the possibility of attending the AFSA ceremony suggested that at the "highest levels" there is something more than perfunctory interest in the Association's program.

April 18 was a stirring occasion in the life of the Association and of the Foreign Service. Surrounding John Bushnell and Stacy Lloyd are the congratulations and reflected pride of thousands of colleagues who can find fresh scope for the creativity, originality and moral courage epitomized in these two awards. ■

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆ **News** ☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

JOHN A. BUSHNELL

FSO-4 . . . detailed to AID as program economist in Costa Rica . . . Age: 34 . . . wife and three children . . . Connecticut resident . . . honors in economics at Yale '55 . . . master's degree on a Fulbright grant in Australia 1959 . . . Air Force lieutenant . . . commissioned FSO in 1960 . . . Spanish training at FSI . . . INR . . . Bogota 1962-64 . . . Dominican Republic August 1964 . . . *ad hoc* Committee on Central American Industrial Progress . . . meritorious honor award . . . chief negotiator for recovery of US loan . . . Special State-Defense Study Group on Economic and Social Issues in Latin America.

His conduct of recent Alliance for Progress program loan negotiations with the Costa Rican Government established beyond question the fact that he was uniquely imaginative in handling the delicate problems posed by the differences between US reform objectives and Costa Rican fiscal performance. For many months he negotiated at length with key representatives of the Costa Rican government; during this time he found ways to press the Costa Ricans without losing rapport and productive working relationships with them. In this situation, as in many others Bushnell displayed his great capacity for developing highly imaginative solutions and proposals in the execution of US policy.

USAID Directors and the Office of Central American Affairs to review US policy towards industrial development in the region and to recommend changes. Although not the chairman, Mr. Bushnell immediately became the key member, drafting officer and idea man for the committee. Largely as a result of his contributions, the committee produced a report which was penetrating, provocative and persuasive.

At the time of his arrival in San Jose, the atmosphere was not propi-

tious for advancing the cause of family planning, and there was, in consequence, very little US-sponsored activity in this field. Although his assignment did not specifically entail activity in the population field, Mr. Bushnell investigated the problem on his own initiative and began laying the groundwork among Costa Ricans and Americans for a more active US program. When one of the more conservative local newspapers launched a public attack on family planning, threatening what little activity there actually was in this field, Mr. Bushnell found an opportunity to talk informally with the editor of that paper. In this conversation, he spelled out the frightening arithmetic of population growth in Costa Rica and its implications for the way of life which this editor held dear.

Following the conversation, the newspaper stopped its attacks on family planning and adopted a neutral attitude, treating all family planning issues as straight news. Since that time, the Government of Costa Rica has requested US assistance for a new and unprecedented program in family planning. Although this breakthrough was undoubtedly the result of efforts from many sources, it seems probable that it was hastened appreciably by Mr. Bushnell's initiatives.



John A. Bushnell, center, with Omar Dengo, manager, Central Bank of Costa Rica, left, and John E. LaRocca, AID, right.

Bushnell's exceptional negotiating skill and resourcefulness in solving complicated and technical AID loan problems has been demonstrated repeatedly during the past two years, most recently in the successful renegotiation of a defaulted Costa Rican loan. In 1959, the Development Loan Fund lent some \$300,000 to a private Italian colonization corporation, which after full disbursement went almost immediately into default. Mr. Bushnell has been the chief negotiator for some recovery to the US. Owing largely to his imaginative and persuasive approach, the Government of Costa Rica has now agreed to assume the loan obligation of the bankrupt firm, in exchange for its very limited assets. This performance is the more impressive in light of the fact that the Government has no obligation to assume this debt, as the loan was made without a government guarantee.

Assigned as a late-comer to the Special State-Defense Study Group on Latin America, Bushnell concentrated his efforts in the Subcommittee on Economic and Social Issues. Displaying a high degree of imagination and initiative, he contributed useful papers on such subjects as "What should be

First Harriman Award Winner

STACY B. LLOYD III

"He threw away the handbook. . . ."

FSLR-6 . . . Branch Public Affairs Officer at Sam Thong and Luang Prabang, Laos . . . Age: 31 . . . bachelor . . . born at Millwood, Virginia . . . Middlebury College '60 . . . People-to-People Health Foundation's administrative assistant aboard the hospital ship HOPE in 1961-1962 . . . Center for Cross Cultural Communications 1962 . . . AID community development adviser in Laos . . . joined USIA in 1965

the US public and private role in education?", "What should be the balance between the US private and public investment?", "What should be the emphasis as between agricultural and industrial development?", and a fifty-page rough draft on his initial comments and recommendations on US economic policy as a whole toward Latin America. He challenged many existing concepts and procedures and made constructive recommendations for new courses of action.

. . . volunteered to be first branch PAO at Sam Thong outpost in Meo country . . . added Luang Prabang to his territory in June 1966.

Stacy Lloyd's territory is the rugged, mountainous territory adjoining the Plaine des Jarres, which was overrun by the communists in 1961. His "target group" is the scattered congeries of Meo clans and the Royal Lao Government officials who administer the area.

It was Stacy Lloyd's job to find out what could be done to help create a sense of loyalty to the Lao Government, and to develop and carry out an information program to that end.

Therefore, immediately following his assignment to Sam Thong, this young officer undertook personal visits to each and every Meo operating site in the provinces of Xieng Khouang and Sam Neua in these dangerous mountains. He made a point to become acquainted with almost every Meo tribal leader and village leader, as well as each military leader (down to company level) in the area.

After several months of these visits, he proposed a plan of action to his superiors in Vientiane. He proposed to throw away the handbook for a Branch Public Affairs Officer. He would do away with explaining the details of an American aid program in Laos. He would not try to explain US foreign policies to these largely illiterate mountaineers. He would, he insisted, play down the American role of military and economic logistical support in Laos. He would, in fact, avoid mention of outside, foreign help in favor of helping the Meo and Lao develop a sense of responsibility and, more important, of personal integrity and self-respect of their own. He would do everything he could to bring Meo and Lao leaders together, so that the Meo could be made aware of the existence of (a) a nation called Laos, (b) a structure of government extending from the King to the lowest village leader, (c) a desire for cooperation by the Lao, and other factors that would flow from these.

With some misgivings in Vientiane, his plan was approved.

Since then, Stacy Lloyd's work, day in and day out, week after week, month after month, has been to make the rounds of the Meo villages, hunkering down with the chiefs, military leaders, school teachers and elders, conversing in the Lao language. He carries no weapons, only an emergency radio rescue kit. The aircraft he flies in are shot at, on the average,



Stacy B. Lloyd, III, talks to a group of Meo tribesmen.

several times a week. He travels in the torrential rains of the monsoon season and in the dusty, smoky haze of the dry season.

Listen to Captain Lao Tay, the Meo Chief of Hong Nong district, Sam Neua Province. Captain Lao's headquarters is atop a 4,500 foot mountain just eleven kilometers from the North Vietnamese border. A 500-foot dirt airstrip, climbing upward at a 30-degree slope is the only way an outsider can reach the village.

"Mr. Stacy understands us. He speaks good Lao. He comes and stays with us two or three nights. He eats our food. He knows my people. He tells other Lao about us, and helps us get pictures of the government, and movies about happenings in our country."

Stacy Lloyd believes that the best way to fight the foreign ideology of Communism is to promote indigenous nationalism, to help the Meo and Lao develop a sense of awareness of their country and government, a sense of political unity, and a sense that things are happening, progress is being made, and even the lowliest tribesman can participate. In order that the Meo and Lao will fight for neither the goodwill and works of the USA, nor the political philosophy of the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao—that, instead, they will fight for their own territory, their own progress, their own future.

Mr. Lloyd is neither an extreme idealist nor do-gooder, nor does he intend to remain in Laos for an indefinite future. While he is in Laos, he continues to give the best he has toward fulfilling his imaginative and intelligent program.

Retirement with an Option to Return

About 300 employees of USIA have been granted the chance to retire with the right to return to full-time duty after one year. This novel step was announced on March 16. USIA Director Leonard H. Marks said USIA planned to try the program for a year. "If it proves to be beneficial to our employees, it will be extended indefinitely," he added. The AFSA Board has urged the Department of State to undertake a similar program. The Board also suggested a more active outplacement program and has asked whether the Department plans to seek special incentives for retirement this year.

AFSA Comments on Proposed Personnel Evaluation Report

In a letter to Deputy Under Secretary for Administration Rimestad recently the AFSA Board of Directors expressed the belief that an efficiency record which contains two reports, the disclosure of one of which should be port. The body of the letter follows.

We are concerned that a single, immediately disclosed report will be less candid, less useful, and less fair to the basic concept of a competitive career service, than the combination of two reports of which one, at least initially, is not shown to the rated officer. This is due not to any unusual inhibitions on the part of Foreign Service rating officers but rather, we believe, to a basic frailty of human nature. Until that is changed, we believe that the preservation of something like the present Development Appraisal Report (DAR) is necessary.

We recall that before the adoption of the two-report efficiency record, rating officers were not required to show those rated what had been written about them. The two-report system was thus a means to accommodate the "full disclosure" viewpoint as far as it is prudent to do so. We are also aware that Selection Boards have found the DAR useful in increasing the acuity of reports.

We believe that verifiable instances of abuse of the DAR and the older single report have been, fortunately, rare. We recommend that the present mandate of the Performance Evaluation Division to prevent such abuses be strengthened. The Division should be zealous to identify and return efficiency records which show inexplicable discrepancies between two reports measuring performance and potential.

What should a "new" DAR be like? Probably a simpler document than the present form. In fact, the critical elements of a new separate report are those contained under Part III of the proposed PER. The Association would therefore suggest that Part III be restyled into a new separate report.

The Association believes that the proposed PER is a decided improvement over its predecessors and that a copy of the report should be given the rated officer at the time of preparation. We have the following comments on the remainder of the PER:

Since Selection Boards are constituted to recommend officers for promotion after exhaustive study of the complete records of all eligible officers, we do not believe supervisors should be asked to make that judgment, for they are at best in a position to judge the performance of only a

very small part of any class. The rating officer should, however, be required to give his judgment as to whether the rated officer's performance and potential are those required of officers in more responsible positions that that held by the rated officer. We therefore suggest that Section 2 of Part III be amended to include three boxes which should read:

- ☐ Not now qualified for positions at the next higher rank;
- ☐ Qualified now for positions at the next higher rank;
- ☐ Qualified now for positions at more than the next higher rank.

A narrative statement to support the judgment should be required regardless of which box is checked. Rating officers should be instructed to ignore the requirement of minimum time in class in completing Section 2 of Part III.

We commend wholeheartedly the important new element introduced by Part IV of the PER which attempts to define the quality of the supervision given the rated officer. (A related improvement is found on the first page of the PER where the rated officer is advised that he may submit a statement for his efficiency record if he wishes.) We are considering means by which the practice of discussions between rating and rated officers can be strengthened. We suggest, however, amendment of the second sentence, replacing "help him overcome his shortcomings" by "help him improve his performance."

To make the report more readable and useful and to emphasize further the value of the narrative, we suggest that the Department consider putting each rating scale and box on a separate page allowing more room for rating officers' comments, at the same time obviating the need for a continuation sheet which would make the report more cumbersome.

In our view, a revised DAR and a new PER with the suggested amendments and with appropriate complementary materials will provide the Foreign Service with an improved basis for the evaluation of performance and potential. In addition, a separate effort should be made to introduce greater honesty into the rating process. To this end, positive incentives to rating officers should be given. We plan to submit further proposals on this issue.

We suggest, finally, that these forms be maintained without further major changes for a number of years to add stability to and confidence in the evaluation system.

AFSA States Its Position on FSR Appointees

AFSA believes that the Foreign Service should properly consist of career personnel who are subject to service abroad. AFSA feels that temporary political appointees should not be put into any career service, whether foreign or domestic. This observation does not, of course, apply to Chiefs of Mission who are political appointees, since they serve at the pleasure of the President and so served abroad. Nor does AFSA object to entry into the Foreign Service Reserve of exceptionally qualified persons who are available for service abroad and whose specific services are required.

AFSA fully understands that a senior political appointee in the Department may wish to bring in one or more officers from the outside to help him, although Foreign Service officers could and would loyally and capably perform the same tasks; but AFSA strongly opposes having such officers serve as Foreign Service Reserve officers because they are not subject to service abroad, and should, except in the most unusual circumstances, be temporary employees of the Department. The Foreign Service label should mean what it says.

AFSA supports any approach the Department may wish to make to the Civil Service Commission with a view to increasing the number of positions in Schedules A, B and C. Such an increase is required in order to confer "Excepted Service" status upon all persons whose service in the Department is due to the fact that they enjoy the particular confidence of this or any future Administration. Such political appointees should not be given the status of Foreign Service Reserve officers, as is often the case at present.

On a more general plane, the Association wishes to go on record in favor of elimination of the entire category of FSD/DES which now includes several hundred officers in the Department. This category includes officers of many kinds, only some of whom are political appointees. Such officers are not subject to service overseas, they are not subject to selection-out, nor are they subject to rating on the same basis as other Foreign Service personnel. They are in effect General Schedule employees and should be labeled as such. While AFSA recognizes that this is a long-term problem, it wishes to assure the Department of its fullest support for any steps it may undertake to move such employees to the GS category.

Humphrey Stars in Rivkin-Harriman Awards Ceremony

Hubert Humphrey swept the Foreign Service into his *abrazo* of ebullient optimism and sketched out the role of America's diplomats in an all but explicit campaign canvas entitled "The Rising Sun of American Promise."

The Vice President of the United States was addressing the first annual awards luncheon of the American Foreign Service Association on April 18. He presented the \$1,000 Rivkin and the \$1,000 Harriman Awards to two officers of the Foreign Service whom the Vice President identified with "the humanitarian generation" of American life today. Mr. Humphrey emphasized that neither of the officers had made his prize-winning record in the chanceries of our formal diplomatic establishments where, the Vice President said, the fates of nations used to be decided. Rather John Bushnell and Stacy Lloyd have been working directly with the people in Costa Rica and Laos. He said he doubted that either of the two men owned a pair of striped trousers unless they were seersucker.

The Vice President used this thought as the text for what, by the speaker's own admission, evoked the style of a

Methodist revival meeting. Mr. Humphrey made brief and solemn reference to the turbulent events in the United States in early April but went on to strike repeated chords of confidence in the creative and constructive mood of the American people. He saw the mainstream of American sentiment as sharing the Foreign Service ethos of preferring to make history rather than merely to read it. He saw the Foreign Service families' devotion to teaching people around the world how to share and how to give as representing the truest aspirations of American life.

The Vice President drew a parallel between this kind of creative activity abroad with the growing national response to the "rising expectations" of the disadvantaged people in our own country. He saw no reason to lose heart now that the doors of opportunity are being opened just because a few people damaged the framework trying to rush through the doorway.

Those in the AFSA audience who were looking for an "HHH" campaign performance were not entirely disappointed. After interrupting the luncheon proceedings to be photographed with the four grade-school-age children of the late Ambassador Rivkin, Mr. Humphrey quipped that he, too, was trying to appeal to the young. The Vice President told the AFSA throng that he had been looking for an audience to say something to but he decided not to make that announcement in the State Department because "Dean Rusk already had enough trouble."

Others sharing the dais with Mr. Humphrey, the two award winners, and the Secretary were AFSA President Philip Habib, Undersecretaries Katzenbach and Rostow, Mrs. William R. Rivkin, Governor Harriman, Peace Corps Director Jack Hood Vaughn, AID Deputy Administrator Poats, USIA Director Marks, and Ambassador Sol Linowitz, who is chairman of the Board of Judges for AFSA Awards.

Taking up a phrase used by the Vice President, Mr. Habib declared "a spirit of public happiness" at the conclusion of the awards luncheon.

Donate Now To AAFSW Book Fair

Spring cleaning? Don't let your old books gather dust. Donate them now to the annual October Book Fair sponsored by the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Proceeds go to the Scholarship Fund which benefits children of employees of AID, State and USIA. Last year's Fair earned \$11,000 for the Scholarship Fund.

So don't delay! Collections for the 1968 Fair are already underway. Book bins are installed at the Department of State (21st and D Street entrances and in the garage), in the USIA lobby and at FSI.

Weighty donations will be picked up at your door. For quick service, dial one of the Collection Committee Chairmen: Mrs. Oscar Armstrong (654-0549), Mrs. Henry L. T. Koren (333-7151) or Mrs. Alfred Wellborn (654-6095).

The Book Fair Committee welcomes donations of stamps, posters, maps, prints and paintings as well as books. Overseas personnel are urged to keep an eye out for stamps, especially first covers, new stamps and rare old ones. Donations should be addressed to the Foreign Service Wives Desk, Foreign Service Lounge, Department of State.

Vietnam Memorial Fund Inaugurated

The first contributions to the Vietnam Memorial Fund announced in the March JOURNAL have already been received. Gifts to the Fund should be addressed care of the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St., N.W. Washington, D.C., 20037.

W. Averell Harriman
William R. Rivkin

THE MEN BEHIND THE AWARDS

THE Foreign Service is in Ambassador Harriman's debt for his initiative and generosity in establishing a fund for the recognition of junior Foreign Service officers who show outstanding creativity, originality, or moral courage. He himself shows all three in stressing the desirability of these qualities. The day was when among a trinity of admonitions to young officers was "Never volunteer!" without which, obviously, none of these qualities would be likely to be noticed. But why stop with junior officers? An oak leaf cluster might be added to every award winner who, after ten years service, during which he acquired discretion, loyalty, and judgment—qualities always admired in the Service—still retained the original three.

This would be particularly appropriate since good judgment, long an outstanding quality of Ambassador Harriman's, is the product of creativity, originality, and moral courage. Long before he transferred his interest from banking to government and foreign policy, his judgment on a financial proposal was apt to be far better than that of experts. In finance, law, or foreign affairs the ability to distinguish a lemon from a rose, or, still more a lemon from a very sour lemon, is rarer than one thinks. One who conforms or plays safe, who—as the Germans say—takes on the color of the wall, rarely has it. Ambassador Harriman has never been afraid of losing in the Washington Sweepstakes, the race of advisers. He has always been more concerned with the quality than the acceptability of his entry.

Not only has he done the Department a service by establishing this award, but he has, also, given some of us old railbirds a new interest as we watch the career of winners of the Harriman Derby go on, as some of them undoubtedly will, if the judges are perceptive, to win later crowns.—DEAN ACHESON

Ambassador W. Averell Harriman after the Manila Conference.



Ambassador William R. Rivkin in Senegal.

ALTHOUGH William Rivkin's participation in American diplomacy lasted but a few years, it was distinguished by that imaginative and original effort to which the William R. Rivkin Award is dedicated. His sudden death in Senegal in March of last year abruptly ended a service of such intensive creativity that it set a high example for all who represent the United States abroad.

No one who met Ambassador Rivkin was likely to forget the experience. A rugged man physically, with dark penetrating eyes, the Ambassador would fix his interlocutor in a no-nonsense gaze, behind which lay a fiery passion for truth and fairness. Rivkin asked tough questions and expected hard answers. And he articulated his views with a brilliant incisiveness which could inspire or anger, but never fail to impress.

These qualities were molded in the course of a rich life experience. Bill's upbringing in a small town in Iowa by a closely knit, affectionate family probably provided the background for his deep sense of humanity and justice. The experience of working himself up through the ranks to the level of Lieutenant Colonel on the European front in World War II, the building of a successful law practice and the hurly-burly of Midwestern politics shaped that tough-mindedness and directness which were a part of Rivkin's style. His whirlwind energy enabled him rapidly to build one accomplishment upon another.

Nowhere did William Rivkin apply his enormous zest and vigor more than to the task of representing the United States abroad. As Ambassador to Luxembourg, he set milestones not only for that post, but for the Foreign Service as a whole. A firm believer in the creative ferment of human interaction, he stimulated greatly expanded contacts between the American and Luxembourg people. Question-and-answer sessions with students, exchanges of visits with the mayors of provincial towns, imaginative commercial programs, frequent contact with labor and farm leaders, a constant influx of American musicians, choral groups, symphony orchestras, scholars and business and military leaders, a lively interplay with media representatives—to William Rivkin, "the ties between our two countries" was more than a shopworn phrase. He brought the same dynamic approach to his Ambassadorial performance in Senegal, until death stopped his labors only a few months after they began.

William Rivkin had the deepest respect for the role of the Foreign Service. To him, a man could find no greater challenge than to be absorbed in the business of America's relations with the world. Like most of us, he believed the Service had shortcomings—he thought that some officers put form above substance, that junior officers were not given adequate responsibility, that the Service should maintain

(Continued on page 45)

from London to Leningrad, the great and the lowly were shocked, tearful, and disbelieving. A storekeeper at a remote Sudanese oasis cried: "The greatest man in all the world is dead today." It was, as an Egyptian editor told me later, as if there had been a death in the family—everyone's family.

In Athens, traffic was halted for two minutes as the President's funeral began in Washington. Streets and public squares all over the world were renamed in his honor, notably the main square in front of Berlin's City Hall where Kennedy had delivered his famous speech five months earlier. Thousands lined up at American embassies and consulates to sign condolence books. Two thousand Vietnamese students marched in his honor, and four thousand Egyptians jammed into a Cairo memorial service. The Peruvian Chamber of Deputies unanimously recommended that Kennedy be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and the Argentine Government ordered flags at half-mast for eight days. Nina Khrushchev, wife of the Soviet Premier, was weeping as she called at our embassy to offer condolences. A young Japanese said, "I wish I could have died instead." A Senegalese secretary summed it up for millions when she said: "He was the only important world leader who wasn't out of date. He was different."

And it continued. Sixteen months after the President's death, I was riding over a bumpy road in the backwoods of India with three Indian businessmen. Kennedy's name was mentioned, and one of them promptly recited from memory the entire Inaugural Address. In Indian cities merchants still sell cheap portraits of Kennedy and calendars carrying his picture, some showing him (like the sainted Gandhi) surrounded by happy Indian children.

This great tide of affection and respect for Kennedy had—and still has—an immeasurable effect on the world's view of the United States, diminished only slightly by the violent suddenness of the assassination, its sordid aftermath, and the passage of time. In death even more than in life, he became a prime asset to USIA, a persuasive symbol of the goodness and greatness of America.

Why this Kennedy phenomenon? What set him apart from other rulers, other celebrities, in the minds of people everywhere? The sudden, senseless nature of his death shocked millions, but in many parts of the world life is usually uncertain and death often violent. Kennedy was seen as someone special. Four reasons stand out:

First, he was a man of his times, young, vigorous and full of hope. The great majority of the world's people, also young and hopeful as never before, identified with him as he had identified with them.

Second, he was one of the few world statesmen since World War II to talk of peace as an achievable goal, not a pious platitude. His American University speech, discarding the clichés of the Cold War, had more impact on more people than was recognized at the time.

Third, he was the first American President to see civil rights as a great moral issue, not merely a discomforting political problem. His stance was understood and appreciated in the remotest villages of Africa and Asia.

Fourth, his obviously heartfelt determination to help other peoples and nations as well as his own break the cycle of poverty, ignorance, and disease restored many a skeptical foreigner's confidence in the essential humanity and good faith of America.

Nonetheless, the world would not have reacted as it did had not the mass media of communications, with a large assist from USIA, made the man and his message better known than any other political figure in the postwar era. Hundreds of millions in all corners of the globe felt they knew John Kennedy well, and believed he measured up to their ideal of what a President of the United States ought to be.



Ambassador Julian F. Harrington, then General Manager of AFSA, with Edward R. Murrow at the Association luncheon at which Murrow was the guest speaker.

There were others in Kennedy's Administration who enhanced American prestige and made USIA's job easier. Adlai Stevenson was widely admired for his ideals and integrity. Professor Edwin O. Reischauer and his Japanese-born wife restored the tarnished image of the American Embassy in Tokyo, where he served as Ambassador. Chester Bowles, the most popular American in India, returned to New Delhi for a second tour as US Ambassador. A new breed of diplomat—some of them career Foreign Service officers, others not; some very young, all empathic—filled many US embassies abroad: Kenneth Galbraith (who preceded Bowles in India), William Attwood in Guinea, James Wine in Luxembourg and the Ivory Coast, Lincoln Gordon in Brazil, Edmund Gullion in the Congo, Armin Meyer in Lebanon, Taylor Belcher in Cyprus, Philip Kaiser in Senegal, William Blair in Denmark, William Handley in Mali, and others.

Not the least of those who added new luster to American prestige was the nation's chief propagandist, Ed Murrow. His credentials of character, sympathy, and goodwill were widely known to the literate of countries big and small. They trusted Murrow, therefore they believed him. And they liked his personality, his style.

"Good-bye, and good luck . . ."

A Murrow trademark was the ever-present cigarette. It was no affectation; he was addicted to it, and smoked constantly, day and night. He suffered from "smoker's hack," yet when he awoke coughing at night would light still another cigarette. His daily consumption averaged seventy Camels. "Maybe they cause cancer and maybe they don't," he said, "but I've been smoking too long to stop now." Like many heavy smokers, Murrow was susceptible to respiratory ailments, and fought two bouts with pneumonia. In late September of 1963, a sudden attack of what he thought was laryngitis forced him to miss a speaking engagement. A medical examination showed an ominous spot on his left lung, and exploratory surgery proved it cancerous. The lung was removed. Murrow never smoked again.

Victims of cancer face long odds, but Murrow had faced long odds before and won. He knew his chances were slight but, as usual, he faced the future with equanimity. "I relish danger," he said in an effort to cheer me, "but I would just as soon face it some other way." The lung operation was followed by a series of cobalt radiation treatments, unpleasant and debilitating. Murrow's doctors were cautiously optimistic but he was realistic. He told President Kennedy that he would resign if he could not handle the job in the manner he thought

it required.

On that grim November day when John Kennedy was assassinated, part of Ed Murrow died with him. On a rainy Saturday morning the President's body lay in state in the East Room of the White House, and Murrow left his bed to pay his respects with other senior officials of the Administration. By mistake, the USIA driver took Murrow to the wrong entrance, and he had to climb steep stairs. Gasping for breath on every step, he was barely able to complete the pilgrimage. Returning to the car, he was silent, somber, and dry-eyed—and more determined than ever to finish the job Kennedy had given him.

But his convalescence was slow, much slower than had been hoped for, although he seemed to improve. He was helped considerably by the loving care of his brave and capable wife Janet, who had seen him through other crises. President Johnson asked him to stay on, along with other top Administration officials. Murrow began coming to the office for two or three hours a day, drawn by his Puritan sense of responsibility. By mid-December, however, it was clear that he would not be restored to full health for months, if ever, and that same Puritan conscience compelled him to submit his resignation.

He called in Wilson and me, and showed us a draft of his letter to the President. We protested and pleaded. His departure so soon after Kennedy's death would be a grievous blow to USIA. But he had made up his mind, and that was that.

"I deem it my duty to ask you to accept my resignation," he wrote Johnson.

As you know, I was separated from a cancerous lung in early October. The doctors assure me the operation was successful and the recovery to date has been normal. However, it will be several months before I can resume full-time duty. Were I to continue as Director of this Agency during that period it would mean that I could not direct its affairs as I would wish, as I have tried to do, or as you are entitled to expect it to be directed. . . . After [Kennedy's] tragic death, it had been my hope to continue to serve my country under your leadership. My inability to do so is deeply disappointing.

In the last speech of his career, Murrow had said, "I today am a propagandist." He said it without apology, indeed with pride. He was a propagandist for hardly three years, but in that short time made a lasting mark on USIA and American propaganda. Under his leadership the Agency:

- Put confidence, excitement and new hope into America's message to the world.
- Built up its operations in Latin America and Africa, two areas previously neglected.
- Ended the diffusion of effort and output that had previously characterized USIA, and concentrated on persuading the most important foreign audiences on the most important aspects of American policy.
- Began to participate significantly in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy.

Murrow gave the much-battered, oft-confused Information Agency new inspired leadership, new direction, new competence, new pride, and new stature. He gave his President honest and sound advice. He gave Congress a look at the realities of American propaganda that it had never before been given. And he gave the American people a spokesman to the world whose courage, intelligence, and integrity contributed importantly to the restoration of American prestige in the early 1960s.

Early that September, congratulating USIA on its tenth anniversary, Kennedy had written Murrow: "In the critical times of the last two years, the Agency under your leadership has demonstrated an imagination, skill and maturity that would do justice to an organization with many decades of experience rather than one." Murrow's administration had not

been wholly successful, however. While the quality of USIA's media products was markedly improved, they still were not as good as he thought they should and could be. Weaknesses remained in the staff. The State and Defense departments still sometimes by-passed the Agency. And he had been unable to get Congress to vote USIA as much money as he thought it—and the national interest—required. It was this failure that galled Murrow the most.

In the months just prior to his last illness, Murrow broke with precedent to challenge openly the decision of the Appropriations Committees to deny USIA funds it had requested. To the annoyance of some legislators, he took his case to the people. "Most people in this country never know of our Agency unless it gets into trouble," he told a group of advertisers in Georgia. "Learn of us now, because we're in trouble now." In a cutting voice, he said: "Either the House of Representatives believes in the potency of ideas and the importance of information or it does not. On the record it does not so believe. . . . We are a first-rate power. We must speak with a first-rate voice abroad."⁸

A few weeks later he admitted in a Detroit speech to "deep dismay" that Congress "does not appear to share the urgency of the [Communist] challenge and our nation's response to it. . . . Not to recognize an opportunity is a shame; to recognize it but fail to respond in full measure is dangerous." More money alone, he conceded, "will not promise us success, but inadequate money may well threaten failure." And he drew headlines when he proclaimed: "If it is the decision of the Congress that we should continue to be outspent, out-published and out-broadcast, then that is the way it will be. I do not believe that is the way the American people want it to be."⁹

Shortly before cancer struck him down, Murrow spoke at USIA's Seventh Annual Honor Awards Ceremony. Unknown to him and his audience of Agency employees, it was his swan song.

"We cannot know what the future holds," Murrow said. "We do know, however, that change is the only constant in world affairs. And we know our Agency is charged with helping to fashion that change. The mandate we have from the President clearly tells us what it is he wants of us on behalf of the American people: He wants specific effort in specific areas, both geographical and conceptual. He expects us to do the things that diplomacy and force alone cannot: to change the minds of men in their best interest and ours. . . .

"The coalition of Communism is not our only adversary," Murrow continued. "Even were its energies dissipated and its voice mute, this Agency would continue to be charged with a great responsibility. We would still have the mission abroad of combating ignorance and fear, suspicion and prejudice. This struggle, as you well know, will not be won in a single day or a single decade. It is long-term indeed, perhaps permanent."¹⁰

When President Johnson received Murrow's letter of resignation, he called him over to the White House and urged him to remain, but to no avail. Murrow was pleased by Johnson's cordiality but mystified by what followed. In early January, his physicians recommended that he enter a clinic immediately for further treatment. The dying USIA Director attempted to see the President again, so that his resignation could be announced promptly. But Murrow could neither get an appointment with Johnson nor reach him on the telephone. He tried daily for a week, meanwhile making and then canceling airline reservations.

In retrospect it appears Johnson was not being deliberately rude or difficult; in this sensitive period of Presidential transition he wanted to have a successor to announce before releasing Murrow. Murrow had strongly recommended that he be succeeded by Don Wilson, but the President turned thumbs down. Johnson's attitude was understandable. This

would be his first major appointment, a situation quite different from merely carrying over Kennedy appointees. Wilson was very much a Kennedy man, and known to be a close friend of Robert Kennedy, whereas it was no secret even then that Johnson and Bobby were not on the best of terms. The new President was agreeable to keeping Wilson as Deputy Director, but not to putting him in the top job. He asked my brother Ted, still on the White House staff, for other names.

My brother turned to me, and I suggested Carl T. Rowan, a Negro former newspaperman who, during two years as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, had earned Johnson's admiration when traveling abroad with the then Vice President. The President thought the suggestion splendid, called Rowan home from Finland where he was serving as US Ambassador, and finally accepted Murrow's resignation on January 20:

It is with the greatest reluctance that I yield to your insistence and accept your resignation. . . . I had been hoping you would find it possible to stay on. . . . You have done a magnificent job in this post. . . . You will be sorely missed.

You leave with the thanks of a grateful President and a grateful nation. I close, Ed, with a paraphrase of the words you made forever famous on radio and television: "Good-bye, and good luck!"

It was good-bye, but there was not to be good luck. Murrow rested in California, returned briefly to Washington, and then went to his 280-acre farm on the rolling hills near Pawling, New York. The long-deserved honors came. On September 14, 1964, President Johnson awarded him the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. Six months later, recalling his contribution to British freedom in World War II, Queen Elizabeth made him an Honorary Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

To visitors, Murrow described the great satisfaction his work at USIA had given him. "I have never worked harder in my life and never been happier. I haven't had such satisfaction since the days of covering the London blitz."¹¹ He spoke of all the things he wanted to do when his strength returned. He was interested in the untapped potentials of educational television. He wanted to do a network documentary on John J. Rooney, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the State Department and USIA, "so the American people may know what power this narrow little man has over our foreign policy." He was showered with job offers, from movie actor to college president. CBS, slipping in its news competition with NBC, begged him to come back.*

But none of this was possible. His physicians had not been able to destroy all the cancerous cells, and they spread through his body. In November he had another operation, but it helped only temporarily. The doctors let him go home for the last time to the farm he loved, and three days after his fifty-seventh birthday Edward R. Murrow died there quietly on April 27, 1965.

The tributes poured in from everywhere. President Johnson took note of his "unrelenting search for the truth." Murrow's friend, "Scotty" Reston of the NEW YORK TIMES, accurately observed that "those who knew him best admired him most." Not surprisingly, the eulogies dealt mostly with his contributions to broadcasting: "The first man of heroic stature to emerge in the new medium," wrote John Grigg in the Manchester GUARDIAN WEEKLY. "The Murrow imprint on electronic journalism is indelible and will last as long as the medium itself," said Leonard Goldenson, head of the ABC network. "Unique . . . in broadcasting . . . [he] set standards

of excellence that remain unsurpassed," said his old boss, William Paley of CBS.

There was some recognition of his government service. The Washington DAILY NEWS noted that, "despite his asserted aversion to a brass hat, he reorganized and reoriented the USIA and developed, largely by perseverance, into a top-grade administrator." And Grigg in the GUARDIAN thought "his appointment [to USIA] was a signal to the world that the United States was not afraid of the truth, and under his direction American propaganda was effective because it was widely believed." Yet most commentators skipped over Murrow's USIA years because they knew little about them. That was too bad.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who had watched Murrow's performance from the White House, wrote of him: "He revitalized USIA, imbued it with his own bravery and honesty and directed its efforts especially to the developing nations. . . . Murrow himself was a new man, cheerful, amused, contented, committed. When his fatal illness began, he must have had the consolation, after those glittering years of meaningless success, that at the end he had fulfilled himself as never before."¹²

When former Vice President Alben Barkley died in 1956, Murrow in his broadcast tribute harkened back to his days in the lumber fields of the Pacific Northwest: "In the woods, when a great and ancient tree that has weathered many storms suddenly comes crashing down, there is the noise of smaller trees snapping back into position, the rustle and the cries of small creatures, and the descending noise of twigs, branches and bits of moss falling to the ground. And then there is silence, more complete and oppressive than any silence that went before."¹³ Nine years later, the same words could have been applied to the death of the man who spoke them.

An old friend, David E. Lilienthal, who had fought many of the good fights with him, understood better than most what Ed Murrow's life had meant to us all. "He stands with Churchill," said Lilienthal, "as proof that only one man, be he brave enough, can turn the tide against tyranny and fear."

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*This particularly pleased Murrow, for he was a mite jealous of Walter Cronkite, the man who had succeeded him as the number one CBS news personality.

A

Chapter of

Diplomatic-Linguistic

History

ANTON DORNSTAETT, PH.D.

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IN documents, incunabula and graffiti which have been dated by Carbon-90 tests to the latter part of the XX Century, a group of new words has been found, many of which are of doubtful origin. The following modest contribution seeks to trace the origin of one of the more enigmatic and interesting of these.

Several of my colleagues have noted the occurrence of a word family in a number of world languages that is traceable to the root *balp-*. One school of thought believes that it comes from the jargon of a sport that was popular at that time in the Western Hemisphere and Japan, viewing it as a corruption of the word "ballpark" (from American English dialect.) Since the *balp-* family of words connotes violence it could, indeed, be connected with a contact sport such as "baseball" is believed to have been. On the other hand, some of my colleagues view the root as a contraction of the early American phrase "bollixed up." Again, this explanation is plausible, in that most attestations of the word connote confusion and uncertainty.

In some of my recent archival work, however, I have come across a more likely origin. In the archives of the Western Hemisphere Ministry of External Relations (Codex USDS, Folio 387, dated 1967) I have found a holograph memorandum, scribbled on the back of a Federal Reserve Bank statement by an unknown writer, in which the word "balpa" is first attested. From the context, my research assistants have determined that the word is a semi-acronym for "balance of payments." This sort of deplorable usage was of course common in both the USA and the USSR at this period; the practice seems to have originated in Germany in the early XX century and was brought to these countries by German scientists who were carried off as slaves following one of the minor wars of the period.

With this information in hand, I was able to trace the development of the word, first in American and then in other world languages. The word rapidly became "at home" in bureaucratic usage. The simple verbal form was common. (E.g., "I will not stand idly by while you clowns in Washington balpa my Embassy"—"Airgram" of Ambassador C. Lancaster Daerme, dated 8/3/1968). Rather more complicated usages sprang up shortly. (E.g., a letter from a young diplomat to his fiancée in late 1968: "They would most certainly have balpaed me, my dearest, had my Ambassador's wife not interceded.") There was considerable competition between the participial forms "balpaed" and "balpaized"

before the former won out—rather surprisingly, in view of the often-noted preference of this age for ornamental, ceremonial and somewhat rococo usages.

From American, the word seems to have spread quickly to other languages commonly used by diplomats of the period. The plaint "On m'a balpé" is often read in French letters of the period; the prevalence of the word is attested to by the usage in Giroux' "French Made Easy for Foreigners" (p. 83: "Mon oncle balpé est sous la table.")

In German, the initial borrowing *balpen* (e.g., "Der Schweinehund will mich balpen") was soon modified by the addition of the *ver-* prefix, denoting the negative and sinister aspect of the word. ("Ihr seid wohl verbalpt worden"—from an early German fairy tale of the XXI Century entitled "The Faithless Prince.")

It is interesting to note that the term "balpa" was never successfully introduced into formal British English. Instead, the initials "B.P." became common. Thus calling cards of job-seeking ex-diplomats would typically read "Sir Methodius Walloon, KBE, DSO, BP."

In British as well as American vulgar usage, however, the term "balpa" lived on, ultimately underground. One reads of broken men selling apples on street corners with signs around their necks reading "Balpaed." Children in diplomatic enclaves would taunt their playmates: "My father can balpa your father!" Mothers commonly threatened their recalcitrant children with being "balpaed." Lurid books such as "Balpa Girls" appeared on bookstands, and the word ultimately became taboo. (Cf. frequent appearances of "b*lp*" in the sentimental novels of the mid-XXII Century.) Even today, I believe that we can find traces of the word in children's play-songs that are still chanted in the central Piedmont section of eastern North America. Two examples are particularly intriguing:

Ma, Ma, where's my Pa?
Gone on home leave
Bal-pa-pa.

And

Round and round, up and down,
In and out, wander and roam.
Idarbalp! Idarbalp!
All come home!

(The word repeated in the third line of the second rhyme cannot be explained. It is probably a conjurer's incantation in which I see "-balp" as a shortened form of "balpa." Unfortunately, however, the remainder of the word remains shrouded in obscurity.)

In India, "balpa" appeared in two verbal forms *balpna* (intransitive) and *balpána* (transitive). A typical usage: "Aj Minister sahib balpta hai" (The Minister is balpaing today). Somewhat similarly, in Russian two forms were developed. Initially the word was introduced as *balpat'* (denoting a single action). After France had called in all Soviet gold in 1987 to plate the Eiffel Tower and Notre Dame, however, "balpa" operations became more frequent and the reiterative form *balpatyvat* was introduced.

In Arabic, naturalization of the word was facilitated by its similarity to the verb *balbala* meaning "stir up, confuse, make restive." The three-consonant root *b-l-b* produced such derivatives as *muballap* (one who has been balpaed) or *muballip* (one who balpas others—an honorific title used in the late Nasserid dynasty). The Arabic form *istibláp* was presumably patterned after the German *Verbalpung*, since the English equivalent (balpaization) was rarely used.

In Turkish, the verb was easily assimilated through the process of consonantal substitution from *baltalamak* (meaning "to hew with an axe, sabotage or pull down") to *balpalamak* and a large number of verb derivatives such as *balpalanmak*, *balpalandirmak*, *balpalanlasmak*, etc.

(Continued on page 48)

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

ONE hundred and three years ago tomorrow, April 14, Abraham Lincoln was shot in Box No. 7 of Ford's Theatre. Tonight, April 13, 1968 a full audience sat in that theater and witnessed a performance of Stephen Vincent Benet's "John Brown's Body." Tomorrow, the exact anniversary of the assassination, is a Sunday and there will be no performances.

Miracle of miracles, Ford's Theatre has returned to life! Even as Washington Letter told you in the August, 1966 issue that work was in progress restoring Ford's to its exact appearance the night Lincoln was shot, it still seemed possible that the story was grossly optimistic. So many ambitious plans of this sort fizzle out. Regarding the restoration, there were two schools of thought. One would have made the interior look exactly as it was that night. Which would have turned it into an inert museum. The other, taking cognizance of the evolution in stagecraft during a century, insisted on providing modern dressing rooms for the actors, air conditioning, etc., in order to make it once more a live theater. The second school of thought won out. There was a gala opening of miscellaneous events on January 30, 1968 and one of the participants was Helen Hayes. This was followed by a repertory of three plays presented by the National Repertory Theatre: "John Brown's Body," Shakespeare's "The Comedy of Errors," and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer." The National Repertory has succeeded in assembling casts that act these stylized plays with dash and verve. The sets are perfect and so are the costumes. This whole enterprise deserves to be encouraged.

The reconstructed Ford's is a little jewel of a theater. (It holds 746 seats.) It was built before the worst excesses of Victorian frou-frou came in. The walls of Ford's are white, made of molded plaster. Painted geometric designs relieve the austerity of the white ceiling. Slender columns with Corinthian cornices support the balcony. The floors are wooden and uncarpeted. The chairs have plain cane seats—none of that modern super-stuffed. The cane seats are comfortable nonetheless. There are rows of globe-topped scones circling the

balcony and a matching chandelier at each side of the stage. There are welcome splotches of bright color: the stage curtains are rose velvet. A band of cherry-colored velvet runs across the railings of the balcony. Dark red wallpaper is used in the boxes. So, the place not only looks as it looked in Lincoln's Day but the ensemble is singularly fetching.

The Lincoln motif is handled perfectly. There is an interesting museum in the cellar and of course Box No. 7 is visible from the auditorium and from the passage in the rear. Performances start with "The Star Spangled Banner" and nearly every eye turns instinctively to Box 7. But attention is then diverted to the play. There is nothing lugubrious or morbid about the whole spectacle.

Prowling through the tortuous history of the historic theater, one is driven to a certain question: why did the government insist on shutting down the theater, as a theater, and letting its interior be gutted while it was turned over to the totally inappropriate use as an office building and warehouse for storing documents? The answer seems to be that the government was only acceding to the demands of "public opinion." By "public opinion" one means those militant groups that never weary of inflicting their will on other groups, who thrive on public disorder. There was enough of this breed in Washington to keep the government on tip-toe. And there was an echo from the rest of the country. Puritanism was still very much alive and many preachers mounted the pulpit to deplore the fact that Lincoln had frequented the theater. One eminent divine bellowed, "Would that Mr. Lincoln had fallen elsewhere than at the very gates of Hell!"

Now that the miracle has been achieved and Ford's has been restored, what is its future? The present theatrical season will last till May 18. Plans are now being hatched for the next season. The present plan is to limit the repertoire to plays that were current in Lincoln's day or to later plays that deal with Lincoln himself or with various phases of the Civil War. A great influx of tourists might make this feasible as a permanent scheme. But on the other hand if

Washingtonians make up the mainstay of the audience, they might in time weary of the same fare. Modern plays dealing with contemporary themes might be necessary.

Anyway, the restoration of Ford's is a triumph for anyone who had anything to do with it.

Cling to the Credit Cards

Devote a few of your idle moments to those credit cards you treat with the same scant respect as you accord to a Yarrow at the bridge table. There are now about 200 million credit cards outstanding and it is expected that 10 per cent of these will be lost or stolen this year and the consequences will be losses totaling \$40 million. This shows appalling carelessness on the part of the credit card wielders (surely 10 per cent of all ten dollar bills are not lost or stolen every year). Yet the loss of a credit card can do you more harm than the loss of a \$10 bill.

This traffic is getting so lucrative that credit card gangs are multiplying in big cities. The gangs acquire the credit cards from bartenders and waiters, as well as prostitutes, pick-pockets and burglars.

The American Express Company, largest issuer of credit except for the oil companies, warns its clients: "The cards should be carried on one's person and treated like cash."

An understatement. Those who feel like doing something foolish should throw the emerald earrings or the pearl shirt studs down the sewer. It would be cheaper in the long run.

Or, there is another solution. Sometimes you hear former umbrella owners say, "I'm so feeble-minded I lose one umbrella after another. So I have given up buying them."

Treachercus River

Every few days the newspapers carry sad headlines involving the Potomac. For instance:

"Fisherman Slips on Bank, Drowns in River"

"Sailboat Capsizes in Potomac, Family of Four Lost"

"Drowned While Trying to Rescue 16-year-old Youth"

These and many more were climaxed recently by "Nine Drown in Icy Potomac in Marine Training Exercise."

Washington Letter consulted a leading thinker on hydrokinetics. Why should the Potomac be so deadly? Drownings are not so common in the Mississippi, the Missouri or the Connecticut. The answer:

"The Potomac is the most treacherous river in the United States. You're not even safe crossing it on a bridge."

Strange Invitation

A rather startling advertisement inviting Dean Rusk to resign appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES. Wedged in between an advertisement for itching skin and sundry legal notices in the rear regions of the paper, the advertisement was one column wide and one and one half inches long. The full text read:

"If you want
Dean Rusk
to resign
call him and tell him
(202) RE 7-5600

When he ignores the elected Congress
... he ignores you ... and, the principles of the Republic
L.D. Arstark 27585 Times"

Washington Letter took the trouble to call the Secretary's office and ask how many people had been moved by this advertisement to call and ask the Secretary to resign. The answer: 0-0-none -0-0.

Do They Remind You of Anything?

A series of rich excavations into Pentagon efficiency reports has been completed by Senator Stephen M Young of Ohio who had a distinguished military record in World War II. Here are some samples of what Senator Young's spade brought up:

This officer has talents but has kept them well hidden.

A quiet, reticent, neat-appearing officer—industrious, tenacious, diffident, careful, and neat. I do not wish to have him as a member of my command at any time.

His leadership is outstanding except for his lack of ability to get along with his subordinates.

Can express a sentence in two paragraphs at any time.

Mental traits? He hasn't any.

Never makes the same mistake twice, but it seems to me he makes them all at once.

Open to suggestions but never follows them.

An independent thinker with a subaverage mentality.

He has nearly as many degrees as a fahrenheit thermometer. Lacks common sense.

Recently married and devotes more time to this activity than to his military duties.

Peaks on Parnassus

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

Now walk the angels on the walls of heaven

As sentinels to warn the immortal souls.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE: Tamburlaine

Award

Steadfastness, yes, that's it. That's the virtue that brings the May award to Lester Heinpottle of Seattle. Lester wrote a letter to a real estate columnist saying, "I am a contented, 72-year-old bachelor and pride myself on the fact that no woman has crossed my threshold for 40 years." Lester's aim is to assure this state of affairs after his death.

The real estate expert advised getting a lawyer so we shall perhaps never learn what lawyers and a judge decide.

But the point of it is Lester's steadfastness. Most of us wobble. Indeed wobbliness may be the cardinal vice of our era. Lester sets a good example by establishing a principle and clinging to it for 40 years (if we could only learn what happened 41 years ago!). Voltaire thought that most of our ills derive from our habit of straying beyond our own front doors. But of course this perception didn't stop Voltaire from gallivanting all over the place. Hasn't Lester somewhat improved on Voltaire?

Along the Boardwalk

Atlantic City, in a state of semi-slumber, comes alive in May.

"Re-opening on Tuesday."

"Salt Water Taffy."

"Jewelry Auction . . . Helena Rubenstein and Other Sources."

"Fudge-covered Salt Water Taffy."

"Salvation Army meeting at this point at 7:15 every evening during the season."

"The only original chocolate sealed taffy—cut to fit the mouth."

"Shoe sale."

"Wooden paddle fudge."

"The jewels of the world."

"Slimming baths."

"We are the world's largest parcel post shippers of salt water taffy."

"Atlantic City welcomes air conditioning convention."

"Fudge! It's finger lickin' good."

"Sea food platter \$2.91."

"Re-opening Friday."

"The richest chocolate-coated taffy you ever tasted."

"John Young, barber. By appointment only."

"Peanut brittle fudge."

"Put it in the can. Don't be a litter bug."

"Turkish baths. Slimming!"

"Objects (sic) d'art."

"154 varieties of fudge."

"The Funcade."

"Fudge! It's finger lickin' good."

"Protected Deck Chairs. Rest here for 35 cents an hour."

"Stuffed fudge."

"The mile-long hotdog."

"Fudge! Fudge! Fudge!"

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Me, Jane. You, Tarzan. And, uh, you savvy Peace Corps?"



"She would have made a great First Lady"

SUSANNE DAVIS

THEY say what they mean in the theater and that I much prefer," says Rosemary Murphy, philosophizing on the roles and merits of actors and diplomats. The Junoesque redhead, daughter of Robert D. Murphy, the State Department's first career Foreign Service officer to attain the rank of Under Secretary and a career Ambassador, recently appeared at Washington's National Theater in Gore Vidal's "Weekend."

The play, a comedy dealing with the current political scene and turning on a racial situation, was on its way to Broadway. The *WASHINGTON POST*'s drama critic Richard Coe generally panned the play but tossed bouquets to Miss Murphy's portrayal of a wife managing her blackmailing son, her Presidential hopeful husband, and his secretary-mistress in one harmoniously seething household.

The theater and the Foreign Service both have a certain glamour attached to them for many and Rosemary has certainly seen the inside of both worlds. "People are so naive about other peoples' professions," complains the brown-eyed actress. "Some people think the Foreign Service is glamorous, but we know better. We know it's awful. The theater is just as grubby as any other thing. I just enjoy it, that's all. That's how you should choose any career—if you like to do it. The only people who get anywhere are highly disciplined."

Rosemary Murphy's two week stay at a Washington hotel was as crammed with activity as any ambassador's schedule. There were parties with old diplomatic friends, daily play rehearsals, twelve evening performances, and four matinees, plus visits to the family house to see her miniature dachshund

cared for by the Japanese maid.

A hurried interview shortly before a matinee found Rosemary in mini dress and dark glasses. She donned her dressing robe, turned on the bright lights around the mirror, plugged in the curlers, and began the process of "making up" into someone else for the afternoon. Then she considered the story of her own career.

Rosemary's memories of diplomatic life start in Paris where she was brought up—"my 'you can't go home again' memories are of Paris," she says. Like many a foreign service child, she attended a variety of schools, some conducted in French, some in English: a lycée, a convent, and an American school.

The Murphys lived in Paris for nine consecutive years before World War II. Mrs. Murphy and her three young daughters left France on one of the last ships out of Bordeaux in late 1939, while Ambassador Murphy remained in Paris—and later Vichy—with Ambassador Bullitt. Rosemary spent the war years in the United States going to convent schools in Kansas City, Washington, and New York.

Acting first came into her life when she did a summer of stock at Olney, Maryland. "I'm not an ingenue," she said in her low Tallulah Bankhead voice, "so I played leading ladies." Diplomacy predominated—but not for long—when she joined her father in Berlin where he was Political Adviser to the High Commissioner for Germany after the war. There she attended the American University of Berlin, got tired of school and, she explained, "I hired an actor to do scenes with me so I could learn German and that's how I got into the theater."

During 1949-1950 she played the parts of foreigners in German plays because she had a French accent in German. She remembers the Berlin airlift vividly, especially, she reminisced, "the day it was over. The spirit of the Germans was marvelous." She made a movie with Fritz Cortner in Munich towards the end of the airlift. "It led nowhere. The movie bombed in New York." Meanwhile Ambassador Murphy became Chief of Mission in Belgium and the family moved to Brussels while Rosemary remained in Germany trying to make a living out of the theater. She earned the equivalent of \$50 a month which meant no meat and no heat. "I was awfully glad to be able to go over to the Embassy in Belgium every once in a while and get a good meal."

The New York fever finally got her and, she says, "I asked father for what a GI gets a month and went to New York." She got jobs here and there in and around New York in summer and winter stock. One job was acting with Sylvia Sydney on the Subway Circuit—movie theaters located on subway lines in Brooklyn and the Bronx which turn playhouse in summer. One job, she said, "lasted ten days near New York and that gave me hope to stay. It's luck that brings you hope."

Once in New York, Rosemary auditioned for Lee Strasberg's Actor's Studio and was accepted. Her first big part was that of Helen (Thomas Wolfe's sister) in "Look Homeward Angel." It is not hard to imagine Rosemary in this part, recalling Thomas Wolfe's description of Helen in the novel as "... almost six feet high: a tall thin girl, with large hands and feet, big-boned, generous features, behind which the hysteria of constant excitement lurked."

Her luck and her hope coincided in "Look Homeward Angel." She was babysitting for Maureen Stapleton, manager of the show, who introduced her to the director, who let her read the part. "To finally get hope was worth it," Rosemary explained. And "Look Homeward Angel" really was worth it. *LIFE* magazine played it up, inviting Thomas Wolfe's surviving relatives to New York and printing a big picture spread.

Rosemary's credits are long and lustrous in the theater, the movies, and in television. Last year she was on Broadway in

(Continued on page 48)

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

EDDIE N. WILLIAMS

It is often said, and it is probably true, that Washington, D. C. is a poor pulse by which to gauge the mood and temper of the nation. It was inevitable, therefore, that representatives of Washington's influential white minority would misread the mood and temper of the black majority with which it lives.

In all fairness, at least a handful of soothsayers along the Potomac have been sagacious enough to know that D. C.—60 percent black and 40 percent white—is much like the old Brooklyn Dodgers' Ebbets Field: a place where anything can happen and everything often does. Yet when the politically moderate white minority reacted to the black hours following the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., it was with massive disbelief. TV and radio, firstest with the mostest on the scene of the riot, paraded before the city and the nation commentator after commentator, one eyewitness after another, sages and second guessers, all of whom assayed the thought, "It's hard to believe THIS is happening in Washington." The massive disbelief was not only incredible but frightening.

Why was it so hard to believe that black men, women, and children were capable of running wild and pillaging in the most prestigious Capital in the world? Or was it simply a matter of not believing that they dared do so in the face of their overwhelming economic dependence on the Federal apparatus? Or was it because the per capita affluence among D.C. blacks is proportionately higher than that in other black communities?

Whatever the reasons, those who proclaim disbelief are just as much victims of deceit and apathy as those good white liberals. God bless them, who saw the black riot as an inevitable release of grief and sorrow directly connected with the death of Dr. King. The ironic tragedy lies in the fact that many of the teeney-bombers and looters had little knowledge of who Martin Luther King was. Many would have said SCLC was a trade union which discriminated against Negroes. And few could ever have been counted among the militant non-violents who were beckoned to "the mountain" by the philosophy and personal charisma of this modern day

Mahatma Ghandi. Those who link the riot with King's death are conjuring up an unenlightened catharsis for themselves as well as for the rioters.

In Washington—as in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Harlem, and Richmond—the tinder box had long existed. All that was needed was a spark. The spark might well have been the conviction of Rap Brown, the arrest of Stokeley Carmichael, the shooting of a Howard University coed, or the black-jacking of a black youth in the ghetto. The spark that lighted the tinder box came in the assassination of Martin Luther King. As in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956, he was the right man at the right time. Thus, Dr. King, in death, as it is alleged to have been in his early life, was the benefactor of an array of circumstances.

If disbelief is the true reaction of the brothers in the white ghetto, then the Kerner report was right indeed in citing a breakdown in communications as the villain in race relations in America and apathy as the bane of progress.

Then who is to blame for fouling the lines of communication in this, the communications center of the world? The whites because they did not see the handwriting on the wall? The blacks because they did not paint more shocking signs prior to the recent pillaging carnival? The leadership because it was too busy saying it couldn't and shouldn't happen here? Mass media because the on-going continuum of ghetto misery and agony had lost its newsworthiness? The statisticians because they compare the affluence of D.C. Negroes with that of Africans? The affluent blacks because they were too much caught up in the ecstasy of the American mainstream? The militants because they placed so much stress on challenging their elders? The elders because their guilt caused them to close their eyes to the useful toil which needed doing?

Washington, D. C.—the whole shooting match—is to blame because it didn't care enough to care; because it was concerned with form rather than substance, with protocol rather than practical reality, and with being the Capital of the western world rather than a city of human beings. These were some of the ingredients of the city's LSD which produced distorted patterns of sound, and light, and reality.

But naming names and assessing

blame will buy a cup of coffee if there is a dime around. The hard question here, as in the nation as a whole, which cries for an answer is: How do we begin to respond to the pervasive and awesome implications of the racial crisis?

Some have suggested possible approaches to defuse or even to solve some aspects of the crisis. There appears to be a consensus on two major points: 1. The problems are massive and therefore require massive attack; and 2. The attack must begin with a massive determination by the great, politically moderate majority of whites and blacks, at every level of organization, to overcome obstacles in the path of success.

This then is the question at the root of all other questions: How do we persuade an amorphous group of responsible Americans to want to defuse and solve critical aspects of the racial crisis?

Answers to this question often get hung up on the polemics of whether there can be meaningful progress so long as whites and blacks have many misgivings about each other. These misgivings result from haunting antebellum ways, ignorance, insecurity, apathy, conscious or unconscious racist attitudes, and they tend to pollute the atmosphere in which mutually acceptable and viable answers can be found.

Let's leave the polemics to those who grapple with the momentous questions regarding the chicken and the egg and the irresistible force and the immovable object. The crux of the matter is that some immediate answers must be found to the racial crisis whether or not there is a significant dissipation of mutual racial mistrust (MRM). Those who perceive a threat to national unity and to the ultimate realization of the American dream cannot afford the pyrrhic luxury of being discouraged by the MRM-progress dilemma or of demanding mutual racial trust as a precondition for action.

While the makers and shapers of American society are fiddling with this problem, the cities are burning. A growing number of militant blacks are psyching themselves into believing that a racial holocaust is the only way to precipitate a massive determination (at any level of organization in the body politic) to "solve" the racial crisis. The height of all presumption, of course, is that these nihilists believe that the resultant "solution" will be in their favor, or if unfavorable, not much worse than the *status quo*.

In the ever-increasing black leader-

ship vacuum this kind of militancy bellows the flames of racial mistrust and brings ever closer the possibility of a holocaust. As a brinkmanship strategy, it appears to be hardening rather than softening attitudes and exacerbating rather than calming anxieties. It approaches calamitous realization every time it is transferred from one irresponsible hand to another.

While Washington or another city or the nation as a whole might say that IT cannot happen HERE, IT might very well happen if enough people get pushed into enough corners. This, then, is the real crisis: that the new mood and temper of the black men are serious, angry, and determined and that in the absence of observable and mutually acceptable progress the black and white societies will blastulate and polarize. What would happen then is anybody's guess, but it would appear that the enlightened man would not wish to risk the consequences of such a situation.

If the racial problem is attitudinal, and it is in large part, the initial response must address itself to these attitudes. It is reasonable to believe that both the atmosphere and the

practical reality of race relations can be improved by making "crisis revolution" an objective of the enlightened self-interest of responsible Americans. Whatever their selfish reasons in doing so, they must be made to feel that there is no alternative to a massive commitment to action to resolve the racial crisis.

Reports, surveys, and disorders may come and go, but in the final analysis the most effective stimulant of massive action will be, as it has always been, enlightened self-interest. What specifically is there in all this for the majority of white Americans who are being asked to change, to yield, to re-fence their prejudices?

What is needed is a systematic way of appealing to the enlightened self-interest of those persons who, if they desired, could wield the political, economic, religious, and educational influence necessary to make resolving the racial crisis a priority objective.

Shocking though it may be to our sensibilities, our salvation might well lie in the development of a mechanism to create new values and profit motives which would make social change the currency of self-interest. Men do whatever they feel they must do to get

and to preserve what is most important to them. Would they risk all they have gained, all the promises still to be fulfilled—the American dream itself—on the altar of racial conflict? Or does the urgency of the crisis and the imperative of maintaining national unity open the door to new and unorthodox approaches?

One such approach might be to create an agency—publicly, privately, or jointly controlled—which would shape attitudes, values, and actions through the use of tools of effective mass communications. Ignorance of what each American stands to lose in a violent confrontation between white and black is as much a cause of apathy and inaction as are prejudice and despair. ■

EDDIE N. WILLIAMS was born in Memphis, Tennessee. He has his B.S. in journalism from the University of Illinois and has done graduate study in political science at Atlanta University and Howard University. Mr. Williams entered on duty with the Department of State in March, 1961, serving first as protocol officer, then as staff assistant in NEA and now as director of the Department's Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

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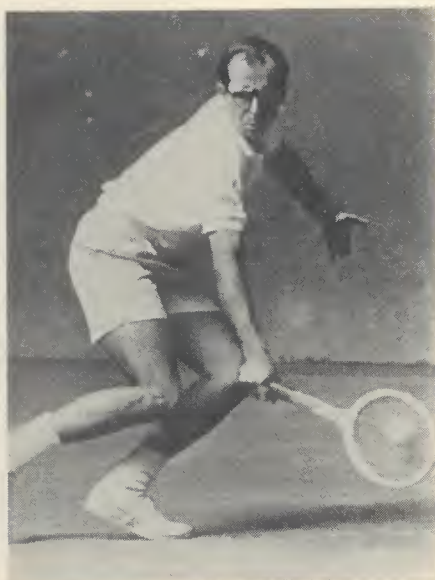
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Marrakech. Mrs. Gerald D. Ginnelly and friend enjoy a few moments of friendly confidence. Mr. Ginnelly is AID's Agriculture Program Assistant in Morocco.



Berlin. Bruce A. Flatin, Public Safety Director, receives first prize from Georg Moch, acting Berlin Police President, for having won the Allied-Police Friendship Shoot. Participating in the event were local police officers, American, French and British troops and associated personnel.

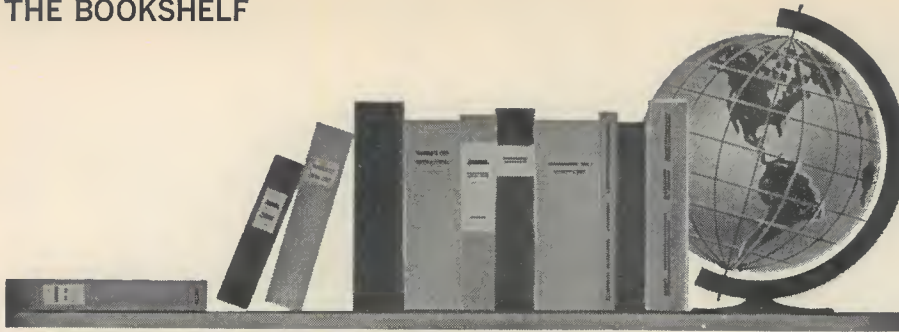


Bogota. Richard M. Ogden, Economics Officer, was the winner of the men's doubles title at the recent Colombian National Tennis Tournament. Mr. Ogden is shown at right in action during the tournament. Mr. Ogden won the California Tennis Championship in 1961 and another doubles title during a tour in Laos.

Service Glimpses

Garrachaga. Garrachaga villagers dance in celebration of their new school, built under the supervision of Peace Corps Volunteer Ray Saatjian and financed in part from funds raised by the students of Ithaca High School, Ithaca, New York. In the foreground, guests of honor at the dedication, Ambassador Armin H. Meyer, Mr. Moktari, Chief of Omran-Community Development Office, Governor Hasan Etesadi of Hamadan, and Mr. Mehrani, Chief of Villages, walk toward refreshment table.





The Low-Down on Diplomacy

IT is well known, or ought to be, that Sir Harold Nicolson's "Public Faces," a short novel of the early 1930's about how the British Foreign Office overcame an atom bomb crisis, is a more dependable guide to the real world than the author's more formal treatises on diplomacy. So much may also someday be said of "The Triumph," a first novel by Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith. Indeed, the two books are not dissimilar. Each is an artful, but ultimately ambiguous, exposition of a particular point of view on a current foreign policy controversy. "Public Faces" was written as a substitute for an anti-appeasement political pamphlet, but in fact is more than that. "The Triumph" could likewise have been put in pamphlet form—as an attack on knee-jerk anti-Communism (to borrow a phrase of Senator Thruston Morton)—but it too is much more than a mere pamphlet.

Surprise endings give both novels much of their impact. In this brief review, therefore, I will not give away the plot of either book. Suffice it to say only that the Galbraith novel purports to be an account of State Department influence on events in a small Caribbean state. The Dominican Republic comes to mind, but the author clearly has wider issues in view. His scenario is by no means dependent on a Latin American background.

Professor Galbraith's technical achievements as a novelist deserve praise. His concise statements about the New York Council on Foreign Relations, AID staffing patterns, the preparation of policy position papers in the Department, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, USAF thinking on counter-insurgency, and many other topics, if severe, are still a pleasure to read. His literary handling of bureaucratic infighting is also commendable.

His dialogue, on the other hand, does not always ring true. His characters (except perhaps his Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and the AID Educational Ad-

viser) sound a bit alike. They all seem to share Professor Galbraith's apparent taste for the laconic wisecrack. The author's treatment of sex and diplomacy, though expectedly sound on essentials, is also perhaps a bit too schematic. The institutional and security aspects of this important topic require profounder analysis.

This agreeable little novel on our common civic and professional concerns is not, then, the Great American (diplomatic) Novel. It is nonetheless a work of great merit, and a valuable contribution to an understanding of the world of affairs. It is not at all unsympathetic, incidentally, to the career Foreign Service.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

THE TRIUMPH, by John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin, \$4.95.

A Precarious Balance of Power

ADOLF BERLE's thesis is that the Supreme Court has by now acquired "the ultimate legislative power," and that it will not survive without a rearrangement of this power. The Court has not only struck down state legislation, but also, when the states have failed to take positive action in response to its judgments, the Court has attempted to remedy this inaction through enacting its own decrees. It has set itself up as "a revolutionary committee." The pace of technical and social change has required the Supreme Court to assume this role in order that chaos be averted.

The Supreme Court has had law-making power since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. Its decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954 in which a majority held that segregated schools were a violation of the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment shoved judicial legislation into the public eye. The Court's judgments in regard to state reapportionment have brought it still further into the law-making field. The immense and growing problems in the field of economic organization and the development of combined corporate

and computer machinery may impinge on the life of the individual in new ways, requiring Supreme Court intervention to assure equal protection of the laws.

The Supreme Court has entered so deeply into lawmaking that abstention from this field is no longer a real possibility. Deserting this function now might wreck the Court. In Berle's view the legislative function of the Court must be relocated before the problem becomes more acute. He proposes the establishment of a Constitutional Council. Comparable to the Council of Economic Advisers, this new body would be responsible to the Executive, and would study, report and recommend regarding constitutional developments affecting equal protection, particularly on the contribution of federal programs to the realization of constitutional rights. A dialogue is needed between power and its field of responsibility. At present there is no system for review of Supreme Court action and no channel which assures the enactment of legislation necessary to fulfill the revolutionary mandate of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The book is interesting, readable and brief. The increasing attacks on the Supreme Court, by no means confined to the diatribes of the John Birch Society, make the book timely and valuable. Leaving to the Court the burden of remedying or counteracting what Frankfurter has called "every political mischief" may ultimately sink it. Berle's book calls attention to the precarious balance of power in the federal government and how this has shifted in ways not envisaged by the Founding Fathers.

—BARBARA B. BURN

THE THREE FACES OF POWER, by Adolph A. Berle. Harcourt, Brace & World, \$3.95.

Quebec Confronts Canada

THE stresses and strains of modernization in more traditional societies have become a preoccupation with scholars and a matter of daily concern to US officials dealing with foreign affairs. The case closest to home—Quebec—has been largely overlooked.

Mr. Corbett treats at length the phenomena of modernization in Quebec. Since 1945 there has been a ferment of ideas and a growing and often successful challenge to existing federal-provincial arrangements. Indications of a fundamental change are evident in the trend toward secularization of the society and the course of economic development which Quebec

pursues both officially and privately, while at the same time insisting that its cultural integrity must not be jeopardized. Manifestly, it is proving as difficult in Quebec as elsewhere to select only the "good" elements of modernization.

The discussion covers an impressive list of Quebec desiderata, from changes in the constitution, through a greater share of tax revenues, to a free hand in the conduct of foreign relations. Of particular interest is the author's speculation on the Quebec-Canada relationship of the future. His most important conclusion is that economic considerations rather than a question such as French as a second and equal national language *a mari usque ad mare* will determine the extent to which Anglophone Canada will make concessions to satisfy Quebec aspirations within the bounds of confederation.

Although the title speaks of Quebec, the author tends to view all

Canadian Francophones as part of the "Quebec complex." Of course there is no monolithic French Canada. Some Francophone minorities outside Quebec, particularly the Acadians in the Atlantic Provinces, are historically, and continue to be, differentiated from the Quebecers and do not by any means share all the ideas current in Quebec. It would have been useful for the author to emphasize more strongly, for example, the ambivalent relationship between Quebec and Acadia.

The book contains some factual errors. Suffice it to mention one. It was not the Quebec government but Quebec newspaper publishers who provided the "transfusion"—and much less than the stated \$100,000—for the New Brunswick French-language daily, *L'Évangéline*, in 1965. This is a significant difference when one assesses the role of the Quebec government in cultural endeavors beyond its borders.

Mr. Corbett, an American who studied at Laval University in Quebec several decades ago, presents a relatively dispassionate account of an issue that raises the hackles of those directly involved. Nevertheless, his rather sanguine conclusions are not borne out by the "confrontation" he discusses in the book.

It is a prodigious, readable and well-documented analysis of the relationship of Quebec with the rest of Canada, particularly for the years of dynamic transformation since 1960. A good current bibliography is included. This volume is recommended for all who wish to be better informed on the most urgent problem facing our neighbor to the north today.

—WALTER J. MUELLER

QUEBEC CONFRONTS CANADA, by Edward M. Corbett. The Johns Hopkins Press, \$8.95.

OAS: Weak Reed or Strong Slave?

AGAINST the background of recent developments in the Organization of American States, Professor Jerome Slater's "The OAS and United States Foreign Policy" is, despite some flaws, timely and useful. It is clearly, if not brilliantly, written. For the most part, its facts are correct. Slater has relied almost entirely on English-language (OAS and American) materials, indicating that he does not know the Latin tongues; but he has made good use of these. The scholarly apparatus—notes, bibliography, index—is satisfactory.

Of special interest is his thoughtful discussion of the concept of nonintervention, which stirs so much passion south of the Border, and his description of the subtle changes in approaches to it that hard realities of recent times have wrought. Good, too, is his detailed description of the interplay between the United States and its neighbors that unceasingly conditions OAS action and influence. As he traces the history of the evolution of the OAS's peacekeeping function, he reminds us that at several recent Caribbean crises its machinery has operated quickly and efficiently: "If its primary function is [considered to be] to control overt interstate conflict and to maintain the territorial integrity of each of the member states, there is little question but that the OAS has been quite effective." (He reminds us also that this is *not* true of South American crises.) And his concluding paragraph might be put into this paradox: The less the US leans on the OAS for reasons of *realpolitik*, the likelier it is to get OAS support for its purposes.



Cathedral "La Ermita," Cali, Colombia

by Michael Kristula

Withal, the book has its weaknesses.

For one thing, Slater considers Latin America largely *in vacuo*. The Cuban missile crisis aside, he takes little or no account of the larger world framework in which the United States government must consider hemisphere affairs. Thus, like the Latin Americans, he is all too ready to blame the US for "neglect" of its southerly neighbors, not realizing that Uncle Sam has just so many buckets of water and must take them where the fires are.

What participants in the events he describes will find most annoying, however, is his kneejerk anti-US reaction. He considers almost everything the US has done in Latin America bad. He finds it all right for the Latin American nations to define their policies in the OAS in terms of their national interests; but throughout he suggests that this is all wrong for the US. He brings off the remarkable feat of very nearly whitewashing Castro's Cuba's intervention in Latin American affairs (he comes quite close to denying that Cuba is Communist, and says in effect that, if it is, the US is to blame, because it cold-shouldered Castro in the beginning); but he sees US intervention even in acts of careful nonintervention. However, he does take note of Talleyrand's dictum that in diplomacy intervention and nonintervention are the same thing.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

THE OAS AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, by Jerome Slater. Ohio State, \$6.00.

The Democratic Process

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading, for while the account does cover, and cover very fully the invention of American political parties, it is more accurately a history of our political practices traced from their early English origins through the Colonial and Federalist periods to the formulation by mid-nineteenth century of our present party arrangement. The author's principal theme is that, while the underlying pattern of representation by interests accompanied English settlers to the new world, the eventual shape of our American system arose only after a long period of adjustment and improvisation. One suspects, however, that Mr. Nichols, whose previous book earned him a Pulitzer Prize, has used this theme largely as a vehicle for writing a subjective text covering much of our history and touching on the way a good many subjects only peripherally tied to his central argument. As such the book is an admirable and scholarly

study written with notable erudition and historical insight. One may quarrel here and there with his stress on the relative unimportance of parties before the Jacksonian period and regret that he carries his story no further than mid-century, but the author does not demand total obeisance and his arguments reflect a breadth of knowledge that commands respectful attention.

Read as a survey this account supplies, accordingly, a thoughtful and penetrating review of American political growth. On the other hand, anyone picking up the book in expectation of a discussion solely of modern political parties will find that he must travel some three hundred rather heavy pages before reaching his goal. Whether he will enjoy the journey depends largely on his historical knowledge and his interest in political origins and antecedents.

—HENRY LEE

THE INVENTION OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES, by Roy F. Nichols. Macmillan Co., \$8.95.

Modern African Thought

THIS is both an interesting and an annoying book, in which, fortunately, the interest outweighs the annoyance. The author, trained at Columbia, employed at Rockefeller and recently visiting professor of history at Nairobi, has set himself a significant problem: to describe and analyze the political views of Africans in West Africa who sought to achieve an identity which was both European and African. These men were journalists, politicians and religious leaders. With the exception of the Liberians, they lived in the capitals of colonial territories, ranging from Dakar along the coast to Lagos. They were almost all in opposition to the colonial governments, even though they have been educated in Europe, believed in European values, and in the case of the clerics, were devoted to a non-African religion.

Despite the wide variation among these men, they had common problems: the dilemma of accepting and rejecting European values, the search for a new identity (in which race almost always played a role), and the relationship of this identity to traditional Africa. Mr. July deserves full marks for tackling this difficult and diffuse task of bringing together information on many of the early nationalists, who are now recognized as the forerunners of modern African thought.

Covering almost a century and discussing scores of men in a number of

territories, Mr. July has real trouble with the organization of his material. Duplication and digression are frequent, and he has a continuing problem of the balance between history and ideas. It is perhaps fair to conclude, however, that his difficulties in this score reflect the general state of our understanding of early African nationalism.

—FRED L. HADSEL

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN AFRICAN THOUGHT, by Robert W. July. Praeger, \$10.00.

Nationalism in South Africa

ALTHOUGH it is not often stated in these terms, the two dominant political forces in South Africa are Afrikaner and African nationalism. Furthermore, although they are fundamentally hostile to each other, they also have many striking parallels, as brought out by the author in his book entitled "Afrikaner and African Nationalism." In addition to analyzing the parallels and differences and relating the history of these developments, Professor Munger also deals with contemporary politics, especially those of 1966, during which the Nationalist Party (that of the Afrikaners) gained an overwhelming majority in the national elections and Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, was assassinated and was shortly after succeeded by Advocate John Vorster.

The manifestation of Afrikaner nationalism which causes so much concern to most of Africa and the rest of the world is of course the South African Government's policy of *apartheid* or separate development. As a result the author sees no prospect for the development of a true "South African" nationalism.

Edwin S. Munger, the author, has lived in South Africa and other African countries for long periods and made many trips to the area over a period of some twenty years. He has written several scholarly books and many articles on the area. Since 1961 he has been Professor of Geography at the California Institute of Technology.

Members of the Foreign Service dealing with or interested in African affairs will find a great deal of value in the thoughtful comment and political analysis of this book of some 140 pages. However, having been published in London for the Institute of Race Relations of that city, it may not be readily available in the United States.

—J. C. SATTERTHWAITE

AFRIKANER AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM, by Edwin S. Munger. Oxford University Press, 25 shillings.

Tito's Separate Road: Crossroads Ahead?

HARMONY of interests is the theme of this brief "policy book." John C. Campbell follows American responses to Tito's political gyrations from his early renegade days through his 1962 rapprochement with Moscow and on into a broad projection of the role Yugoslavia might play toward bringing about an eventual end to the Cold War in Europe.

Aid to Yugoslavia became increasingly difficult to justify when Tito refused to complete his initial "break" with the Kremlin. He was unwilling to renounce Communism altogether, as some Americans seem to have wished. Nevertheless, many policymakers have seen continued assistance as a means of preserving discretion and flexibility for the United States. They have hoped to capitalize somehow on the interest which Yugoslavia would have in maintaining ties with both East and West.

Mr. Campbell treats of the essential differences between Tito's "national communism" and Soviet expansionism. In an illuminating discussion of the relations of Yugoslav Communists with other Communist parties, of Yugoslav policies in the United Nations, and of Tito's grandstanding in the "Third World," he gives perspective to the scope and meaning of Tito's "positive neutralism." At the same time, he takes note of domestic matters—nagging nationality problems and economic difficulties—which pose fundamental limitations to Tito's ambitions. He observes that these problems must be solved by Tito's successors if Yugoslavia is to play an important role in the future.

Perhaps the main contribution of this work derives from its treatment of the inevitable "succession" and likely diminution of Yugoslavia's somewhat inflated world role. The passing of Marshall Tito, and, with him, of Yugoslavia's "heroic age" is almost certain to bring this Balkan country to terms with its real place in Europe, Mr. Campbell indicates. Thus reduced to its own level in international relations, Yugoslavia, in the author's view, may make a significant contribution in "bringing order and unity to Europe, in ending the Cold War on acceptable terms."

Has Tito been a mere "stalking horse" of Moscow in the "Third World?" Is the United States deluding itself to encourage such "breakaway" Communist nations as Yugoslavia and, perhaps, Rumania? What is to be gained and how? Mr. Campbell's concise, reasoned treatise goes far toward providing answers. The book, written

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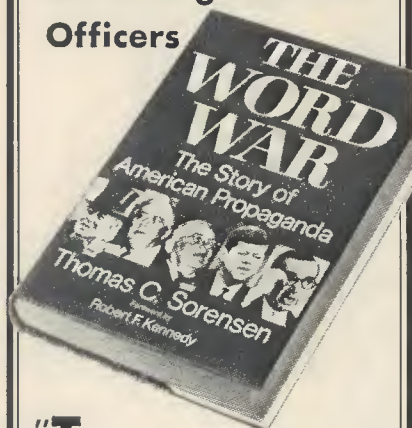
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for the Council on Foreign Relations, is a short one, but readers will find food for thought in Mr. Campbell's overall conception of the road ahead for Yugoslavia, and of its implications for the United States.

—JACK M. SEYMOUR, JR.

TITO'S SEPARATE ROAD, America and Yugoslavia in World Politics, by John C. Campbell. Harper and Row, \$3.95.

Moscow From All Angles

This sumptuous book—and it ought to be sumptuous considering its price—provides a catholic view of almost every aspect of Moscow life. There are gorgeous color photographs of the Kremlin, reproductions of old prints illustrating Moscow of the past, masterpieces of the Pushkin and Tretyakov Museums (most fascinating are the color reproductions, including priceless examples of icons of the Kiev school), scenes from various productions at the Bolshoi, pictures of palaces showing how the aristocracy lived before the Revolution and a fascinating series on Lenin's last home. A whirl through the 215 pages and the 266 illustrations will make you feel you know Moscow very well indeed. The only omission is a picture of any Moscow street on a dreary,

sunless January day. The handsome format is capped by a fine white linen binding.

—TIMOTHY CRASHAW

SPLENDORS OF MOSCOW AND ITS SURROUNDINGS. Introduction by Marcel Girard. Translated by James Hogarth, photographs by Gérard Bertin. The World Publishing Company, \$29.95.

The Undistorted Mirror

This collection of articles and transcripts, selected by his widow, constitute, in effect, Bernard Fall's last comments on Vietnam. A variety of subjects are treated: Indochinese history: over 2,000 years of civil turmoil and foreign incursion ("It is Vietnam as a cultural and historical entity which is threatened with extinction"); Ho Chih Minh ("a guy who looks like a half-starved Santa Claus"); US policies in Indochina 1940-1960 ("one of the permanent traits of America's Indochina policy seems to have been a certain rigidity in adapting policies to local changes and a pursuit—until too late—of policies based on theories not verified by the facts on the terrain"); Viet Cong prisoners ("Do the Americans think they can stay with this kind of war for 30, 40 years? Because that is what this is going to take.") and many other matters.

It is needless to recommend Dr. Fall's final book to those already familiar with his scholarly writings on Vietnam. Like the others, it is an authoritative, insightful and absorbing discussion of Vietnam and of the United States' involvement in Vietnam's fate.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

LAST REFLECTIONS ON A WAR, by Bernard B. Fall. Doubleday, \$4.95.

1939—1941

T. R. FEHRENBACH has written an interesting but irregular book about "FDR's Undeclared War." Much of the material on Roosevelt's foreign policy seems incomplete. On the other hand the chapter on the political and strategic dilemmas facing Japan during this period is excellent. It might have been better if the author had written two separate books—one on US policy and the other on Japanese policy—both more carefully documented and developed. Nevertheless, for the casual reader it is a readable book.

—ALBERT W. STOFFEL

FDR'S UNDECLARED WAR: 1939-41, by T. R. Fehrenbach. McKay, \$6.50.

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25 YEARS AGO

MAY 1943

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Bequest of Charles B. Hosmer

From the Executor of the estate of Charles B. Hosmer, who had died on active duty and had done so much for the Foreign Service, the Association received a bequest of \$1,000 for use as deemed appropriate. The editors of the JOURNAL commented in part as follows:

The growth of the Foreign Service Association since its inception has been rapid and continuous. Today it is established on a sound financial basis and receives the support of an overwhelming majority of Foreign Service officers. The JOURNAL itself is a direct product of the Association's development and we have now already established three modest scholarships for children of members of the Service. Mr. Hosmer's bequest presents us with a new challenge . . . to see that the income from the bequest is used in a manner which befits the character of the gift.

As the result of recommendations from members at home and abroad the income was applied to scholarships and an Association scholarship thereafter bore Mr. Hosmer's name.

Exchange of Persons

On May 22, 1943, the Department announced the Japanese Government had offered hope for a second exchange of interned civilians, possibly 1,500 Americans for that many Japanese held in the United States. Our side had suggested there be three more such exchanges at least. It was necessary first to finish the search in the United States for Japanese named by the Japanese Government, a search complicated by departures and differences in spelling. The arrangement would also include citizens of other American republics and Canada on a proportional basis in exchange for Japanese in those countries. The negotiations, conducted through the Swiss, led to the voyage early the next autumn of the *Gripsholm* to Mormugao, Goa.

New Assignments, May 1943

The President nominated Rear Admiral William R. Glassford for Vice Admiral and appointed him as his personal representative with the rank of Minister in French West Africa and with mission headquarters at Dakar.

James H. Keeley was named Chief of the Department's Special Division which was handling exchanges of civilian internees, prisoner of war matters, and many other wartime problems.

Benjamin M. Hully became Assistant Chief of the Visa Division.

Carol M. Foster was made Assistant Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations.

Edwin F. Stanton was named Assistant Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

John M. Cabot and J. Kenly Bacon were made Assistant Chiefs of the Division of American Republics.

Acting on instructions, Marcel E. Malige, Consul General at Fort-de-France, Martinique, delivered a note to Admiral Georges Robert, High Commissioner, terminating diplomatic relations in his jurisdiction. Ora Sitton, Vice Consul, was left in charge with several naval observers to protect American interests without powers of political negotiation. In June 1943, when Admiral Robert, ever loyal to Marshal Petain, relinquished his post and the French Committee of National Liberation named Henri-Etienne Hoppenot as his successor,

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the Department instructed Malige to return to Fort-de-France, where a French aircraft carrier, three warships and 140,000 tons of immobilized merchant ships were anchored and a large reserve of French gold was stored. Vice Admiral John Howard Hoover, Commander of the Caribbean Sea Frontier, had been instrumental in negotiations leading to the transfer of authority to the Giraud-de Gaulle Committee.

Coert du Bois, senior FSO and Chief of the Caribbean Division, saw an idea of his bear fruit in a short term agreement with the Bahamas that allowed American commercial fishermen to fish a 60 x 5-mile area in Bahaman waters near the Florida coast and to buy fish in Alicetown on Bimini. Talks continued for a long range plane to relieve the fish shortage. One proposal was for a fish processing plant on Crooked Island.

Momentous Events, May 1943

Tunis and Bizerte were captured 181 days after the landings. American forces landed on Attu to dislodge Japanese building an airstrip. Churchill visited Roosevelt with military experts for highest level planning for all theatres of operations. He addressed a joint session of Congress. The Third International was dissolved in Moscow 24 years after 51 delegates from 30 countries penetrated the Allied blockade and launched the organization there. The first international Food and Agriculture conference opened at Hot Springs. Senate and House conferees broke a deadlock on the Ruml pay-as-you-go income tax plan and institution of the withholding tax. The Post Office Department divided the United States into postal zones. Facts about the capabilities of radar, an abbreviation for Radio Detection and Ranging, were made public.

Lew Hahn, General Manager of the Retail Dry Goods Association, told a House Interstate Commerce Committee group that the Office of Price Administration must oust Dr. John Kenneth Galbraith, Deputy Administrator of OPA, because his crew of impracticable college professors and theorists were using their great power not to prevent inflation but to put into effect their ideas for reforming business. (Shortly after this Dr. Galbraith did resign.)

Second Careers

The Honorable Fletcher Warren was named Ambassador in Residence at East Texas State University, effective February 1, 1968, according to a clipping kindly sent by the Honorable James B. Stewart. This is the first such appointment in the Southwest. When Dean Brooks of the School of Arts and Sciences informed former President Truman of the appointment, President Truman replied that Mr. Warren's assignments "to some of the critical and sensitive diplomatic posts by his government attest to his capacity to contribute to a better understanding of our continuing foreign policy." Ambassador Warren started out in the Foreign Service in 1921 at Havana and served for 40 years. In the last 16 he was Ambassador to Nicaragua, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Turkey.

Following retirement this year after 41 years of service in 15 countries the Honorable John M. Cabot has taken up an appointment as full-time lecturer in diplomacy at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Among positions he held in the Foreign Service were Chief of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, aide at the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco conferences, Minister to Finland, and Ambassador to Pakistan, Sweden, Columbia, Brazil, and Poland.

Dr. Rufus Burr Smith retired from the Foreign Service in 1967. He had entered it in 1946 after service with SCAP in Tokyo and it had included assignments in Mexico, Guatemala, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Thailand, and Karachi and as a delegate to many international conferences

dealing with economic affairs. Last autumn he took up an appointment as Professor of Economics at the Roy E. Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida. Last February he was installed as the first William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor, a chair established in June 1967 with a grant of \$500,000 from a trust. He teaches undergraduate courses in finance, banking, and international economics and directs seniors in independent study of international economic problems.



A daughter, Margaret Mary, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Phelan on May 6, 1943, at Douglas, Arizona. Her father was then in charge at Agua Prieta. Mary attended schools in Panama, Bermuda, and Caracas. She became proficient in both Spanish and French. She went to College at San Francisco College for Women and graduated there in 1963. Then she became a novice at the Convent of the Religious Order of the Sacred Heart at El Cajon, California and before long was transferred to Frascati, near Rome, where she perfected her Italian. After two years there she was assigned to the Convent of the Sacred Heart in San Francisco. She is now at the Convent of the same name at Menlo Park, California. She teaches and studies theology and is working for an M.A. She has five older brothers. Two served in the armed forces overseas in World War II and two served in the Army in the Pentagon. Her father retired in 1961 after 41 years in the Foreign Service, chiefly in Latin America. In 1942 at Agua Prieta he received a commendation for success in improving relations between Mexicans and Americans at the border. In 1950 he received a Commendable Service Award for skillful handling of several involved and difficult problems in Panama. Back in 1916, his first year of service, he found out that a Turk who was a shipboard acquaintance was a German spy and was able to warn authorities at Port-of-Spain of plans to blow up oil wells in several places in Latin America. His father, Dr. Gregory Phelan, was in the Foreign Service for 30 years and died on active duty in 1911. His brother, George Roosevelt Phelan, was in the Foreign Service for 36 years and retired in 1954. A nephew, George R. Phelan, Jr., was appointed to the Foreign Service in 1941 and returned to the Service in 1946 after three years of service in the Army overseas. Raymond Phelan is now living in San Francisco.

AMBASSADOR RIVKIN (Continued from page 27)

closer ties with the American mainstream. However, when he sensed that the Service had been unjustly accused, he would be its most vigorous advocate. He encouraged Foreign Service officers to be as stalwart in defending their Service as he was.

Ambassador Rivkin fully shared President Kennedy's view that this could, indeed, be the golden age for the Foreign Service. He believed that to make this age a reality, America's diplomats should be dedicated to their nation, proud of their Service and courageous in their convictions—and then tackle their problems head on. To this end, William Rivkin himself could not have thought of anything more appropriate than the William R. Rivkin Award. ■

LEO REDDY

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Eyes see beyond the medallion
Where willows wash the ground.
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In a sun-dusted pond;
Stretch—
To reach gold red chrysanthemum.*

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

Matter of "Recurring Contact"

IT seems logical that specialization and assignments policies should extend to "country" specializations for a substantial number of officers. Yet, insofar as I am aware, except for a few hard language countries where the language is limited largely to the country, the idea has not been factored into the personnel process.

Simply, it would require that certain officers be tagged for certain countries early in their careers. A typical such career might involve an early tour in country "X," a mid-career tour as desk officer for country "X" and a senior assignment there as head of the economic or political section or as DCM. There are various ways the trajectory could be varied but the essence would be recurring contact with the country throughout the officer's career.

Despite international organizations, regional associations and worldwide programs, our basic clients remain individual countries. But our personnel policies do not seem to take this into account. An officer who had had one tour in a country, when he came back to it would start out with a better perspective than an officer with no prior experience there. No matter how voracious a reader one might be—and there is really surprisingly little to read on many countries—the printed word will not substitute fully for first hand experience. A young officer also would make friends and he could, in effect, grow up with them as he came back over the years. Knowing his fate lay with country "X" he could be expected to keep up with it as best he could even during service elsewhere.

A nice feature of such a program for an economy-minded Department is that it costs little or nothing. It could be arranged within the normal transfer pattern although, in some cases, it might be desirable to shorten one or two tours for an officer. Such officers need not be read out of special training—area or economic, for instance—but such training is not essential to the idea.

There are possible objections. Building cliques of officers whose careers are tied to particular countries. Personnel conflicts generated

among officers competing for the few top jobs in one Embassy. But problems of this type could readily be identified and the planned career patterns of some of the officers be changed to alleviate them.

More could be said in elaboration of the theme but letters to the editor should not be too long, so one last note. PER would not have to launch into such a program on the basis of reason or conjecture alone; there are career officers who, by one freak of fate or another, have returned to countries of previous assignment. A good starting point might be to ask them what they think are the goods and the bads of being a "returnee."

THOMAS I. DICKSON, JR.

Washington

Comment On The "Interim Report"

THE Interim Report is a far finer document than many of the similar "think pieces" on where-we-are-and-where-we-are-going which have been produced and debated in State, academe, the Hill and the fertile imaginations of the various other individually and collectively disgruntled members of the Foreign Affairs gladiator society. That said, and expressions of modesty duly and sincerely offered, there is one thing which enrages me about such reports. Why are we loath to admit that one of our more serious problems is the unsatisfactory caliber of a significant portion of the Officer Corps, including recent entries? It may seem immodest because each man who suggests it implies thereby that he knows that he is one of the elect and has doubts only about the others. The problem, however, is too serious to cover over merely for fear that those who bring it up will be seen as pharisees. Perhaps it would become a suitable topic if each who spoke to it first pronounced a *mea culpa* and did an obeisance in the direction of those colleagues whose qualities he admires and envies.

The problem with ignoring the question of the quality of the members of the service is that so much of what is wrong with the service could have been mitigated had anyone asked the question, "What impact will this have on the caliber of present and future officers?" before instituting another reorganization. I begin from the premise that there is no adequate substitute for the most capable reporter, analyst and negotiator being on the scene to represent us whenever and wherever needed. I also believe that initial selection of the most capable individuals and careful and regular reorienting (or firing) of those who subsequently fail to develop their talents will solve far more of the Serv-

ice's problems than will any reorganization efforts yet conceived.

In my eight brief years in the Foreign Service, there has been experimentation with regional specialization, functional specialization, and now, in this report, structure dealers, structure analyzers, and assister-supporters. The next report will no doubt recommend that structure dealers need experience as structure analyzers and that career opportunities of assister-supporters should be upgraded. I would recommend that that next report be called the Wriston Report. If the name has already been used, that's all right, because when one is riding a merry-go-round there may as well be established place names for the objects one keeps passing.

Much of the work on precepts and other recipes is harmless. It occupies time. It stimulates thinking. Some of it, however, is out-and-out poison. It is not enough to suggest another description-of-function exercise which at best changes names on doors and at worst scares away good talent. It is ridiculous to claim that the oversupply of over-grade officers does not have a deleterious effect on the performance of the Foreign Service. Anyone who has served in Washington must know of at least one case of functional indigestion caused by placing much rank and no resources in some office for no apparent reason other than to absorb the rank. I am certain that it is equally unpleasant for the O-1's who have to share between them the functions previously performed by an O-4. The fact that some rationale can be produced does not conceal the fact that this is frequently done only because there are too many O-1's for whom nothing else can be found. It produces a humorous picture which has damaged the Department's image particularly among prospective candidates. It has, therefore, seriously impaired the over-all long-term operation of the Department which will depend on the quality of future entrants. Nothing about the present situation can lead us to contemplate calmly the equation between skills and demands which the Interim Report projects. We should, therefore, be most seriously concerned about how we can raise the quality of the service's personnel. The report says that "We are reluctant to conclude that a superabundance of senior officers . . . should be viewed as . . . an institutional embarrassment." Reluctance aside, the fact is that it is more than an embarrassment, it is one (and only one) of a great many such problems for which we have for years sought rationales of non-solution.

I am impressed by the soundness of most of the Interim Report. I do not, however, see that we will be ready to meet the future (either as described by the report or as I would guess it to be) unless we admit that there are better men outside the Foreign Service who would come into the Foreign Service if it offered such men greater opportunities. The best of the Foreign Service certainly, and the average perhaps, looks good when compared with other comparable groups (including other countries' diplomatic services), but it does not look good enough when compared with what it could be or needs to be. Why do we settle for it? Why do we perpetuate it?

JON S. LODEESEN

Moscow

Fondling an Illusion

KINGDON SWAYNE's conclusions in the March issue of the JOURNAL (see "Horse and Buggy Political Science in the Jet Age") lead me to wonder if we have been toiling in the same vineyard to these many years. Like Mr. Swayne, I entered the Service in 1946; like him, I spent most of the next twenty years producing or consuming political or demi-political reporting and analysis from the underdeveloped lands of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Like him again, I left the political line of battle about a year ago (though I haven't retired), and like him, I have for the past several months been exploring the thicket of empirical political science, particularly those elements dealing with international relations and particularly within that subset the many approaches to comparative politics.

But my conclusions are not at all the same as those of my colleague. I don't believe we've missed a thing. I have so far found nothing in the literature which is both new and of predictive value. Looking back, I can find myself neither as producer or consumer of political analysis being dependent upon such terms as "interest aggregation," "political recruitment," and so forth. I don't believe that an everyday country-boy USG political or intelligence report or analysis deserves the adjective of "institutional." If it has to be called anything, why not call it "classical" or "traditional?" The name of "institutional" implies limitations which I have never felt in dealing with reporting in the Department of State.

Some of the best political reports I have ever read (analyses far more original and searching than any journalistic or academic efforts on the same subjects) have specifically dealt with the non-institutional aspects of a foreign regime, and done it without the vocabulary of the modern literature of political development. This is done skillfully and done every day with regard to one very complicated and dynamic system—that of the United States. There seems to be a tendency to use the jargon of political development in writing about foreign countries—it seems vaguely ridiculous when applied to the US, although US politics are notoriously non-institutional. This in itself should give us pause for thought before adopting it for the description of foreign systems.

My own study of the literature of political development has brought certain questions into my mind, and these questions should perhaps be answered

to the satisfaction of the diplomatist before he buys the wares of modern political development literature. First—does it do any good to talk in extraordinarily specific terms without implying that these specific characteristics are subject to numerical measurement by some sort of indicators? And just what are such indicators? How reliable are they?

Second—Is there an implication that the user of these terms and concepts has a key, even in general terms, as to the nature of the political process under way in the country which he examines? In the literature, various forms of "modernization" are assumed to be dominant constants, as a Twentieth Century version of the Hand of God or Divine Truth, or even Dialectical Materialism.

Third—Is it not possible that much of the literature of political development consists of renaming old phenomena by scholars who honestly believe that they have discovered something new under the sun, and who don't know that their new discovery is something that diplomatists and businessmen and even journalists have been using for years?

For fellow-skeptics, I suggest a paperback collection of essays, "Approaches to Comparative and International Politics," edited by R. Barry Fauell, and published by the Northwestern University Press, Evanston, in 1966. All FSOs should find the time to read this or a similar collection and make up their own minds.

JOHN W. BOWLING

Washington

To Inform the Present

IN the light of increasing concern about the relations of the United States with countries to whom it has extended assistance, the JOURNAL may wish to print the following excerpt from the funeral speech of Pericles as a measure, perhaps, of consolation in the knowledge that similar circumstances have arisen before:

"We secure our friends not by accepting favours but by doing them. And so we are naturally more firm in our attachments; for we are anxious, as creditors, to cement by kind offices our relation towards our friends. If they do not respond with the same warmth it is because they feel that their services will not be given spontaneously but only as the repayment of a debt. We are alone among mankind in doing men benefits, not on calculations of self-interest, but in the fearless confidence of freedom."

JOHN M. MCSWEENEY

Sofia



"In my opinion, General Lee could finish this war any day he wants to—he's merely trying to save us poor troopers the miseries of occupying Washington during the summer."

Limitation of space prevents extensive further discussion, but the Chinese situation warrants some comment. Balpa procedures were introduced in Communist China only after the 327th edition of the "Sayings of Chairman Lin Piao" was amended to include the saying: "If we do not balpa the class enemy, he will certainly balpa us." It is interesting to note that two different sets of three characters were used to transliterate "balpa" as *pa-la-p'a*. The first set of characters (Mathews numbers in parenthesis) stood for "pluck up" (4848), "slash" (3757) and "eradicate" (4853). The second set connotes "Drought Demon" (4857), "drag" (3756), and "dread" (4856). The first set was used more widely on Taiwan; the second on the mainland.

For all practical purposes, the use of the word “balpa” in the technical sense ended in the early XXI Century when the world went off the international gold standard. Nonetheless, we can take some inspiration from the fact that even in the early days of international communications and cooperation, a word—even more, an emotion-laden symbol—was able to spread across the entire globe and inspire the immortal call: “Balpniks of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your housing allowances!” ■

(Dr. Dornstaett is a former Foreign Service officer who has resigned to dedicate his time to pure research. He is a consultant to the Maldivian language program of the Foreign Service Institute. He wishes to express his thanks to three colleagues who have particularly assisted him in preparing this paper: Harold Sherwin-Williams, Professor Emeritus of Comparative Amharic Studies at Slippery Rock State Teachers College; Howard Pastorius, Visiting Lecturer in Santali Paleography at Utkal University in India; and P. H. Gorwallah, Assistant Professor of Hittite Dialectology at the New Paltz Campus of the State University of New York.)

Edward Albee's Pulitzer Prize winner "Delicate Balance." She played in "Any Wednesday," both on Broadway and in Hollywood, and has done Tennessee Williams' "Period of Adjustment" on Broadway and his "Night of the Iguana" in Italy. She went to Hollywood to make "To Kill a Mockingbird," "The Young Doctors," and "That Night" and has had parts in the television series "The Fugitive" and "Run for your Life." "Even in this business I've had luck," she says. "I've had a steady job."

Broadway, Hollywood, and TV are all the same to Rosemary Murphy. "I just like to act. The main thing is the part. You just pick the parts you like. I just like everything. It's dreary to do only one kind of thing. I love to do something different. It's hard to do a long run."

She loves doing Shakespeare, too, and did a season at Stratford, Connecticut.

Rosemary was on Broadway again this year with "Weekend," the tale of a handsome Senator seeking the Presidential nomination, sprinkled with timely political jokes. "I think it will have a run. Of course I don't know what Clive Barnes (NEW YORK TIMES drama critic) will say," said Rosemary ten days before the New York opening. It opened March 13 at the Broadhurst Theater and closed a few weeks later. In his March 14 review of "Weekend," Clive Barnes, arbiter of the theater world, had some pretty deprecating things to say about the play, but glowingly praised Rosemary Murphy. "Miss Murphy . . . was marvelous," he wrote. "Her voice fluttering in deadly but rose-colored invective, her flower-like smiles contriving to include both honey and bee as a package deal, and her languid grace, all seemed to be White House born. Whatever kind of President the Senator would have made, she would have been a great First Lady." ■

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- Theft
- Fire
- Typhoon
- Pilferage
- Lightning
- Explosion
- Vandalism
- Windstorm
- Flood
- Disappearance
- Hurricane
- Earthquake

- Bodily injury liability
- Property damage liability
- Employer's liability (servants, etc.)
- Tenants' liability
- Sports liability
- Fire legal liability (liability to landlords)
- Pets' liability

Check these advantages:

① **COMPREHENSIVE COVERAGE.** Broad "All Risk" Personal effects coverage . . . with a \$50.00 deductible and the insurance to value requirement assures you of the maximum benefit.

The only property exclusions are losses of or from moth and vermin, gradual deterioration, cash, currency, bank notes, and war risks. . . . Plus a special international comprehensive personal liability insurance (excluding automobile liability) from \$25,000. to \$100,000. . . . all in one convenient package.

② **SAVINGS.** Special rates for those in Government Service plus the economies of the package insurance concept make TRAVEL-PAK your best foreign insurance buy. COMPARE! Annual rate on personal effects is 1.4%. Premium discounts reduce the effective rate to 1.225% for two-year policies and 1.167% for three-year policies. . . . Renewal premium credits for years in which there are no marine shipments produces still greater savings. Your maximum discount from the standard premium rate can be as much as 39%!

③ **ALLOWANCE FOR YOUR PRESENT INSURANCE.** There is no need for you to wait for your present insurance to expire to apply for this broader coverage. We'll give you a premium credit for any personal effects insurance you already have.

④ **CONFIDENCE.** Your policy will be underwritten by **Lloyd's London** Underwriters—world renowned for security.

⑤ **BREAKAGE INCLUDED.** Your valuable articles are insured against breakage in transit provided they have been professionally packed.

⑥ **WORLD-WIDE CLAIMS SERVICE.** We offer the promptest possible payment of claims, for TRAVEL-PAK operates through the world's largest personal insurance claims network with claims contact points in over 200 cities throughout the world . . . including Eastern Europe.

⑦ **CONVENIENCE.** TRAVEL-PAK is just one easy-to-understand policy that covers your property and liability needs. You deal with just one experienced firm.

⑧ **NON-CANCELLABLE PROTECTION.** The Underwriters cannot cancel your coverage during the normal term of the policy except in the case of fraudulent declaration or claim or for non-payment of premium.

We also have excellent facilities for your Life, Accident, Health, Home, Auto, and Marine insurance requirements—at home or abroad.



SPECIAL RATES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WORLDWIDE

(G) TOTAL VALUE PERSONAL EFFECTS	Annual Travel-Pak Premium	IF YOUR TOTALS FALL BETWEEN AMOUNTS IN TABLES PLEASE USE NEXT HIGHER AMOUNT	(F) TOTAL VALUE JEWELRY AND/ OR FURS	Annual Premium
\$ 2,500	\$ 43.00		\$ 300	Incl.
\$ 2,700	\$ 45.80		\$ 500	\$ 1.00
\$ 2,900	\$ 48.60		\$ 700	\$ 2.00
\$ 3,100	\$ 51.40		\$ 900	\$ 3.00
\$ 3,300	\$ 54.20		\$1,100	\$ 4.00
\$ 3,500	\$ 57.00		\$1,300	\$ 5.00
\$ 3,700	\$ 59.80		\$1,500	\$ 6.00
\$ 3,900	\$ 62.60		\$1,700	\$ 7.00
\$ 4,100	\$ 65.40		\$1,900	\$ 8.00
\$ 4,300	\$ 68.20	Each additional \$100 value, add 50¢	\$2,100	\$ 9.00
\$ 4,500	\$ 71.00		\$2,300	\$10.00
\$ 4,700	\$ 73.80		\$2,500	\$11.00
\$ 4,900	\$ 76.60		\$2,700	\$12.00
\$ 5,100	\$ 79.40		\$2,900	\$13.00
\$ 5,300	\$ 82.20		\$3,100	\$14.00
\$ 5,500	\$ 85.00		\$3,300	\$15.00
\$ 5,700	\$ 87.80		\$3,500	\$16.00
\$ 5,900	\$ 90.60		\$3,700	\$17.00
\$ 6,100	\$ 93.40		\$3,900	\$18.00
\$ 6,300	\$ 96.20	(I) INCREASED AMOUNTS OF LIABILITY	\$4,100	\$19.00
\$ 6,500	\$ 99.00		\$4,300	\$20.00
\$ 6,700	\$101.80		\$4,500	\$21.00
\$ 6,900	\$104.60		\$4,700	\$22.00
\$ 7,100	\$107.40		\$4,900	\$23.00
\$ 7,300	\$110.20		\$5,000	\$23.50
\$ 7,500	\$113.00			
\$ 7,700	\$115.80			
\$ 7,900	\$118.60			
\$ 8,100	\$121.40			
\$ 8,300	\$124.20		\$ 50,000	\$5.00
\$ 8,500	\$127.00		\$ 75,000	\$6.50
\$ 8,700	\$129.80		\$100,000	\$7.50
\$ 8,900	\$132.60			
\$ 9,100	\$135.40			
\$ 9,300	\$138.20			
\$ 9,500	\$141.00			
\$ 9,700	\$143.80			
\$ 9,900	\$146.60			
\$10,000	\$148.00			

Each additional \$100 value, add \$1.40.

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