

Foreign Service Journal

OCTOBER 1968
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Greta Newman, "Carnaby Street," cover; Robert Moeser, photographs, pages 18, 19, 20 and 21; Martin Prochnik, photograph, page 34; Max Machol, photograph, page 38; S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 42; Ernest Williams, cartoon, page 54.

Ambassadorial Nominations

WILLIAM G. BOWDLER, to *El Salvador*

ANGIER BIDDLE DUKE, to *Denmark*

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, JR., to *Union of Burma*

LEO J. SHERIDAN, to *Ireland*

Marriages

BOND-SHEEHAN. Ellen Bond, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Niles W. Bond, was married to Barry Sheehan on July 29, in Washington, D.C.

KANELL-MAGLIOZZI. Gloria Ann Kanell was married to Bernard Magliozzi, son of FSO and Mrs. Francis N. Magliozzi, on August 24, in Calvary Baptist Church, Torrington, Conn.

ROSTOW-STEVENS. Jessica Rostow, daughter of Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and Mrs. Eugene V. Rostow, was married to Dana N. Stevens, on August 28, in Peru, Vermont.

MARKS-LITE. Carol Sue Marks was married to FSIO Jeffrey H. Lite on July 7, in Chicago.

MCINTOSH-TALKINGTON. Joyce Marie McIntosh, daughter of Consul General and Mrs. Clarence J. McIntosh, was married to Airman First Class Steven A. Talkington, on August 24, in Chula Vista, California.

VOGEL-MCNALLY. Kathleen Mary Vogel, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick H. Vogel, was married to Douglas William McNally, on August 10, in St. Paul's Chapel, Columbia University. Mr. Vogel is serving with AID in Saigon. Mrs. Vogel is on the staff of the American Foreign Service Association.

Births

ANTIPPAS. A son, Mark George, born to FSO and Mrs. Andrew F. Antippas, on July 30, in Bangkok. Mr. Antippas is with the Political Section of the Embassy in Saigon.

BOWLING. A daughter, Virginia Ellen, born to FSO and Mrs. John W. Bowling, on August 1, in Washington.

OPHULS. A son, Hardy, born to FSO and Mrs. William Ophuls, on July 30, in New Haven, Conn.

Deaths

FALK. Elmer M. Falk, director of the Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State, died on August 21, at his home, 7828 Lee Ave., Alexandria. After service in the Army, Mr. Falk went to Salzburg in 1945 for UNRRA. He later joined the International Refugee Organization in Germany, then became deputy coordinator and coordinator of the US Displaced Persons Commission in Europe and in 1954 deputy chief of the Intergovernmental Refugee Programs of ICA. In 1956 he joined the State Department's

Office of International Administration where he remained until 1962. Mr. Falk received the Superior Service Award in 1967 for his service to refugees. He is survived by his wife and two children of the home address.

MEIN. John Gordon Mein, Ambassador to Guatemala, was shot to death on August 28, in Guatemala City. Mr. Mein joined the Department of State in 1941 and the Foreign Service in 1942. He served at Rome, Oslo, Djakarta, Manila, and Rio de Janeiro before his appointment as Ambassador to Guatemala in 1965. He received the Meritorious Service Award in 1959. Ambassador Mein is survived by his wife and three children. Mrs. Mein's current address is c/o Mrs. Harold J. Clay, 2603 Monroe St., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20018.

NUVEEN. John Nuveen, former ECA administrator in Greece, Belgium and Luxembourg, died on August 8, in Chicago. Mr. Nuveen served with ECA from 1948 to 1950 and later as consultant on foreign investment to the Department of Commerce.

ROBERTS. Alexander Chambers Roberts and Owen Winthrop Roberts, Jr., sons of FSO and Mrs. Owen Roberts, were killed on August 14 in a car accident near Pensacola, Florida. The boys are survived by their parents, stationed at the Air War College, Montgomery, Ala., and a younger brother.

SCOTTEN. Robert McGregor Scotten, former Ambassador to Ecuador and New Zealand, died on September 6, in Barbados. Mr. Scotten joined the Foreign Service in 1916 and served at Berlin, Madrid, Guatemala City, Paris, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro, Asuncion, Santiago before his appointment as minister to the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica in 1940. He retired in 1956. Ambassador Scotten is survived by his wife of Nelson Cay, St. Peter, Barbados, West Indies.

SINDERSON. FSO Paul G. Sinderson died on August 10, in La Paz, Bolivia. Mr. Sinderson joined the Department of State in 1947 and entered the Foreign Service in 1954. He served as Director of the Office of the Budget in 1964, was assigned to the War College in 1965 and was serving with the Inspection Corps at the time of his death. He is survived by his wife of 5913 Cheshire Dr., Bethesda, Md. 20014, and four sons.

SOLLENBERGER. Roger Hafner Sollenberger, son of Mr. and Mrs. Howard E. Sollenberger, was drowned on September 1, while swimming in the ocean at Taiwan. He is survived by his parents of 1287 Berry Place, McLean, Virginia, a brother and a sister. The family requests that memorial contributions be sent to the Dartmouth College Scholarship Fund (specify Oriental students), Hanover, N.H.

STANTON. Edwin Forward Stanton, former Ambassador to Thailand, died on August 29, in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Mr. Stanton joined the State Department in 1921 as a student interpreter and served at Mukden and Kalgan. He entered the Foreign Service in 1924 and served at Tientsin, Tsinan, Canton, Peiping, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai and Vancouver before his appointment as minister to Siam in 1946. He became our first Ambassador to Thailand in 1947 and served there until his retirement in 1953. He is survived by his wife of 85 Housatonic Dr., Devon, Conn. 06460 and two sisters.

STEWART. Edwin F. Stewart, younger brother of retired Ambassador James B. Stewart, died on August 27, at Colmar, Pennsylvania.

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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Winston Churchill's Grandfather



E. Allen Fidel, when he was Consul General in Trieste, helpfully pointed out to the JOURNAL that one of his predecessors was Leonard Jerome, the grandfather of Sir Winston Churchill. This phase of Tycoon Jerome's career forms a vivid chapter in a book, "The Fabulous Leonard Jerome," by Anita Leslie, Jerome's great granddaughter. Because the Trieste pages present such a picturesque view of consular life on the Adriatic in 1852-53, the JOURNAL has obtained permission to reprint them from the publisher, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 383 Madison Avenue, New York.

IT was in January 1852 that the Senate confirmed Leonard Jerome's political appointment as consul at Trieste. With great enthusiasm Mrs. Jerome started to prepare for the term in consular life. When she wasn't packing or shopping she gave herself over to solemn efforts to absorb the history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire "so that I should know *something* about the place to which we were going, but what a complicated and involved story it did seem." Leonard, kept occupied day and night by business arrangements and conferences concerning his future duties as Consul, had to leave preparations for departure entirely to Clara. She stored furniture, obtained new places for negro domestics, supervised crates of "necessaries for the Italian climate!" and ordered a suitable trousseau for the journey. It was the age of special costumes. No lady traveled without procuring a traveling dress, or stepped on a boat except in a sailing bonnet, or dreamt of appearing in a new city without trunks of ensembles devised for that place alone.

Although passenger ships were running a regular service between New York and Liverpool, Leonard insisted that they cross the ocean by sail. They must have traversed the North Atlantic in the westerlies, entering the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar.

In April the party disembarked at Marseilles and traveled along the flowering Riviera to Northern Italy, the whole of which lay within the confines of the rambling Austro-Hungarian Empire. Passports were unknown in those days except for a barbaric land such as Russia and the troubled Italian states.

Venice, Padua, Milan and Turin were governed from Vienna, and Trieste itself had been under Hapsburg rule since 1382. During several centuries this city had remained the Empire's sole outlet to the sea; in 1852 it counted as the most important Mediterranean port, and three years before the Jeromes' arrival Emperor Francis Joseph had granted it the status of *Reichsunmittelbarkeit*, making it subject to the Imperial Government only. Trieste, in fact, was a tiny city-state within the vast empire.

Perched on the blue Adriatic with all the exports and imports of Austro-Hungary flowing through its great harbor, the city was packed with rich merchants who, like the



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Venetians of earlier times, traded with the entire world. America was just beginning to open up interests in the Adriatic and Jerome found it easy to stimulate trade between his country and the eastern Mediterranean.

Having settled into a pleasant villa, and familiarized himself with the unonerous duties of the Consulate, Leonard organized a pleasant life for his household. Clara, venturing forth in an open carriage, enjoyed the views of bay and mountain, and the lively people. It was a different world for her, a throbbing little world full of ancient history, and her letters home were studded with romantic stories of Venice. Since every port in the Adriatic had been founded by emissaries of the Doge, all villages near the sea were Italian-speaking, and despite Austria's sovereignty, this remained the chief tongue of Trieste. Clara tried valiantly to master her Italian and German grammars but she had little ear for languages. During drives in the country she was forced to notice that not only the townsfolk but many unlettered peasants seemed able to pick up a foreign language more easily than she. Within the Austrian ruling class, it was granted that three or four languages should be perfected in the schoolroom, and Clara now determined that her daughters must learn languages while young.

The Governor of Trieste, to whom Leonard presented his credentials, was a Viennese aristocrat who enchanted both Jeromes "by his manners, the art of his conversation and his supremely unpractical outlook on the world." Later, when they were invited to the castles and manor houses of those Italian counts and dukes who held whatever posts they could procure befitting their rank (this last was of immense importance to all of them), Leonard often experienced tedium in their company. "They spoke more languages than I, but none paid for their own education, and surely it is more important to think clearly in one idiom than to chatter in five."

It was not so to his wife, for whom the charm of all foreigners proved irresistible. A few evenings at the Governor's Palace, where she met the nobility whose villas lay scattered around the bay, completely bewitched her. Her eyes were opened to a way of living she had never glimpsed among the successful men of America, and from now on everything Austrian must be deemed perfect.

Concerning the merits of the Italian aristocracy she remained more guarded. They amazed as much as they beguiled, for the men, apart from those who procured posts in the Austrian Government Services, obviously had no intention of ever doing a stroke of work if they could help it. As for the *contessas*, they appeared to be more interested in lovers' compliments than husbands' careers. Moulded by her strict Puritan upbringing, Clara grew slightly shocked.

Entertaining in Trieste with well-mannered servants and perfectly trained cooks, proved easy. The blue bay surrounded by pastel-colored mountains made a background of theatrical splendor for the Jerome villa which possessed a large garden set with "exotic blooms and English lawns" where the babies could romp all day and their parents could give open-air parties at night. During the summer no Triestians ever seemed to go to bed and the formality usually attendant on diplomatic entertaining faded away in the warm enchantment of the Adriatic. Clara wrote, "The gorgeous picnic seems as correct as a formal reception for ambassadors and princes as well as our merchant friends."

When Leonard became the proud owner of a small white yacht the Consulate saw little of "that energetic American gentleman." He had never owned a boat before, and was forever "missing lunch while taking sailing lessons from a dreadful old fisherman in a red cap." There were also hunting parties with Austrian friends to blue Lake Zirkintza, and Monte Nevoso, the Snow Mountain of legend.

In winter most of the Viennese departed to their capital,

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and as the bitter *bora* blew down the stark treeless mountains the Jeromes, creeping cautiously out to dinner in their closed coach, saw ropes fastened along the streets for people to cling to, lest they were blown into the sea. Entertaining on the grand scale started again in early spring, and Clara, growing more vivacious and talkative every day, forced Leonard to take her to all the balls given in the castles and mansions built along the coast. The flickering candelabra and masses of Southern flowers, the old tapestries and mixture of Latin-Slav-Germanic tastes, enchanted her. And so did the dancing partners. These were largely provided by the battleships of the Austrian Navy, which could disgorge large numbers of well-polished officers for all parties.

Clara, "an elegant brunette with American vitality and Paris gowns," found herself inundated with compliments "so daring one blushes, and yet too graceful to offend."

She met the Archduke Maximilian, a naval officer of twenty-one, and danced frequently with his friend Baron William Tegethoff who, she admitted years later, "seemed to be, though one should not say it, rather taken."

Trieste was a tiny world, glittering and light-hearted. Night after night, Clara found herself dancing into daylight, and as Leonard drove home beside her he would be whistling a haunting new Strauss waltz. Never before had life permitted them to be so carefree. She would lean back and close her eyes, as the stars died out of the pale pink sky.

Trieste was so different from Rochester and New York that Leonard could not at first notice the brutality with which the pieces of the old Empire were kept glued together. Behind the pageantry ticked a slow time-bomb which would explode amidst the pressures of the next century.

When the Emperor Francis Joseph had succeeded four years previously, he quickly subdued the Italian provinces and

placed wicked ninety-year-old Marshal Radetzky in charge. The Marshal quickly imposed martial law, hung and imprisoned thousands of remonstrating Italians and ordered the flogging of fifteen respectable Milanese, including two young girls, for hissing an Austrian. In 1851, the year before the Jeromes' arrival, a professor of the University of Milan had died under the lash. The murmur of anger which arose through Lombardy became the signal for the Emperor's secret police to be sent swarming through his provinces. Meanwhile, the Austrian Army of Occupation conscripted Italian subjects, and Radetzky lined his pockets by selling exemptions from military service. Later the same men were conscripted anyway. These appear unlikely methods of winning popularity for any regime, yet Francis Joseph, proclaiming himself a Liberal, found it "unbelievable" that north Italy should recoil from his visits, while its aristocracy avoided all court functions.

Hungary proved far harder to crush than Piedmont. In fact the Austrian Army could not do it without the aid of Russian troops which were presently supplied by Tsar Nicolas I. When, in 1849 the Hungarian rebel army had capitulated to its double foe, Francis Joseph acted with a mixture of vacillation and treachery. He spoke magnanimously, and then approved the hanging of the defeated Prime Minister, of thirteen Hungarian generals, and a hundred leading citizens. The governor he installed grew notorious for publicly flogging women on political grounds. Only the Archduke Maximilian, whom Clara called "a sweet-faced boy," had the courage to record his disgust:

"Posterity will regard with amazement and horror the chambers in which without any question of law, mere force has, under the influence of hateful revenge, condemned people to death at a few hours' notice, perhaps because they wanted

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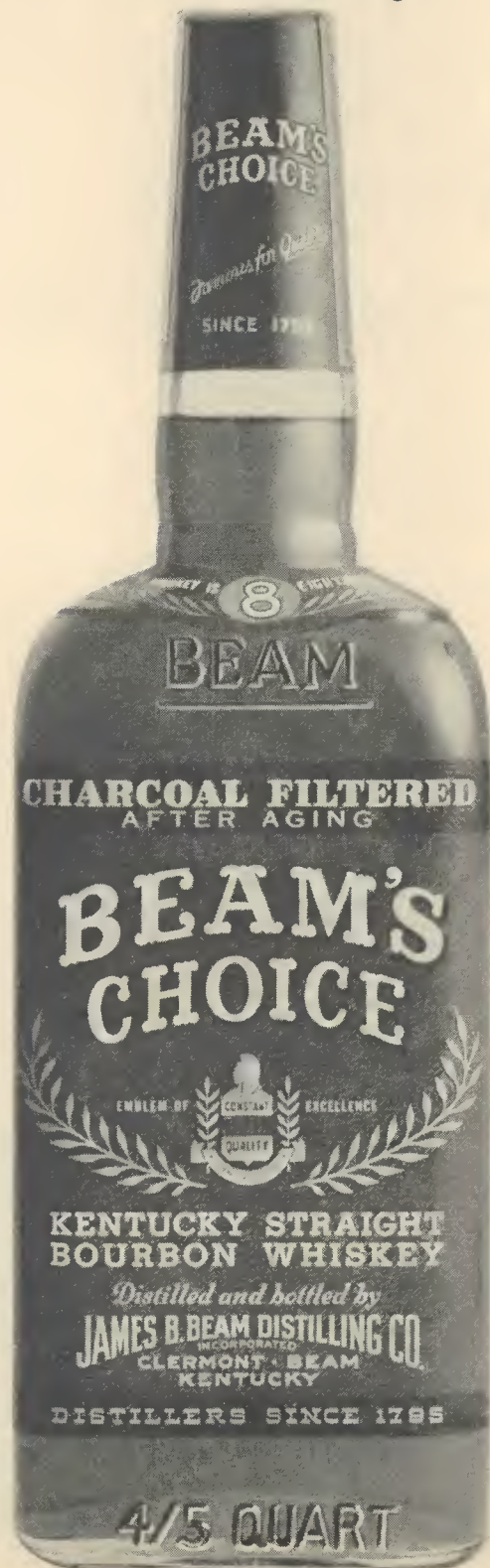
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something different from that desired by the power that stands above law."

Francis Joseph now found it more extraordinary than ever that his subjects did not like him. In order to cope with the torrent of daily reports from his agents-provocateur and personal spies, the Emperor started his famous life-long habit of rising at 4 a.m. to work at his desk until late afternoon.

In Austria there was every appearance of gaiety. Dissenters might be flogged, but pretty young countesses danced *le beau danube bleu*.

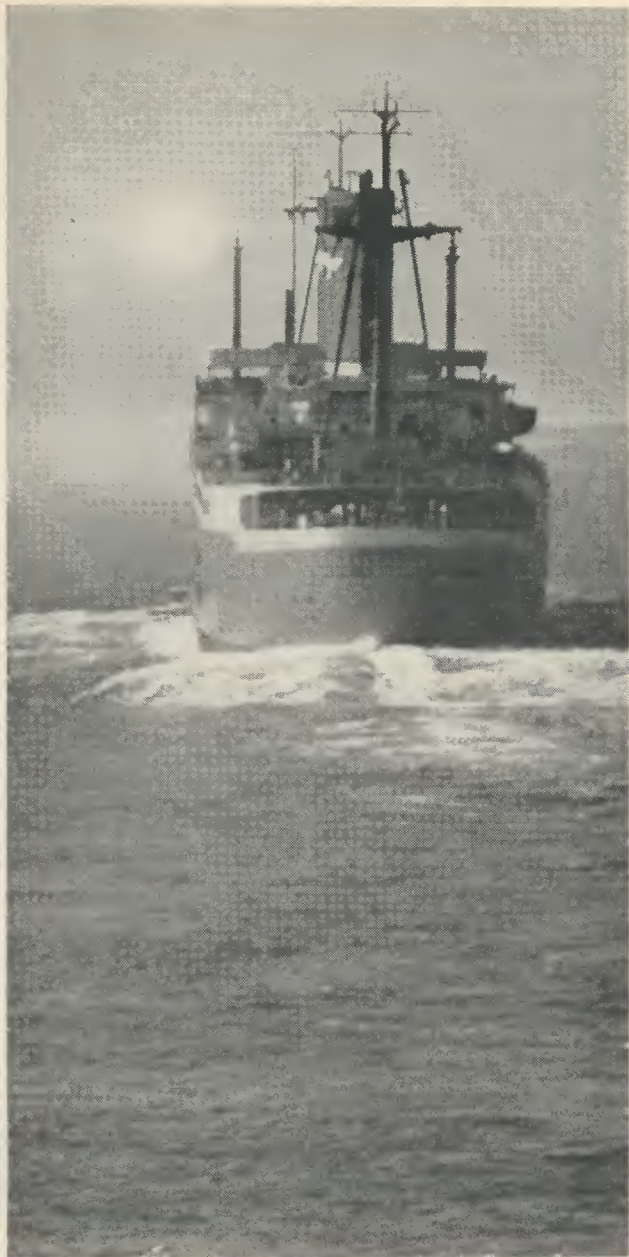
Fine-drawn, educated minds rose among the aristocracy, but they were not questioning minds. A foreign Consul, however, was prone to see the more light-hearted side, and Trieste was a city of many enterprises packed with people from different nations. Ambitious professional men flocked there for a few years to make quick fortunes before retiring to Paris where the art of living had reached a supreme height. Vienna emulated Paris but despite her older royal family never quite attained her grace.

Leonard liked the Austrian Governor of Trieste, at whose palace receptions the rich cosmopolitan merchants of the port mingled with local counts and dukes, presenting the most entertaining assortment of men, all weaving their small destinies in the structure of the swaying Empire. Amongst them, Leonard Jerome, the north American, stamped a vivid impression. He was a character, this "ricco Americano." The "gay dogs" of Trieste tried to draw him to the gambling clubs but hours at the tables bored him. Seeing him grow restless at Faro, friends urged him to the theatre, but he never mastered Italian sufficiently to enjoy the witty if licentious topical plays "for men only." Only the Stadt Theatre with its opera company, to which the stars of Milan and Vienna were frequent guest artists, held him riveted night after night. Verdi, Donizetti and Bellini were his favourite composers and he often traveled to Venice for star performances. Those of his companions who had grown up knowing the score of operas by heart, laughed at the zeal with which "ce cher Jerome, ce business man Americain" became a connoisseur.

He showed almost as much interest in the Imperial Stud at Lipizza, a few miles from Trieste, where the famous Lipizzaner stallions were bred and kept on show for foreign visitors. After he bought a pair of Lipizzaners, Clara decided that, as a topic of conversation, she would rather bear with musical scores than equine pedigrees.

Eager to please Leonard, Clara ordered all her dresses from Paris. "Do look well, Clit," he would urge, and he faced with equanimity those bills which arrived in the wake of enormous boxes containing hoop skirts of satin, brocade or muslin. A lady had plenty of time to devote to her toilettes, time to change into two or three dresses each day, and to "attire herself for the evening," a complicated process necessitating several hours and the help of several maids. Here in the romance of this Southern setting, such efforts were well repaid. When Mrs. Jerome swept forth in a cloud of fichus and muslin she had a sparkle in her eye that had never been seen by the aunts of Palmyra. It was about this time that Clara ceased to strive to attain "intellectual heights which just wear one out." She laid by her French and Italian grammars, because they "spoiled too many precious hours," and took to sightseeing instead. With some trepidation, wearing an enormous sun hat and swathed in veils to protect her complexion, she even accompanied her husband on yachting trips down the delectable coast of the Adriatic.

They tried the Brioni Islands, anchoring amidst wide beaches and rustling woods of oleander and myrtle. "Paradise," sighed Clara. But Leonard fidgeted and longed for a brisk wind. One autumn they reached Venice, glided across the glass-green lagoons in a gondola, and then traveled overland to Florence buying pictures and gazing at cathedrals along the way. After passing through Rome they ventured with some trepidation



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into the little State of Naples and Sicily, where Mr. Gladstone, splendidly British and nosey, had just paid a visit of inquiry and found 40,000 military and political prisoners working in chains.

In January 1853 Leonard took Clara to Vienna where the winter season was proving particularly gay with "a great passion for Court Balls." These were "informal but exclusive, only the diplomatic corps, and families with the required number of quarterings, were invited." The melodies of Johann Strauss were inundating the city, and the Emperor and the Archduke Maximilian, two handsome royal bachelors, created a flutter by attending even informal dances. On Shrove Tuesday their mother, sour old Archduchess Sophia, ended the Winter Season with a ball which crowned all the others and lasted from 8 p.m. until midnight. Then the Court retired into seclusion for Lent.

As visitors to the glittering capital, the Jeromes fancied they could feel the pulse of the Empire. But they each counted a different beat. Leonard observed Vienna with coolness. Clara, completely captivated by Viennese society, could only find everything "quite, quite delightful."

The Presidential Election of 1853 replaced President Fillmore, a Republican, by President Pierce, a Democrat. Jerome and other American diplomats who held political appointments tendered their resignations. Clara sighed. She could not help feeling that she would have made a perfect Ambassadress for Vienna or Paris, posts which might have been offered had her husband's diplomatic career continued longer. Knowing the end in sight, she spent the spring in an orgy of sight-seeing, exploring the caverns of Positana by candlelight and peering from the shelter of a beribboned parasol at the old churches of Trieste. Brow puckered beneath

poke-bonnet she laboured through guide-books verbose on the amalgamation of Byzantine and Gothic. But "one has to be a very diligent student to understand the muddles of Mediterranean architecture and the afternoons are so hot."

Leonard regarded the date of departure gladly enough. He had enjoyed Italy for a time but the tempo was not his. In the mornings he had driven from villa to office admiring his prancing horses all the way. After attending to business, he strolled to a club for an *aperitif* before a late lunch. The usual Italian siesta terminated with a sail or a swim. Then drying whiskers and moustache, Leonard drifted to various entertainments along the coast. He and Clara had both been amused by the long-drawn-out Italian dinner-parties. Back in New York they would miss the torrents of conversation which were elegant and subtle if not quite proper, and they would miss the light wines and heady laughter, the old silver gleaming by candlelight and those eyes, languid and blazing in turn, invariably full of admiration for the tall American Consul and the *bella bella signora* his wife.

Before leaving Trieste, Leonard and Clara commissioned an Italian named Schiavoni to paint their portraits. In July these were shipped off with a collection of what they hoped were old masters and a huge crate of antique furniture which fell to pieces in transit. Leonard had not much to pack. His Consular uniform was laid in moth balls and his Court sword, with its fine steel blade and engraved motto *Vive le roi* (hardly appropriate for an American Whig), sent home for a future son. The son never materialized but the sword hangs today in Castle Leslie, the home of an Irish grandson. ■

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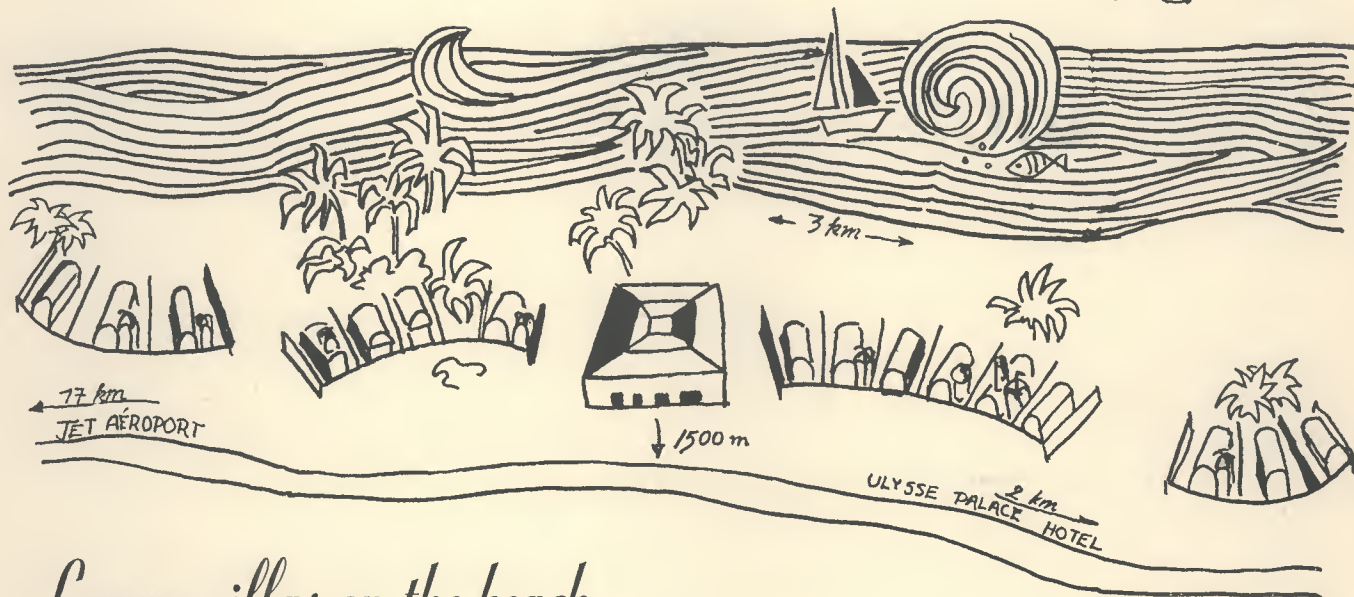
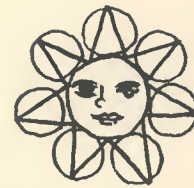
The Louisiana Purchase— A Crooked Deal?

One problem after another. The latest is the Louisiana Purchase. What to do about it? In acquiring it, did the young American Republic fleece France? In history books—at least American history books, it all looks so straight and above board. In 1803, during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the United States bought the territory from Napoleon Bonaparte. The outright price was \$11,250,000 and this with various miscellaneous items brought the total up to \$27,267,622. The area was about four times that of continental France. It was one of the biggest real estate transactions in history and considering what the land is worth today the United States got a terrific bargain.

So far, so good. But now the Iowa City PRESS-CITIZEN announces that a committee calling itself "La Ligue des Fils de la France Perdue" has been formed to liberate the former Louisiana territory and an appeal has been sent to President Charles de Gaulle. The committee was inspired by the French President's support for "a free Quebec" when he visited Montreal's Expo 67. The signatories—four of them—refer to the 1803 purchase as "a shameless sale" and "a crooked deal." The citizens of the territory, de Gaulle has been told, have been subjected to "the harsh tyranny of a cold, hard, alien race." Their children have been engulfed in a vulgar culture and obliged to go to schools where no French is taught. The appeal ends up, "We beg you to hear our cry. Help us! General, we are at your orders. We are at the service of France. Long live a free Iowa! Long live French Louisiana. Long live France!"

The ringleader in the performance is Laurence Lafore, a professor at Swarthmore College who is currently spending a year on the faculty of the University of Iowa. Earlier in his career Lafore spent a stretch with the Office of War Information and later he was on the staff of the US Embassy in Paris. In off hours he has been keeping the literary griddle hot with two novels, "Learner's Permit" and "The Devil's Chapel" and four works

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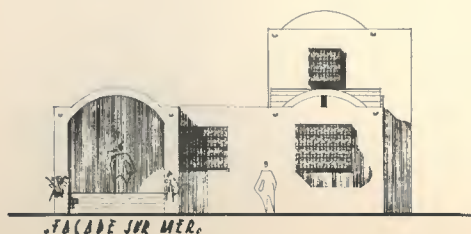
*Djerba is connected to the mainland by a causeway built by the Romans

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of non-fiction including "The Long Fuse," a study of the origins of World War I. A third novel "Stephen's Bridge" was published in July of this year.

On top of all this he found time to found his "League" and write the appeal to de Gaulle. This text is as follows:

Monsieur le Président:

Nous autres soussignés, membres fondateurs de la Ligue des Fils de la France Perdue, saluons le Chef de la République Française et lui présentons respectueusement nos hommages patriotiques, les vœux loyaux de vrais enfants d'une France oubliée, arrachée de la patrie il y a cent cinquante années. Nous sommes les fils et les héritiers déçus de nos droits des explorateurs qui venaient en mission civilisatrice pour construire un nouveau monde pour la France, pour fonder la belle province française de la Louisiane. Depuis l'époque de la vente honteuse de notre petit pays—commerce faux, puisqu'on ne peut pas vendre la nationalité—nos pères, comme nous-mêmes, ont été soumis à la rude tyrannie d'une race froide, dure, étrangère.

Victimes de la puissance anglo-saxonne, nous sommes obligés de voir les hordes barbares, néfastes, écraser les magnifiques plaines de notre Iowa, pays français parsemé de rivières et vieilles villes dont aujourd'hui souvent rien en dehors de leurs noms rappelle leur passé autochtone et héroïque: Dubuque, Des Moines, Prairie du Chien, Belle Plaine; et, près de nous, dans un autre pays martyre, la grande ville qui porte toujours le nom, symbole et espoir, de Saint-Louis. Nous voyons nos enfants enlisés dans une culture vulgaire, obligés d'aller aux écoles où le français n'est pas enseigné. Nous sommes dépourvus de tout qui rend la vie tolérable pour des vrais Français, et ça dans un pays qui est proprement à nous. Nous ne pouvons que garder nos souvenirs et, après tant d'années, nos espoirs. Sans force, nous ne sommes pas sans courage. Nous vous prions d'entendre notre cri. Aidez-nous. Si vous venez chez nous, nous serons ici: malgré tout nous restons debout, fiers, conscients de notre devoir et notre destin. Mon général: nous sommes à vos ordres. Nous sommes au service de la France.

Vive l'Iowa libre!
Vive la Louisiane française!
VIVE LA FRANCE!

So far no answer has come from the Elysée Palace. A suspicion persists in some circles that Lafore's League is a spoof. Perhaps the Elysée thinks so too. ■



CHESTER A. BAIN

Viet Cong Propaganda Abroad

ON March 8-9, 1968, according to a Hanoi broadcast, 50 delegations (including one from the Liberation Front for South Vietnam) met in Budapest for an extraordinary session of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The purpose was to organize world strategy for supporting the Viet Cong. The session's "program of action" called for organizing "1000 demonstrations of force" and for supporting a "protest campaign" of American youth and students against the draft and the Vietnam war. A few days later, London saw thousands march in a bloody "demonstration of force" against the American Embassy. In subsequent weeks, similar demonstrations spread

around the world and throughout the United States.

The WFDY organized by Moscow in 1945 is only one link in the network of national and international communist front groups cooperating in a massive anti-American campaign. While a "polycentric communism" has replaced the "monolithic" version, communist parties and nations worldwide are competing in their aid to the international propaganda efforts of Hanoi and the Viet Cong. Supporting and guiding this propaganda throughout the world is a virtual army of communist bloc diplomats, newsmen, and secret agents and hundreds of thousands of local communists with their front groups, mass organizations, and sympathizers.

The Soviet Union and Communist China clash on numerous points, including Vietnam war strategy, but they still provide massive propaganda aid and most of the war materials used by the Vietnamese communists. Tito and Castro disagree with Moscow and Peking on many matters, yet both consistently assist Hanoi's propaganda war. Mechanisms for coordinating this global psychological warfare were created at Havana in 1966 by the Tri-Continental Congress. The 80 participating communist parties now cooperate with Hanoi through the "Tri-Continental Committee to Aid Vietnam" as well as the 12 nation directorate established in Havana to coordinate liberation movements world-wide.

To supply this vast market for pro-Viet Cong materials requires large-scale production by Hanoi and its southern creation, the National Liberation Front. Published and captured documents and the radio broadcasts of Hanoi and the Front describe this effort. These communist sources prescribe the major themes for overseas stress—the "immorality" of the American intervention in a "civil" war; the "democratic," "nationalist," and "neutralist" aims of the Viet Cong; the inevitability of a communist victory; the corruption and unresponsiveness of the Saigon government. Viet Cong and Hanoi propaganda directives point to groups upon whom to concentrate—pacifists, families of servicemen with the allies in Vietnam, student groups, church organizations. And they suggest means of encouraging dissent with American policy—anti-war demonstrations, military desertion, and alienation of European countries from the United States. The echoes reverberate world-wide, produced and directed by an elaborate and sophisticated propaganda mechanism.

Hanoi's Propaganda Machine

Before the launching of the Liberation Front in 1960, North Vietnam's propaganda structure carried the burden of overseas propaganda, and it still plays a predominant role. The main vehicle was, and is, the Vietnam News Agency (VNA), established in 1945. In addition to providing material for domestic newspapers and broadcasts, VNA is the official voice of the North Vietnamese government (the Democratic



Republic of Vietnam or DRV) and of the communist Lao Dong (Workers) Party headed by Ho Chi Minh. Over radio-teletype services to Europe, Peking, and Southeast Asia, VNA distributes news in Vietnamese, French, and English and provides Morse code services to DRV diplomatic missions. These facilities still transmit most of the overseas propaganda for the Viet Cong and Liberation Front.

Another major DRV propaganda medium is the Voice of Vietnam, known as Radio Hanoi. About half of its 140 hours of weekly broadcasts are in foreign languages, including English, French, Japanese, Korean, Lao, Cambodian, Thai, Mandarin, and Cantonese. Many are beamed at the US, Korean, and other foreign soldiers in South Vietnam. Long before the Liberation Front's creation, Radio Hanoi helped direct the insurgency in the South. It still fulfills this responsibility by broadcasting directives and news at dictation speed for the southern Party cadre.

North Vietnam's small motion picture industry provides newsreel and documentaries for overseas propaganda. These are placed with increasing frequency in commercial and college theaters and on television in Western and neutral countries.

Large quantities of pamphlets, posters, and magazines are exported by Hanoi, or are printed abroad for distribution through friendly channels or North Vietnamese embassies and agencies. The widest audiences are reached with the French and English editions of four periodicals: a quarterly, VIETNAMESE STUDIES (formerly VIETNAM ADVANCES); a pictorial monthly, VIETNAM; a youth-oriented monthly, VIETNAM YOUTH; and the semi-monthly official bulletin, VIETNAM COURIER.

For international meetings in Hanoi or abroad, exhibits support the Front and project anti-American themes. Supplementing her regular diplomatic representation, Hanoi sends a stream of delegations to international conferences. Many represent elements of the DRV Fatherland Front such as the trade unions, and professional, youth, or religious groups.

In 1963 alone, the North printed more than 400,000 books in foreign languages. Prominent among the frankly political publications of recent years were Ho Chi Minh's five-volume "Works," and DRV Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap's "People's War, Peoples' Army." But many ostensibly non-political texts such as "The Catholics in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" serve propaganda purposes. As the war in the South intensified, Hanoi increased production of literature supporting the front. Pro-Communist foreigners like Wilfred Burchett provide some of the foreign language materials.

Since October 1965, the DRV propaganda apparatus has been under a General Department of Information. Policy guidance, however, emanates from the Party Central Committee's Propaganda and Training Department.

The Viet Cong Organize for Propaganda

For some time after founding their propaganda facade, the Liberation Front, southern leaders were too busy fleshing out their paper organization to develop publishing capabilities. In 1961, a Liberation Press Agency (LPA) issued its first releases in the South, but its output reached world audiences mainly through the facilities of VNA and Radio Hanoi. When the Front began to send press and other representatives abroad, they traveled on DRV passports, as they still do. In February 1962, a station calling itself Liberation Radio initiated broadcasts from a location near or inside the Cambodian border. By 1965, this station was broadcasting about 60 hours weekly in Vietnamese, Khmer, English, Cantonese, and Mandarin.

The Front's propaganda organization gradually expanded until by 1965 it was publishing some 40 newspapers and 17 periodicals within South Vietnam. These ranged from irregular mimeographed handouts of a few hundred copies to publica-

tions with reported circulations to 10,000. There are also foreign publications, probably the most widely distributed being a French and English monthly, SOUTH VIETNAM AT WAR.

Viet Cong film production developed slowly. Short documentaries of the early 1960s were probably produced by DRV crews and processed in the North or in Cambodia. By 1965, however, the Viet Cong were producing newsreels and documentaries with fair regularity. In addition, the communists have made excellent propaganda use of Western newsreel and TV films containing incidents susceptible to such exploitation.

Coordinated Propaganda Goals

The development of the Viet Cong's propaganda potential and their continued dependence upon the North is documented by the captured "Report on Propaganda and Foreign Affairs" prepared in June 1966 by the Propaganda and Foreign Affairs Section of the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN) for the equivalent DRV office. This report asserted that "up to 1961, the propaganda and foreign affairs of the Front . . . [were] under the guidance of the Central Committee [of the Lao Dong Party in Hanoi]." In 1962, the Central Committee ordered COSVN to form a foreign propaganda element "co-located with the Liberation Radio Broadcasting Station." Among its duties, this element maintained "contact with organizations and individuals in Cuba, the USA, France, Indonesia, Greece, etc. . ." and prepared anti-US propaganda and "documents used in re-educating US prisoners." As late as 1966, the report conceded, the immensity of the propaganda task required that



Hanoi's Central Committee continue to fulfill important directive and supportive functions.

To exploit "the propaganda 'capabilities' of the world's organizations, newsmen, writers, and officials in foreign countries," the Viet Cong propagandists "arranged activity schedules and high level interviews for several visiting foreign newsmen and cameramen," who, the report added, "helped us a great deal in propaganda after they returned from their visits. . . ." The element also sent abroad (with DRV passports) delegations of trained propagandists representing front organizations for "good will visits and international conferences." By 1965, some 25 such southern delegations together with comparable DRV groups were annually projecting a favorable image of the Front.

Supplementing this effort was an unending flow of messages between the Viet Cong front associations, sympathetic foreign groups, and others protesting the war. These included the well-publicized messages to the head of the US National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and a condolence letter to the widow of the Quaker who burned himself to death on the Pentagon steps.

In the United States and other capitalist countries, the report candidly explained, we "motivate youths, intellectuals . . . religious sects, . . . and families of the US troops dispatched to Vietnam" to protest the war. Through international conferences, organizations, and committees, "the world people's anti-US Front has taken shape, aimed at mobilizing mass movements for support to Vietnam . . . and at isolating the US imperialists. . . ." Future "heavy emphasis" should be placed on the role of the Front as "the only and genuine representative of the people of the South . . ." and its "strategic slogan for a neutralist peace in South Vietnam." Efforts were to be made, moreover, to "wisely arouse internal dissension among the imperialist countries—chiefly between France and the USA—to win the support of France and her supporters."

Fighting While Negotiating

Even before the 1966 COSVN report, Vietnamese communist broadcasts were stressing "diplomatic struggle." This euphemism encompassed an omnibus propaganda offensive including intensive campaigns to arouse international opposition against bombing, defoliation, napalm, and tear gas. It also embraced the intermittent dangling of ambiguously worded suggestions of negotiation. In a letter to the Fourth Congress of COSVN in March-April, 1966, Lao Dong Party First Secretary Le Duan spelled out the official propaganda strategy. Central Committee policy, Le Duan wrote, called for "joint political and armed struggle" with "heavy emphasis . . . on political struggle which includes diplomatic struggle which is of prime importance. As a consequence, the strategy of war and negotiation must be used to efficiently serve the political and military aim of our strategy. . . ." Le Duan explained that the "problem of war and negotiation is not new" in Vietnam's history, for it was used in Ming Dynasty times. Moreover, the Chinese Communists "adopted the 'fight and negotiation policy'" in their war against Chiang Kai-shek, and "the same strategy . . . [was] used in the Korean War."

Further clues to the Party's intentions come from a speech at this COSVN Congress by General Nguyen Van Vinh, DRV Politburo member, head of the Lao Dong Party's Reunification Department, and Army Deputy Chief of Staff. According to captured notes on the speech, General Vinh stated the war might proceed through several stages: "The fighting—the stage of fighting while negotiating—negotiations and signing of agreement." However, he added, "Whether or not the war will resume after the conclusion of agreements depends upon the comparative balance of forces. If we are capable of dominating the adversary, the war will not break out again,



and conversely." Many nations, "nationalist and communist," had urged the Vietnamese communists "to enter into negotiations, any form of negotiations—so that a big war does not break out and that the war can be ended." However, Vinh said, "China holds the view that conditions for negotiations are not yet ripe, not until a few years from now, and, even worse, seven years from now." Meanwhile, China had told the Vietnamese communists to continue fighting until "a number of socialist countries acquire adequate conditions to launch an all-out offensive, using all types of weapons and heeding no boundaries." Faced with these conflicting demands, Vinh concluded, the Lao Dong Party decided to open negotiations if necessary, but, "while negotiating" to "continue fighting the enemy more vigorously."

On April 28, 1968, after the US limited the bombing of the DRV and again offered peace talks, COSVN issued a directive advising the cadre that the objectives of overthrowing the southern government and forcing a US withdrawal were not being abandoned. The purpose of "diplomatic struggles," the directive explained, was "to confirm the enemy defeat. . . ." They were "primarily intended to obtain favorable world opinion . . ." and not "to defeat the enemy by arguments."

The Nature of the Propaganda Offensive

The international propaganda issued by and for the Vietnamese communists reveals some definable characteristics. As with most communist propaganda, issues and concepts tend to be presented in absolute terms. The US "imperialists and their puppets" are cruel, weak, cowardly, vicious, immoral, and corrupt, while the Front and its adherents are kindly, strong, brave, heroic, moral, and scrupulously honest. The victory of the Front and its "people" is inevitable, even if they must fight protracted war for "5, 10 or even 20 years." Conversely, the "schemes of the US imperialists" must always fail, for Marxist history foretells world communist victory. To build the impression the United States is isolated by world public opinion, protests and demonstrations are skillfully orchestrated in cities around the world. Contrariwise, to convey an image of overwhelming support for the communist cause and the solidarity of all "progressive peoples and movements," floods of letters and cables are sent to the Viet Cong and Hanoi on numerous special commemorative occasions from communist leaders, parties, and front groups world-wide.

Because of the close control over the Viet Cong and the

Front by Ho Chi Minh's Lao Dong Party, the Front's publicized goals are understandable only in the light of party doctrine which repeatedly cites Lenin as the ultimate authority. Janus-like, the Viet Cong presents two opposing faces: the propaganda mask for the outer world and the real one for the Party.

The frequently used terms—*negotiations*, “*just*” war, *neutrality*, *peace*, *coalition government*, *nationalism*, and *democracy*—have considerable propaganda impact in the democratically-oriented West. Yet, examined in accordance with Leninist ideology, these terms possess quite different meanings from those commonly accepted in the United States. Hanoi's tactic of negotiating while fighting and General Vinh's comments that even a negotiated agreement would not necessarily end the conflict conform to Leninist strategy. When Russia concluded a peace treaty with Germany in 1917, Lenin advised his Party colleagues: “In war, never tie your hands with considerations of formality. It is ridiculous not to know the history of war, not to know that a treaty is the means of gaining strength.”*

Lenin would certainly have approved the communist manipulation of Western guilt complexes by the propaganda line distinguishing between just and unjust wars. The claim that the communists' war to conquer South Vietnam is “just” while the US efforts to help South Vietnam maintain independence are “unjust and immoral” fits well with Lenin's words of 1918: “If war is waged by the proletariat [Party] . . . with the objective of strengthening and extending socialism, such a war is legitimate and ‘holy’”**

As for the propaganda claim that the Front's goal is a neutral South Vietnam, DRV spokesmen, including Foreign Minister Nguyen Van Trinh, have indicated the Party subscribes to Lenin's rejection of any neutral ground between the hostile camps of communism and “imperialism.” A recently captured Viet Cong document elaborates, “We do not appreciate a neutral regime which is usually regarded as the third political solution by capitalists. Such neutral regimes will usually oppose imperialists less than cooperate with them. . . .”

The Hanoi and Viet Cong interpretation of peace is also not that generally understood by the West. Writing in the April 1967 issue of *Hoc Tap*, DRV Foreign Minister Trinh cited Lenin's distinction between “imperialist peace” or “peace in general” as the sense of absence of war, and “true” or communist peace which requires predominance of the communist party. “We have not struggled for peace in general,” wrote Trinh, “because, as Lenin said, peace in general has ‘no content’ and is ‘meaningless.’” Trinh left no doubt that the only peace the Vietnamese communist party would accept as final was complete victory over all Vietnam.

While the Viet Cong concur with Lenin's statement that communists “are not pacifists,” they also take seriously his advice to establish “contacts within those circles of the bourgeois which gravitate toward pacifism, even if it should be of the poorest quality.” To this end, the Viet Cong in October 1967 launched a drive to organize American pacifists and war dissenters with a new organization called “the South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People.” Through offices established in Prague, Algiers, Hanoi, and other links, this committee cooperated with front groups to appeal for increased American protests against the war.

The Viet Cong concept of coalition government is detailed in the notes of a party cadre captured in October 1967. These notes, taken at a party meeting, explain that any “coalition government may include a non-revolutionary element as President. But he basically must follow the line of the Front's

political program. The Front will be the core element . . . To all appearances, it will be a coalition government, but the real power will be in our hands . . . In regard to the coalition, our Party will exercise all control over it. . . .”

To *nationalism* and *democracy*, the Vietnamese communists also attach an esoteric significance. Lao Dong publications refer to Western nationalism and democracy as contemptible bourgeois vices. In a Hanoi broadcast of November 4, 1967, Party First Secretary Le Duan interpreted the communist claim that a “liberated” South Vietnamese government would be national and democratic: “Though national and democratic in content, national liberation revolution no longer remains in the framework of the bourgeois revolution; instead it has become an integral part of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on a world-wide scale. . . .” A resolution of the 1966 COSVN Congress cited earlier emphasized the Viet Cong view that their “revolution is part of the world revolution . . . related to the movements of national liberation on the continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.”

While international Viet Cong propaganda urges that South Vietnam be allowed to settle her own affairs without foreign interference, Le Duan in his speech for internal consumption and the COSVN resolution emphasized the relationship of the war in the South to the world communist movement. Also, while Hanoi publicly denied that North Vietnamese troops were aiding the Viet Cong, internal documents discussed that aid and Le Duan assured party members that “the revolutionary movements in both areas [North and South] have been closely coordinated.” How close was that coordination was indicated in captured Viet Cong briefing notes citing orders from Ho Chi Minh to launch the general Tet offensive in the South:

The Central Headquarters of the [Lao Dong] Party and Uncle [Ho Chi Minh] have ordered the Party Committee in SVN and the entire Army and people of SVN to implement a general offensive in order to achieve a decisive victory for the revolution within the winter and 1968 spring and summer.

The notes specified that the propaganda cadre “should not say
(Continued on page 47)



*Lenin, “Reply to Debates on War and Peace,” *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII (New York: 1943), p. 309.

**Lenin, “Left-Wing Childishness and Petty Bourgeois Mentality,” *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 357.

Benefits and Contributions of Foreign Banks

JUAN D. SANCHEZ

THE role of the international bank in the sophisticated economies of the world's industrial nations is well known. Less publicized, though perhaps of equal importance, are the functions performed by international banks in developing countries. How did this role develop and what is its present impact?

A Brief History of US Banking Activity Abroad

During the 19th century, the international banking field was left almost entirely to the financial institutions of Europe. These institutions established extensive branch banking systems around the world particularly in the areas where important colonial interests existed. These systems were a natural outgrowth of the important trade between the home country and the colony. Precisely for this reason, these earlier branch networks have tended, even to the present, to concentrate primarily upon financing international trade.

Within this context, it is not a historical accident that US international banking lagged far behind its British and European counterparts well into the 20th century. Prior to World War I, economic activity within the United States was directed almost entirely toward domestic development.

Before the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913, US national banks had no authority to enter into foreign operations, nor were they empowered to accept drafts arising from imports or exports of goods and services. Even though several States permitted banks incorporated under their laws to branch abroad, few took advantage of this opportunity.

The first national bank to utilize the authority provided by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 to establish branches and to accept drafts was the National City Bank of New York which opened an office in Buenos Aires in 1914. In the following year, five more branches were initiated by National City. This was the start. Other landmarks in the development of US overseas banking were the following:

1915—Establishment of the Mercantile Bank of the Americas with the participation of several member banks of the Federal Reserve system to establish direct branches (Europe) and create affiliated corporations (Latin America) to conduct overseas banking operations.

1916—Section 25 of Federal Reserve Act amended to permit national banks, under certain conditions, to invest up to 10 percent of their capital and surplus in corporations organized to engage in foreign business. One purpose of this was to allow US banks which were unable to enter the field of foreign banking alone to organize joint ventures for this purpose. State-chartered corporations under the amendment were required to submit to Federal Reserve regulations and were known as "Agreement" corporations.

1919—Federal Reserve Act again amended by "Edge Act." New Section, 25 (a), provided for the chartering by the Federal Reserve Board of corporations which permitted banking abroad through affiliates which could be partly or wholly-owned by a US bank.

As international trade increased in the 1920s, US banks assumed a more active role. In retrospect, the expansion of foreign banking corporations may have been too rapid. There were many financial failures as a result of managerial ineptitude and because of declining world prices for raw materials. Perhaps this experience was useful, however, because it highlighted the areas in which lending techniques were inadequate. But this experience would not bear real fruit for some time as the depression-ridden Thirties and the war-ravaged Forties brought expansion to a virtual standstill.

Even after World War II, the increase in international operations proceeded at a slow rate. The dollar had emerged as a key currency and dollar exchange was in short supply around the globe, but currency restrictions hampered international lending operations. Dollars needed to finance trade and capital needs abroad were made available largely through US Government programs in the immediate postwar period. But the success of the Marshall Plan and the subsequent establishment of free convertibility of the major European currencies, the Japanese recovery and the disparate trends toward economic integration and the dismemberment of former colonial empires, all boded well for the future of international banking. The unparalleled growth of world trade and US investment abroad which resulted from these developments provided a desirable climate for expansion through branches, representative offices and Edge Act and Agreement corporations.

Since 1958, this expansion has proceeded at a rapid pace. While the value of world exports nearly doubled from \$95 billion in 1958 to \$181 billion in 1966, the number of foreign branches of US banks alone more than doubled, jumping from 119 to 244. The developing countries have shared proportionately in this growth. While the value of their exports grew from \$23 billion in 1958 to \$38 billion in 1966, the number of US bank branches in developing countries rose from 86 to 159. This growth was most pronounced in Latin America and the Caribbean area where the number of branches increased from 62 to 102 during the same period. In 1966 alone, 15 new branches were opened in this area.

But if the growth in foreign branch banking has been the most dramatic example of the extension of international banking to the developing countries, it has by no means been the only one. Since 1958, the number of Edge Act and Agreement corporations has risen from 8 to 46. Thus, increasing numbers of US banks have been able to enter a relatively new field—that of equity financing.

to Developing Nations

A 1962 amendment to section 25 of the Federal Reserve Act authorized the Board to permit foreign branches of US banks to exercise "such further powers as may be useful in connection with the transaction of the business of banking . . ." in places where they are located. This enabled foreign branches of US banks to increase the services they could render to the local community. A second amendment to section 25, passed in 1966, permits national banks to hold stocks in foreign banks, directly and indirectly, with certain qualifications, as well as through the medium of Edge or Agreement corporations.

One of the most important developments in the area of equity financing has been the contribution of foreign banks to ADELA, a private investment company formed by US, European and Japanese industrial companies, banks and other financial institutions. Operating in Latin America, ADELA's primary purpose is to provide equity capital. More than fifty international banks have contributed nearly half of the paid-in capital (\$38 million) of ADELA, which to date has participated in 59 projects in 17 countries in Latin America.

In addition, foreign banks have also contributed to the development of capital markets in recent years by helping to support private development institutions on a modest scale.

Banking Abroad—What Form?

Banks conduct their international operations in four principal ways—through foreign correspondent banks, overseas branches, Edge Act and Agreement corporations and, through representative offices. Some banks use all of these methods.

Foreign Correspondent Banks

The traditional method of international banking has been through correspondent banks. This system is an extension of domestic banking, particularly in the United States, where all banks are restricted to specific geographic areas by law. One way to live within such restrictions has traditionally been to develop a nationwide system of correspondent relationships with banks in other areas, and it has been relatively easy for US banks to extend this system into the international sphere. Perhaps too easy, because it is simple to lose contact with a foreign correspondent bank located in a country many thousands of miles away. There is also an entirely different dimension in international, as compared with domestic, correspondent bank relationships which involve exchange and other local restrictions, devaluations and remittance problems.

Foreign Branches

Only the three largest American banks—Bank of America, Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank—engage in large-scale commercial banking through broad networks of foreign branches.

Foreign branch banking has certain obvious advantages. As an integral part of the bank, the foreign branch can offer its customers a full range of services. It can build its reputation and policies wholly on its own. It has the parent bank's name to attract the business of foreign subsidiaries of US customers. It may call on the head office or on other branches for speedy service when certain types of transactions are required that it is unable to handle on its own. It can offer its customers on-the-spot information regarding economic conditions in many areas of the globe. And it is equipped to supply its customers with credit information on a global basis.

The primary limitation in branching is the human resource. An international banking branch involves a blend of local and foreign staff which takes decades to develop.

An additional problem for the parent bank is the expense entailed in establishing a physical facility and operating it for the several years before a profit is generated. In addition, especially in the less-developed countries, attracting sufficient deposits to support local operations, without arousing the animosity of local bankers, can be a delicate business. The complexity of exchange controls and the possibility of loss through currency devaluation in some less-developed countries is another constant preoccupation. Political stability, and overall investment climate as well, also affect the success of branch operations.

Political factors, however, have cost international banks substantially less than one might have anticipated.

Before leaving the subject of international branch banking, it should be stressed that experience clearly shows that the big international banks do not put local banks out of business, as has so often been stated. Quite the contrary is true. An international bank has many advantages because of its large capital base and its network of branches throughout many countries. At the same time, lacking complete familiarity with the local financial market, it often operates with several disadvantages not shared by the local banking system. As a result, both have found ample room for their financial activities.

Edge Act and Agreement Corporations

In recent years, through the vehicle of Edge Act and Agreement corporations, US banks have been acquiring equity interest in existing banks abroad; in several cases, (Chase in Peru, Bank of America in Italy, FNCB in Liberia) acquisition of an entire operation has been effected. In certain countries, including South Africa, Canada, and Australia, the purchase of subsidiaries is the only way a foreign bank may enter the country, since branching is prohibited. Purchase of all or part of an existing financial institution permits an international bank to gain access to an area. This sort of venture, too, often arouses less resistance from the local banking community.

Experience with joint enterprises has not been uniformly successful. Joint banking enterprises should offer the best of both worlds by uniting a large degree of local participation with the injection of capital and technology from the foreign partner. Experience has shown, however, that local banking practices are often so different from those of a large international bank that the substantial transition involved results in a compromise satisfying neither the local nor the foreign participant.

Representative Offices

Representative offices are established by international banks where they have substantial interests but where they may not have, or choose not to have, local branches. Representative offices have played particularly important roles in Mexico because of limitations placed on local branch banking of foreign banks. The record for such representative offices has been good but their success is dependent upon the type of representation obtained. The local representative must

be in a position to speak for his head office even though he is located far away. Since representative offices deal locally with Head Office funds, their role will probably remain restricted to special situations, but in such situations they may perform a very useful function.

Contribution of International Banking to the Less-Developed Countries

Financing International Trade

A tremendous amount of capital is required to finance the trade of the free world, which now totals \$200 billion each year and is doubling every decade or so. Commercial banks presently have over \$50 billion invested in financing this movement of goods and services between countries and they are increasing this type of financing at the rate of \$5 billion each year.

Why is this financing function of international banks so crucial to the growth of international trade? The basic consideration is that the exporter in most transactions desires to be paid for the goods he is selling at the time he gives up possession of such goods. It is not hard to understand why the Brazilian coffee exporter or the Uruguayan wool exporter seeks payment at the time of shipment. His goods will move halfway around the globe before possession passes to the importer. The exporter may never personally know the firm to which he is selling and he may never have the opportunity to travel far enough to develop personal contacts in the market where his goods will be traded. He relies upon his local bank to fulfill his needs both in terms of receiving payment and collecting funds through a correspondent bank when the importer receives the shipment. It is the international banking system that enables the exporter to receive payment for his goods at the time of shipment provided that he has met the conditions of his agreement with the purchaser. Without commercial banks to fill this role, it is unlikely that international trade could have reached anything like its present level.

Branches Help to Mobilize Savings

In developed countries, the total deposits of the banking system run five-to-ten times as large as the amount of currency in circulation. In the less-developed countries, the amount of currency in circulation is, typically, about as large as the total deposits of the banking system. That is to say, in the more-developed countries, the population holds a larger share of its available monetary liquidity within the banking system, whereas in less-developed countries, half of available liquidity remains in the hands of the public in a nonproductive investment in currency notes. The entire community is the loser when savings are held in bank notes rather than in deposits since a commercial bank is in a position to utilize deposits of currency to make productive loans to finance trade or development.

Many factors are involved in encouraging a population to hold its savings in banks, and the international banks can play a very useful role in this regard. The entrance of a branch of one of the large international banks in a community in a less-developed country is a clear signal of confidence to the local population that the funds they deposit in a local bank will be secure. This, in combination with the other contributions that international banks can make, such as the attraction of foreign investments and the introduction of consumer oriented banking services, often combine to stimulate higher deposit levels in commercial banks.

Providing Information to Local Investors on Investment Opportunities at Home and Abroad

In addition to offering foreign investors information regarding investment opportunities in the host country, local

branches of international banks have been successful in providing local entrepreneurs with information regarding profitable investments both in their own countries and abroad. Indeed, with a global network of sources of economic and financial data at its disposal, the local branch is in a position to offer the same marketing, credit and general economic information that the head office provides to its customers.

Assisting International Financial Institutions in Developing the Public Sector

It is not surprising that international banks are active in aiding the private financial institutions in the less-developed countries. It is not so well known, however, that these banks also play an active role in assisting international financial institutions in developing the public sector in these countries. The principal international financial institutions with which these operations have been undertaken are the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, and it is expected that the Asian Development Bank will be included in this group in the near future.

Operations entered into jointly with the International Monetary Fund have normally been for balance-of-payments purposes in support of local currencies. These operations have been related to financial programs developed by the less-developed countries themselves and presented to the IMF to justify stand-by arrangements and drawings on the Fund. These joint operations have taken many forms and have been in effect at one time or another with almost every country in the Latin American area.

Operations undertaken in conjunction with the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have been directed toward specific development projects. Sometimes this cooperation has taken the form of a direct participation by US banks in project loans already worked out by the international development banks. On other occasions, the private banks themselves have picked up certain aspects of a development project leaving others to the World Bank or the Inter-American Development Bank. There is probably no better example of this type of arrangement in this hemisphere than the extent to which international private banks have assisted Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex) in developing the petroleum and related industries in Mexico.

Provision of Technical Assistance and Training Facilities

The large international banks normally have their headquarters in the financial and educational centers of the world. It is almost inevitable that they would have available the most modern techniques and technology. It is less inevitable, but highly desirable, that they use their worldwide systems to spread these techniques and this know-how as rapidly as possible to the farthest corners of the world. In this way, they provide a highly useful service in spreading modern banking techniques into the less-developed areas. It is natural that the branches and affiliates of large international banks make use of the techniques developed at the head office, but most international banks have seen their role in a broader sense and have made available to competing local banks the technical knowledge they receive from their headquarters. Most international banks have active programs both in their head offices and in their regional and local offices to train staff from other banks on the use of modern banking tools. In some cases, the local banks have been so successful in adapting these techniques to their own use that they have strengthened their competitive positions against the international banks operating locally.

Looking Forward

An ideal international private banking system would probably be a combination of international banks operating

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THUNDER ON THE LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA

ALLAN EVANS

DISCONTENT among the intellectuals of Latin America hardly bears the metaphor of winter, so warmly is it cherished; yet no other season fits the lack of illumination that characterizes it. I formed these broad conclusions after a brief encounter with only one of the discontented, and as an amateur in knowledge of the area I may wrongly distinguish what is idiosyncratic from what is general, but similarities with the protests at once violent and hollow of our own young political evangelists encourage me to see in the build-up to these conclusions some matter that may be of general interest. I therefore set forth below a quite personal interpretive synthesis that took shape in my mind as one disjointed and rambling discussion brought together a number of hitherto scattered ideas; the synthesis should consequently be attributed to no one source—and the doctrine should consequently be attributed to me.

It is as clear to these Latin American dissenters that society is jangling out of tune as it is obscure what tune they would want to hear. For them, the nature of present society lies plain before the beholder, simple and fatal. There is the establishment of those who hold power and have wealth. There is the mass, that is characteristically, in this Freudian age, thought of as alienated almost sooner than as exploited, as psychologically deprived sooner than as economically depressed—though of course the intellectuals do not forego the second cause of complaint. In any case, the cleavage between the two is of the best Marxian depth and sharpness. Somewhere between the two sides there hovers the little group of intellectuals, privileged—and, for the sake of history, necessary—to observe and measure the chasm and to keep alive hope that, somehow, the situation can be changed.

Change is, however, as they see it, no simple matter. It requires far more than the building of bridges across the abyss, a covering over to permit free passage and circulation of people. For the establishment harbors within it a very spirit of Circe that reduces all comers to the same brutish disposition of money-grabbing, power-loving,

snobbish indifference. Forces of change and reform, and any leaders of these forces who may reach out over the chasm to share in the exercise of power become co-opted. The leader—even a Frei or a Belaunde—begins to make political compromises and to sacrifice half his loaf in order to secure the other half of the reforms he has promised. It becomes clear that he has sold out to the establishment—spiritually if not tangibly—and of course the more radical forces of reform must therefore oppose even those advances which he does try to promote. The outsider may observe by how delightfully self-fulfilling a process the suspicion of the Leftists about co-optation of a successful leader into the establishment is thus in practice by their own acts made real. And it follows for them that orderly and political processes of change are not possible.

Factors which conventional wisdom puts forward as harbingers or even vehicles of beneficial change have to the intellectuals proved illusory. Industrialization does little to promote broad well-being but much to increase the wealth of land-owners and their folk who turn out to be the new entrepreneurs. Migration to the cities may shatter outworn patterns of living, but it produces no more than an apathetic slum population which, for its desolation, is all the more absorbed in what it can reconstruct of traditional association and mores. Amongst the various efforts at regional association of countries for the promoting of good aims only one has really succeeded—the common focus of interest amongst the area's armed forces, through US leadership and support as in the Inter-American Defense College, upon what is called anti-communism and what is really protection of the status quo.

The matrix is thus tough. The establishment absorbs any straying reformist energies in society; changes in social and economic structures but lead to strengthening of the present pattern; efforts to achieve change through violence are well taken care

of by the military. And in the end, any impulse to motion is stopped by the Left itself, which (despite all historical evidence to the contrary) insists that by accepting nothing now it will eventually gain all—but by different means.

It is recognized, to be sure, that a time-bomb lurks in the system. Immigrants to the cities may be apathetic, but the second generation will be quite another thing. Less certainly, divisions may appear within the military, and some elements of the armed forces may take on the color of reformism. More certainly, initiatives and stirrings grow in the lower orders of the hierarchy. At the same time, the revolutionaries remember that hitherto Latin American revolutions have been centrally agrarian. The tradition of Zapata may again make its contribution; the desire of the peasant for his land continues to have explosive potential.

And here lies an irony of life for the revolutionary. One of his sharpest tools has built into it a mechanism that brings about what we now call "self-destruct." For the peasant may explosively want his land but he wants practically nothing else. So once a revolution has achieved land reform he is ready to stop—as in Bolivia—and other dreams of ending illiteracy, raising standards of living, and improving society generally can go aglimmering. It is a serious impediment!

Unfortunately, this sequence is but representative of a fatal flaw in all revolutions—they come to an end. The excitement fades; the political upheaval settles down. Yet it is clear to an observer that for a revolutionary the excitement is life, and in the absence of flux he can once more see only hard and unsatisfactory status quo. Thus the revolutionary comes to perceive a cycle of change, that begins with the cracking, usually violent, of an establishment, continues through the imposition of radical reform, and at last gradually produces a new class

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The Challenge Beckons

"THE slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" seem to rain on this nation and on the people who represent her to the world with uncommon frequency of late. We note with deep sadness the death by assassination of John Gordon Mein, Ambassador to Guatemala, long a distinguished Foreign Service officer, for years a reader of these pages, and ever a stout champion of those who have elected to follow the often dangerous and troubled career of serving their country in foreign lands. His example and his advice will be sorely missed in the trying months to come. And we cannot escape the conclusion that the coming months and years will surely be trying for members of the Foreign Service. In an early issue, the JOURNAL plans to print a keenly interesting account of a young FSO who was caught in the city of Hue during the Tet violence. At any moment over a period of nine days, he might have been captured by North Vietnamese forces or struck by a stray bullet. Although the lot of most Foreign Service personnel is not so immediately dangerous, yet others of our colleagues will be called upon to conduct themselves in Hue-like situations with equal composure and gallantry. Still another challenge thrust squarely at the Foreign Service community is that of explaining to the rest of the world an America wracked in far-reaching, often disrupting social change, an America which has seen two promising, young national leaders cut down within weeks of each other this spring and summer, an America which exhibited the unedifying spectacle of Chicago where violence spilled out on the streets for all to see. In one sense, nothing will ever be quite the same again, but the responsibilities of those who serve the Republic abroad continue and grow in importance and in complexity.

But all this, difficult as it is, nevertheless is no cause for despair. Anyone who joined the Foreign Service for a life of ease and quiet chose the wrong profession. The overwhelming majority of our Foreign Service people are people of good will and competence, persons with affection and loyalty to their own country who are at the same time interested in learning of the ways of others, professionals who go about their different tasks with skill, common sense and perspective. Quality is demanded of these persons who are charged with nothing less than carrying out the intentions and purposes of the United States beyond its borders. And withal, in these harsh days of clamor and conflict these purposes are great and enduring. The London *Economist* commented a few months ago that it was lucky indeed that the wrenching strains of modernity are tearing at the United States first, for if America with her generous, vigorous people and her bountiful resources cannot solve the racial dilemma, or cannot achieve a just distribution of her wealth, or cannot control the spoliation of her natural heritage, or cannot strike a proper balance between the individual's rights and the legitimate demands of the state, then there would be no hope for other lands. In a recent speech in Finland, George Kennan said it all simply and succinctly:

"It has sometimes fallen to me, as a private scholar and commentator on world events, to take a critical attitude towards one or another of the policies of my government. Our tradition, as you know, permits this. But I have never lost my faith in the basic goodwill and generosity of my people in their approach to the other people of this world, or in the decency of the motives and purposes by which American statesmanship has been inspired. And I can give it to you as my conviction, at this sad and anxious moment, that my people will always be ready, however great the intervening

discouragements and disappointments to take up anew the search for hopeful and constructive solutions to world problems. . . ."

So our task remains; the challenge beckons. In responding with energy, intelligence and good faith, we will honor the memory of Ambassador Mein and will show ourselves to be deserving inheritors of a worthy tradition. ■

A Democratic Discussion

THE open meeting convened by the AFSA Board in the West Auditorium on September 6, represented another step forward in the Association's drive to be relevant to the needs of Foreign Service personnel and to foster full and frank discussion of measures affecting the morale and welfare of the Foreign Service. The session was marked by both a sense of high purpose and by a vigorous approach to the problems at hand.

Much discussion revolved around the amendment to the recently enacted USIA Career Bill. This Bill, which was strongly supported by the AFSA Board of Directors, established a career system for the USIA. However, it also contained an amendment which established new criteria for FSR personnel, the central factor of which was to create a new classification to be known as Foreign Service Reserve Officer with unlimited tenure. The Foreign Service Association has not supported this principle but the major preoccupation lay not in the wisdom or lack of wisdom of creating a designation such as Foreign Service Reserve Officer of unlimited tenure (FSRU). The deep concern, as expressed by several speakers at the September 6 session, was that no implementation of the FSRU program be begun until a full and complete study of the ramifications over the long run had been made. In addition, there was a consensus that such major changes in personnel policy must, in the future, be understood and accepted by all professionals before decisions are made. This central position was endorsed by the meeting but certainly was not the only subject that came before the assembly. The status of AID personnel, the value of a complete inventory of Foreign Service positions and personnel and a computerized model of Foreign Service requirements were but a few of the other subjects which were brought before the meeting.

Sometimes controversy marks the path of progress, and the September 6 session was not without some controversy. However, on balance the whole undertaking was a praiseworthy example of effective democratic discussion of matters of great importance to the American Foreign Service Association and its members. ■

AFSA and the Election

NOW that we are in the midst of another Presidential election campaign, it is timely and perhaps desirable to remind ourselves that professional members of the foreign services will serve the next President, whoever he may be. AFSA is therefore taking no position on the merits of the candidates or parties. Nor is it taking a position on the substance of any of the foreign policy issues being debated in the election campaign.

At the same time, AFSA has strong views about the nature and organization of the foreign affairs part of the executive branch and about the foreign services which it represents. We have stated these views to the platform committees of both major parties, as reported in the September and October Association News sections and will continue to attempt to impress both parties and their candidates with our seriousness of purpose in working for an improved professional foreign service. We will enlist their cooperation and support for our efforts. We believe these efforts are in the nation's interest and transcend partisan activity. ■

Association News

October, 1968



Special Meeting Discusses USIA Career Bill Amendment

The Board of the Foreign Service Association called a special meeting on September 6 in the West Auditorium of the Department to consider the implications of the Amendment to the recently passed USIA Career Bill. The Amendment, which was summarized in the September issue of the JOURNAL, permits the Department and the Agency to bestow unlimited tenure—or career status—on all FSRs.

In announcing the meeting, the Board called attention to some of the dangers posed by the Amendment. It noted the vulnerability of the new "FSRU" (Foreign Service Reserve Officer of Unlimited Tenure) category to abuse for political patronage. It called the new category a total contradiction of the FSR concept spelled out in the Foreign Service Act of 1946. This Act, which created the FSR mechanism, defined it as one through which expertise not available within the Foreign Service would be acquired, but at the same time stringently restricted the tenure of such FSRs. The Board also noted that the 1946 Act gave the Foreign Service its own retirement system, participation in which flows from a near-lifetime of service abroad, intermittent hardship, and exposure to occasional danger. It expressed apprehension that the FSRU system could allow participation in this retirement system on the basis of a token tour abroad at the end of a career.

The meeting attracted over 700 members, including many senior professional officers, both active and retired. Among those who participated were former Deputy Under Secretary Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs Charles E. Bohlen, Foreign Service Director General John M. Steeves, Ambassador James W. Riddleberger, and Assistant Secretaries Joseph Palmer, Lucius D. Battle and Winthrop G. Brown. The Honorable Joseph Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a member of the Herter Commission, also attended. Many of the senior figures joined with others in expressing their serious concern over the newly enacted legislation.

Explaining the purpose of the meet-

ing, AFSA Board Chairman Lannon Walker stated that it was designed to show that professional Foreign Service people are concerned over the Amendment issue not for their own welfare in any narrow sense but because they fear that the very organization of our foreign affairs might suffer an irreparable blow. He said that AFSA did not intend merely to sound an alarm, but, as true professionals, to show where we are, where we must go, and how we can get there. The meeting, Walker said, confronted no individual or institution; instead, it brought the AFSA members face to face with a vital issue—whether the President, Congress, the leadership of the foreign affairs community, and the American public wanted a career service, based on merit, professional continuity and expertise, to represent, prosecute, organize and help formulate the foreign policy of the United States.

Walker pointed out that the AFSA represents 7600 foreign affairs professionals. It includes members from all categories, Foreign Service and Civil Service, reserve and regular, officers and staff, in AID, USIA, and the Department of State. He recalled that AFSA was an early supporter of its FSR colleagues in AID when they recently tried for legislation which would have brought them into the Foreign Service Retirement System. The Association also supported the USIA career bill in the belief that the establishment of a Foreign Service Information Officer Corps is a first transitional step towards AFSA's ultimate goal of a unified Foreign Service. He hoped it was clear that the meeting did not represent merely the FSO segment of AFSA membership and expressed a profound debt of gratitude to Civil Service and Foreign Service Reserve colleagues for their contributions to the business of foreign affairs. AFSA he said, is not a blind defender of the career principle at all costs.

Walker declared that the FSRU question and other major personnel issues which have been matters of serious concern to AFSA members over the past year have taught the Association the importance of taking

into account the long-range implications of crucial decisions affecting the structure and shape of the foreign affairs community. He reiterated AFSA's stand on the need for the establishment of a position control and inventory which would be more than a mere catalogue of available skills and needs. He called for a computer model based on the inventory on which all future propositions for change in the personnel system could be tested.

Although Deputy Under Secretary for Administration Rimestad could not be present, he prepared a statement on what the new legislation means to the Service which was distributed at the meeting. The statement included a summary of the major provisions of the new law (PL 90-494) and went on to state that:

"The Department wishes to assure all personnel that the legislation will be used solely for the purpose of strengthening both the Foreign Service of the United States, in general, and the personnel system of the Department of State, in particular. The application of the Act on the part of the Department will be limited solely to these objectives. The first objective, that of strengthening the Foreign Service of the United States, in general, will be facilitated by the United States Information Agency's having a career service which, at the officer level, is equivalent to the FSO Corps.

"The second objective, that of strengthening the personnel system of the Department of State, will be achieved through expanding and strengthening both the Foreign Service Officer Corps and the support staff at all levels. In so doing, it is believed that virtually all positions at the officer level falling within the following broad functional categories, except those which may be found to be excessively routine, will be designated for staffing by Foreign Service officers:

- Political
- Political/Economic
- Political/Military
- Economic
- Economic/Commercial
- Consular
- General Administrative

"It is expected that Foreign Service Reserve officers will be appointed to the above type positions *only* in those few instances where a qualified Foreign Service officer is unavailable and the position must be filled. Even in these instances, it is intended that the Reserve officer so appointed will, following the expiration of at least three but not more than five years as a Reserve officer, be able to apply for lateral entry as a Foreign Service officer in lieu of being converted to unlimited status as a Reserve officer in the event it is determined that his services are to be required on a permanent basis. In other words, it is not expected that the rate of lateral entry will adversely affect career opportunities within the FSO Corps. Qualified Foreign Service Staff officers serving in positions designated for staffing by Foreign Service officers will be accorded like opportunity in the event they so desire. The Department wishes to emphasize, however, that no officer or employee, irrespective of his personnel category, will be compelled, within the next five years, to change status as the result of the legislation in question.

"It is expected that Foreign Service Reserve appointments will be used to fill virtually all specialized positions at the officer level throughout the Department and the Foreign Service other than those specifically designated for occupancy by either Foreign Service officers or Civil Service officers.

"Foreign Service Reserve officers who are on the rolls as of August 20, 1968 will in due course, and after completion of three or more years service as a Reserve officer, have the following options:

1. Apply for lateral entry as a Foreign Service officer or for unlimited tenure as a Reserve officer, depending primarily on their area of functional specialization.
2. Continue in their present Reserve status for a period of up to five years from August 20, 1968.
3. Exercise their reemployment rights in the domestic service in those instances where such rights exist.

"The Office of Personnel, in consultation with the various elements of the Department, is presently in the process of reviewing all positions at home and abroad for the purpose of designating those which eventually will be filled by Foreign Service officers, Foreign Service Reserve officers and Civil Service officers. When the project is completed, the findings and recommendations will be submitted to all interested parties for review and com-

ment, so that the final results will have the widest possible acceptance throughout the Service. The Department wishes to make it absolutely clear at this time that there is to be no crash program, that the views of all interested elements will be sought and considered and that no officer or employee will either be forced to change status or be penalized in any way in the event he elects not to do so. It is recognized that such changes in the personnel structure as may be indicated must, of necessity, be developed slowly over a period of up to five years."

Those who attended the meeting and heard the lively give-and-take agreed that it had been a worthwhile demonstration of the importance of having those who man the Foreign Service participate in matters of vital concern to them. Chairman Walker summarizing the sense of the meeting, developed four themes:

First of all—Let's heed the lessons of the past. No more tinkering. No major decisions or new departures in personnel administration before next year.

Secondly—Let's look to the future. The Department is working on its "Plan to Improve Personnel Management." The Association's own Career Principles Report will be distributed early next month; it will contain major recommendations for fundamental reform. All these ideas must be discussed and debated. Professionals must become involved in the guts of their profession.

Thirdly—Let's plan for the future. The Department should complete the skills inventory before this month is out. The Association then stands ready to use its resources and contacts, in conjunction with the Department, to find outside help—we need it—to construct from the inventory a computer model of the personnel systems. Let's have that tool in hand and let's have used it to test some of our ideas by the time the new administration comes in.

Lastly—Let's work together from now on. Let us, from this experience, broaden our mutual understanding of consultation. The Association wants a meaningful role in the decision making process—when those decisions affect the morale and welfare of its members or the shape of the career services. And let's understand, from now on, that on some issues—every profes-

sional has a right to know and understand before decisions are taken.

The sense of the session was further summarized in a letter subsequently sent to Mr. Rimestad by Board Chairman Walker. The full text of the letter is printed below.

Dear Mr. Rimestad:

On September 6, the Association held an open meeting of members in the Washington area. It was called to discuss recent developments in the field of personnel administration.

As you know, the Association took a strong stand in both houses of Congress in favor of career legislation for foreign service employees of USIA. We supported the bill in the House despite the troubling amendments establishing the category of Reserve Officer with unlimited tenure. There was considerable concern expressed at the meeting on September 6 that this category created a separate career structure and could be the object of political abuse. It was the sense of the meeting that implementation of this new authority should proceed with great caution.

There was also considerable sentiment that this was not the time for the Department of State, or any other agency in foreign affairs, to be undertaking new departures in the field of personnel administration; implementation of the USIA career legislation, of course, is an obvious exception. The Association is concerned that the "new concepts" in personnel administration which have been developed and printed in the Department's NEWSLETTER have not been thought through with sufficient care to ensure that they will stand the tests of time.

On the other hand, there was sentiment at the meeting that the time may now be propitious for study—and perhaps even rethinking—the personnel concepts and tools which have served us since 1946. Among these the Association would include: the proper relationship of the various foreign services; the proper role of the Board of the Foreign Service; the nature of the recruitment, examination and promotion processes. While we are concerned that the new concepts developed in the Department are overly restricted in nature and do not take account of foreign-service-wide problems, the Association will contribute positively to the study process. In addition, our Career Principles Report, which will contain proposals for fundamental reform, will be published shortly.

The Association welcomes indications that the Department will shortly have an accurate inventory of positions and skills. The lack of such a

practical tool, we believe, had led in recent years to serious distortions in promotions, recruitment, training quotas—indeed the whole range of personnel policy. We recommend most strongly that this inventory be turned into a model of the foreign service personnel system, perhaps even in computer form, and used to test various assumptions and alternative personnel policies, including the “new concepts” and the Association’s own recommendations. Construction of such a model will be expensive and will require skills and resources which are not available in the Department. The Association will be pleased to cooperate in seeking foundation, business and academic support for the project. I am confident, indeed, that the Association can command such outside support. The Association asks the Department’s support and necessary commitment of resources to the project.

Finally, there was strong sentiment at the meeting on September 6 that the Association should have an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process when the decisions at issue affect the morale and welfare of its members, or the structure and foundations of the career services. The Association’s consultations with the Department on these matters over the last year have left both sides somewhat dissatisfied. We are sure that *we can work together*.

Most of the positive recommendations which have been made about the foreign service since 1946 have met with the opposition—sometimes unfounded and probably avoidable—of those in foreign service: the most recent example was the demise of the Hays Bill in 1965, on which neither those in the Foreign Service nor those in Civil Service were consulted. We very much hope that the Department will take steps to ensure that before future decisions are taken, effective support for those decisions will be forthcoming from the professionals in foreign affairs.

Sincerely,
LANNON WALKER
Chairman of the Board

The AFSA Board subsequently received the following letter from the Board of Directors of JFSOC on the subject of the amendment:

In response to the request voiced in your Open Forum meeting on September 6 for comments on the Amendment to S. 633, the Board of Directors, Junior Foreign Service Officers’ Club has resolved by unanimous vote to pass to you the following

statement of the Board:

We appreciate the considerations which have dictated restraint in your public review of potential abuses under the Amendment to S. 633. We hope however that you will not permit restraint to dilute the vigor with which AFSA’s program of opposition to implementation of the Amendment is proceeding. We deem it essential that you not permit your restraint to be construed as willingness to abandon commitment to the principle of a competitive career service.

We note that the Department’s statement, “Public Law 90-494—What It Means to You and to the Service”, is apparently intended as an authoritative Department elaboration of the significance of the Amendment for foreign service personnel.

We find this document inadequate. Nowhere in the maze of assurance to General Schedule personnel, Reserve personnel, and Foreign Service protectionists do we find a repudiation of piecemeal utilization of Amendment authority for purposes incompatible with the notion of a competitive career service. Nowhere do we find evidence of commitment to modernization of the foreign affairs personnel system; nowhere, indeed, do we find more than an ancient litany of vague reassurances to the weakest of our profession.

The issue as we see it is not one of titles or classifications, job security, or retirement benefits. The issue is whether standards are to be scrapped, and intellectual and moral capacity dislodged as the basis of appointment and advancement in the foreign service of our nation.

JFSOC deeply admires talent, respects competence, and welcomes genuine competition. We insist that the business of the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States can and should compete for the best available human resources of this country; and we know that a personnel system which sets its sights lower will inevitably generate a progressive decline in the morale and commitment of the younger foreign affairs professionals. The ablest of our number will leave in search of truly professional standards in other fields, and the best outside the service will not seek appointment.

—We hope and trust that AFSA shares these views.

—We hope that AFSA will communicate its interpretation of the Department’s assurances with respect to implementation of the Amendment to persons in positions of responsibility; and that AFSA will seek a guarantee, through normal Departmental regula-

tions if necessary, that those assurances mean what AFSA is currently willing to believe they mean.

—Finally, we hope that AFSA will continue to make the foregoing views clear to any and all who seek a reform of the Foreign Service.

Award for Senior Officers

The Christian A. Herter Award for senior officers in foreign affairs has been established by the American Foreign Service Association. The Herter Award complements the Averell Harriman and William R. Rivkin Awards for junior and middle grade officers in foreign affairs, established last year, and like them, will carry a \$1,000 prize.

The new award was made possible by a gift to the Association in memory of the late Secretary of State by Mrs. Herter and her son, Christian A. Herter, Jr.

The Association is currently soliciting nominations for the 1969 Herter, Harriman and Rivkin Awards, which will be presented in April. The Awards Committee of the Association is circulating details of the awards and the nomination procedure as widely as possible to officers of State, AID, ACDA, USIA, and the Peace Corps.

The Committee emphasizes that *any officer may make a nomination*. “Supervisors may, of course, submit nominations, as was the practice for the 1968 awards,” the Committee writes, in its circular notice. “But because of the special nature of these awards, emphasizing not only creativity, but also intellectual courage and disciplined dissent, the Association is anxious to point out that colleagues of a deserving individual, or even subordinates, may be in an advantageous position from which to observe achievements of special merit.”

Nominations must be forwarded to the Awards Committee, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 for receipt by December 15. Each letter of nomination should include a brief biographic sketch of the nominee, a description of his association with the nominator, a description of his work, past and present, for the foreign affairs agency concerned, and a discussion in detail of his suitability for the award, with specific examples to make clear his achievement and to demonstrate his unusual creativity, intellectual courage, integrity and/or disciplined dissent. “The awards are *not* given simply to recognize sustained performance,” the Committee points out.

The nominations will be considered by two distinguished committees of judges.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM—1969-1970

Scholarships sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association are granted to unmarried children of Foreign Service personnel of the United States Government. *Awards are for one year only.* A new application, including supporting documents, must be submitted each year.

Requirements for scholarships vary to reflect the wishes of the donors. An applicant is considered for all scholarships for which he is eligible rather than for a particular scholarship.

For application forms, write to the Committee on Education, American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037.

Fully completed applications, including all supporting documents, must be received by the Committee on Education by February 15, 1969.

Among the established scholarships available for the scholastic year 1969-1970 are:

American Foreign Service Association Scholarships
Association of American Foreign Service Women Scholarships
William Benton Scholarships.

For many years, one of the Benton Scholarships has been named for a distinguished member of the Foreign Service. This year the scholarship honors the Honorable George V. Allen.

Bruce Scholarships
Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarships
Selden Chapin Scholarship
John Foster Dulles Scholarship
Foreign Service Journal Scholarship
Howard Fyfe Memorial Scholarship
Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship
Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship
Charles E. Merrill Trust Scholarships
New York Times Foundation Foreign Service Scholarships
Paris Scholarship Fund
Maurice L. Stafford Memorial Scholarship
Charles C. Stelle Scholarship
Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarships
Vietnam Memorial Scholarship
Other Scholarships will be awarded, depending on revenues and contributions received.

AFSA AWARD FOR STUDENT EXCELLENCE

This award was established in special recognition of the most outstanding scholarship applicants who are in their final year of secondary school.

Students are judged on scholastic achievement, qualities of leadership, character, motivation and potential.

Application is made in the same way as for scholarship except that parents need not submit confidential financial information.

OTHER SCHOLARSHIPS AVAILABLE TO CHILDREN OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

Families should not restrict applications for scholarships to AFSA's limited program.

The Committee on Education has been informed that the following scholarships are available to children of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information to the schools, colleges and universities indicated:

Amherst College Scholarships: To be granted to the son of a Foreign Service officer entering as a freshman. Renewable upon maintenance of a satisfactory record and demonstration of financial need. Write to Dean of Admission, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.

Carleton College: The Robert L. Ouverson Memorial Scholarships. Available for four years to a son or daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Apply to Director of Admissions, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota 55057

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For the son of a Foreign Service officer of career. Address inquiry to the Director of the Office of Financial Aid, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Kirkland Hall Junior College: Tuition Scholarship available to dependents of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of military personnel. For further information write to the President, Kirkland Hall Junior College, Easton, Maryland 21601.

Middlesex School Scholarship: Offered on a competitive basis for Grades 8 through 10 to the son of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

St. Albans School: Priority will be given to the son of a Foreign Service officer in the award of a scholarship in memory of Phillip Funkhouser. Apply to Headmaster, St. Albans School, Washington, D. C. 20016.

St. Andrew's School: Middletown, Delaware. The Norris S. Haselton Scholarship. Awarded to the son of a Foreign Service officer of career. Write to Director of Admissions, St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware 19709. It is understood that

other scholarships are available at St. Andrew's School.

Vassar College: Complete information on Vassar Scholarships may be obtained from the Director of Admissions, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601

The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is available at Vassar for daughters of Foreign Service personnel.

Another scholarship, given by an anonymous donor, is awarded at Vassar to the daughter of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the daughter of a member of the United States Military Services, or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Yale University Scholarships: A scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States Military Services or of an employee of the Federal Government or of a State Government.

Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Admissions, Freshman Scholarships, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut \$6520.

AAFSW Book Fair

An innovation of the 1968 book fair of the AAFSW will be the inclusion of original art by children (ages 7 to 14) of the Diplomatic Corps, and of personnel from State Department and foreign affairs agencies. The entries will be judged and prizes awarded on Family Night, Monday, October 28th at 5-8 p.m.

Information and applications for the art contest may be obtained from Mrs. Robert Fedel, 5930 Wilton Road, Alexandria, Va.; Mrs. William Weld, 3911 Argyle Terrace, N.W., Wash., D.C. and Mrs. James Byrne, 5904 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase, Md.

Memorial Scholarship Named for Ambassador Mein

The following resolution was passed at the Association's Board meeting on August 30:

The Board of Directors and members of the American Foreign Service Association were shocked at the untimely death of Ambassador John Gordon Mein. His courage in the face of threats to his life and his devotion to duty are an inspiration to the Foreign Service. In recognition of his outstanding career there is hereby established for next year a John Gordon Mein Memorial Scholarship.

Service Glimpses



Amman. His Majesty, King Hussein, welcomes Ambassador George Ball, Assistant Secretary Joseph Sisco and Ambassador Harrison Symmes to the Royal Palace, Amman, July 17th, 1968. The crux of the discussion was the present tenor of the Middle East.



Rawalpindi. Ambassador Benjamin H. Oehlert, Jr. presents to Begum Sakina Zaida a letter which expresses his appreciation for the painting she made for the Chancery lobby. For religious reasons, the Begum chose to wear the burqa when photographed. Note the resemblance of her style to that of Grandma Moses.



Chandrapura. Consul Rogers B. Horgan, Deputy Principal Officer and Economic Officer, US Consulate General in Calcutta, receives a "bouquet of welcome" from Indian "Adivaai" (tribal) women at the inaugural ceremony of Chandrapura.

Caracas. Three US Ambassadors to Venezuela and their wives are shown together at the 1968 Fourth of July Reception held at the Residence in Caracas. Left to right, present Ambassador Maurice M. Bernbaum, Mrs. Bernbaum; Mrs. Donnelly, Ambassador S. Allen Stewart, Mrs. Stewart and Ambassador Walter Donnelly.

In Caracas, but not available for the photo, were Ambassador and Mrs. Teodoro Moscoso who also served in Venezuela.



IT is with deep satisfaction that I comply with a request from the editors to narrate the story of my relatively instant conversion to a "Latin Americanist" scholar and writer and the remarkable financial success which I have derived from this activity. Only five years ago, I was a nobody; I was just Don K. Scruggs, owner-operator of a barely surviving news agency a couple of blocks off Main Street in Des Moines. I had never taken a course in college on Latin America and the one word of Spanish in my vocabulary was *mañana*. (Obviously, of late I have picked up a number of useful Spanish terms which I methodically intersperse in my manuscripts to lend them authenticity, flavor, and author acculturation and expertise.)

Borrowing from the title of a famous work and applying the plural form, I say to all you aspiring writers: Listen, Yankees! You too can become experts and share my success in a field which attracts increasing public interest. Fame, fortune, travel, lecture tours, extra spending money—any or all of these goals is within your grasp by adopting my simple, computerized methodology for composing formula gringo stories.

Before presenting an analytical breakdown of the component parts of my formula, I should explain honestly how I "constructed" my methodology. Having admitted that I have no preternatural artistic or other writing skills, I shall now confess that I really did not "construct" the formula at all. I perceived it, or discovered it. Perhaps these terms are euphemistic. Frankly, I engaged in a cold and calculated bit of plagiarism, and I outpaced the Yankee and Latin American intellectuals at their own format. I refused to be inhibited by minor facts and obscure details or to strive to create any impression of scholarly impartiality.

Meanwhile, back at the news agency in Des Moines, I was in the habit of scanning editorials and feature material on foreign relations in the periodicals I handled for distribution. Since business was slow, I had ample time for browsing. I began to peruse consistently the editorials, features, and special articles on Latin America in such leading publications as THE NEW YORK TIMES, NEW LEADER, COMMONWEAL, and others. The DAILY WORKER proved useful, too. Slowly I began to perceive a pronounced symmetry in the content, opinion, and "pitch" of most of the Latin American material. One day I read a review of a book entitled: "Latin America: Democracy Frustrated by the Export of US Military Hardware." A brief survey of the book itself convinced me that it had a standard symmetry, like many of the articles, except in more detailed, elongated format. My curiosity further aroused, I avidly looked for more recent books on Latin America. Many of the titles escape me, but here are a few: "The Latin American Socio-Political Volcano"; "Latin America Accuses"; "Go Home, Gringos"; "Wake Up, Yankee"; "The Gathering Cloud of Fidelismo"; "Twilight of Democracy"; "Dictators Versus Democrats"; "Dictators Versus Republicans"; "For Greater Friendship and Understanding South"; "The Era of Neglect: The Decline of the Good Neighbor Policy"; "We Aren't Good Neighbors"; "Revolution or Anarchy"; "Reform or Anarchy"; "Revolution, Reform, and Anarchy"; and "The Alliance for Progress: Three Years of Failure."

Don't be discouraged. No need to read these books. I didn't. I thumbed through hurriedly and discovered that they followed a consistent methodology, conceptualization, and structurization of content.

Let me quote from one of my recent articles in CRITIQUES OF FOREIGN POLICY (July, 1965) which admirably compresses

Writing Gringo Fiction-- A Foolproof Formula

in capsule form many (not all) of the basic elements in my formula approach:

The soft rays of the setting sun placed a patina of burnished gold on this seemingly tranquil tropical paradise. I walked through the stone gateway which framed the broad path of palms leading to the huge *hacienda* mansion of Dan Manuel, wealthy absentee *latifundista* and representative of the decadent oligarchy. (Don Manuel, as I might have expected, was absent as usual—on the Riviera—and thus failed to keep his appointment with me.)

From the height of the main road, I had a magnificent *vista* of the sea, whose gentle surf erotically caressed the sandy shore. The peaceful scene was enigmatic, misleading, almost foreboding. It gave the lie to all which I had seen and heard during my brief visit to Cazuela, land of sharp contrasts, low levels of living, and a pronounced maldistribution of both gross national product and income. Everywhere the infectious *olor* of an impending *fidelismo* was in the air. It even seemed to permeate my bath towels at the Cazuela Hilton Intercontinental Hotel, luxury resort at the edge of the Caribbean where the idle élite frittered away the hours.

I glanced across the road toward a *campesino*, still working his tiny plot (*minifundia*) opposite the great estate of Don Manuel. He paused to stare at me through sullen, dark eyes, saturated with hatred from the decades of Yankee exploitation of Cazuela. The irrefutable proof of this exploitation is the coffee, sugar, bananas, cacao, hemp and other raw material exports. In turn, this prevents Cazuela from attaining economic independence and industrializing.

As the *campesino* turned his sullen glance away, I observed a campaign button pinned to the left strap of his overalls . . . overalls which carried the label "Oshkosh," further evidence of Cazuela's economic dependence on the US. The campaign button was an endorsement of the presidential candidacy of Rómulo García in the forthcoming elections. García's slogan, loosely translated from the Spanish, is "National Sovereignty and Yankee Go Home." Hardly surprising to the keen observer that the oppressed masses are backing García. He is the idol of the non-Communist left and head of the Partido Reformista Agrarista Reivindicadora de la Izquierda Castrista (PRARIC), recently founded on principles rather than

personalismo. García and his *viveros* (that is, followers who often shout at rallies, "Viva García," and who are also known as Garcistas) are campaigning on a platform calling for democracy, liberty, observance of the Constitution, democracy, respect for law, free elections, nationalization of the United Fruit Company (UFCO), economic independence, and diplomatic relations with everybody plus Communist China's admission to the UN.

Significantly, the edge of the campesino's patch was marked by a sign reading: "United Fruit Company Plantation—Trespassing and Nationalization Forbidden by Decree." The sign seemed to spell out tacitly the alleged warm relations between UFCO managers in Cazuela and the hated ruling dictator Justo José Brusco. The consensus is that García will carry the popular vote by an overwhelming majority, and if Brusco attempts to impose his hand-picked successor, such action could trigger a civil war in this tiny tinderbox.

Has time run out on Uncle Sam? Can the US still make the Alliance for Progress work before the social deluge? Can it give Cazuela accelerated economic development and immediate industrialization in time to meet the revolution of rising expectations? Can all this be done—assuming its feasibility—without violating Cazuela's juridical equality, sovereignty, and traditional hatred of foreign intervention. I pondered all these ominous questions as the sun set, and as the hostile *campesino* hoed the furrow.*

In applying my formula, the aspiring writer must accept the basic premise that he is engaged in a practical, money-making pursuit. The initial investment in capital equipment is minimal: the WORLD ALMANAC, a second-hand college textbook on US-Latin American relations, and a historical survey on Latin America (both of recent vintage) will suffice for quick reference guides. More important is the adoption of a strict mental discipline. The writer must never lose sight of the fact that he has a product to sell and must give his reader-customers what *they* want to believe, are prepared to believe, or already believe. Repetition of the familiar is the key; avoid innovation, controversial opinion, and the like. As an integral part of this craft, a writer accepts that some of his literary tools may be slightly warped and the points somewhat squared; that he will be dipping them from time to time in a pot of slightly poisoned *Latino* chili sauce. But remember that the best selling stories of mood, setting, or action may miss the mark without a clear delineation of hero and villain. In the gringo story, Uncle Sam must be cast in the less favorable of these two roles or the whole thing will fall flat.

Now to proceed from the above general points of departure, I shall go into specifics of my formula in the following logical sequence: *Title and Introduction*; *Body of the Text*; and *Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations*.

I. TITLE AND INTRODUCTION

A hard-hitting, catchy title and introduction are the best means of getting an unsolicited manuscript out of the "slush pile" and to the top of an editor's desk for consideration. For our type of story, the concepts of imminent social and political upheaval, large-scale civil war, or a Castro-style takeover of government are the most appealing and have proved their success. A way to get inspiration for titles and introductions is to scan any recent collection of essays about the need for reform in Latin America. There are several

*I wish to express my appreciation to the Editors of CRITIQUES for permission to quote at length from this article.

dozen available at the local library. To illustrate, I got the lead sentence and title for an article, published recently, by extracting verbatim from an item in a scholarly journal: "The US must do something about Latin America." The idea postulated was candid, arresting, constructive in approach, and thought-provoking. Anyone could understand it.

The story introduction should incorporate standardized filler material, which may vary in length and selection, to orient the general reader. The writer is urged to make his own list of potential material for this section, a mechanical reference tool which will save considerable time. Appropriate items largely relate to background about the "Land and the People" of the area with which one is dealing. One can always say, for example, that the upper class élite monopolized the country's wealth, political power, and social status and constitutes a tiny fraction of the total population. Or, if you prefer statistics, "probably less than 5 percent of the total population" will usually do. Adjectives such as "predatory" and "praetorian" are good to apply to the military caste, and the top officers are usually called "gorillas." Be certain to insert a kind of laundry list of social-economic-political problems of the country under discussion. Here is a standard set which will make a nucleus for expansion in your leisure time: a population explosion; a surplus of dictators; a surplus of politicians and presidential candidates; a surplus of Indians and other people; a lack of cash and gold in the national bank; a balance-of-payments problems; a deteriorating economic situation; maldistribution of land, people, houses, national income, and political parties; a lack of democracy, liberty, literacy, democrats, and low-interest, government-to-government loans; economic instability, political instability, and general malaise; a prevalence of hookworm, alcoholism, recurring pregnancies, non-planned parenthood, and coca-chewing habits.

II. THE BODY OF THE STORY

This is the main portion of the story and will require the largest amount of space. Obviously there is considerable leeway for selection of subject matter. The following basic rules are "musts." They are seldom violated, even by the most experienced gringoists.

1) *Historical Theme of the Ugly American Past*—The writer may or may not choose to develop this theme in rich detail, but he will certainly not avoid it altogether. One reference to the Monroe Doctrine is minimum; two are preferred. Manifest Destiny, a powerful figure in US territorial expansionism, should be given equal treatment with the Monroe Doctrine. Almost as well known to Latin Americans as Simón Bolívar, Manifest requires no explanatory biographical phrase to identify him to the reader. He should always portray the role of villain. Latin Americans generally believe, for example, that Manifest financed the theft of Texas from Mexico, hiring Stephen F. Austin and Sam Houston as his agents: that he single-handedly forced the State Department and Pentagon to declare war with Mexico. This big real estate grab cost Mexico half of her territory. Furthermore, Latin Americans are convinced that Manifest, in truth a very restless and ambitious soul, was the power behind William Walker's filibustering exploits in Central America in the 1850's. In turn, this activity was designed to soften up the area for the invasions of the United Fruit Company later on. The writer will be advised to mention any or all of these facts to provide historical dimensions to his story.

There are many other acceptable devices to help us
(Continued on page 46)

THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMON MARKET

JOHN J. SCHULTER

PRESIDENT JOHNSON's enthusiastic endorsement at the Punta del Este meeting, early last year, of Latin American efforts to form a common market has failed to paper over the many impediments that will serve to prevent its success. Some basic and fundamental drawbacks will continue despite significant changes in US attitudes towards Latin American economic problems.

Observers have noted an obvious change in US policy towards Latin America, dating roughly from August, 1965 and again manifesting itself at Rio's Second Special OAS Conference three months later when the US delegation agreed to discuss long-time Latin economic demands, namely trade preferences, aid without strings attached, regional commodity agreements, compensatory financing, and collective economic security. The change happened to coincide with Latin American demands for "trade not aid."

Fishermen's Wharf, Antofagasta, Chile by Martin Prochnik



The change in US receptivity appeared to imply a tacit recognition on the part of the US, that, despite our agreement with other OECD countries to give *all* lesser-developed countries a greater advantage in tariffs on primary commodities, such willingness was being steadily eroded by the continued expansion of regional and national preferences on the part of the larger powers to client states, to wit, the Commonwealth's imperial preferences, Soviet Russia for its Comecon members, France for its former colonies, and of course, the Goliath of all, the Common Market. Underlying the US action might have been a concern that even though the Latin American Common Market is hazy and obscure in its conceptual structure, and even more bereft in its physical and economic resources, Latin American countries were no longer content with expressions of sympathetic interest and good will, unaccompanied by firm commitments of special trading advantages.

A paragraph in Henry Lee's article in the *NEW LEADER* of April 24th, 1967, reporting on the Punta del Este conference, ("Action Plan for Latin America") may have provided a clue to the change in the US position. "For the United States, this first summit in a decade, and second in history, helped maintain—perhaps even revive—a shaky alliance. The alliance was faltering in the face of a *changing world trend toward regional trade blocs* (italics . . . J.J.S.) of big powers endowing developing allies with trade preferences. Now the question is whether the US can maintain a special friendship with Latin America without preferences, and thus continue its traditional most-favored-nation treatment in trade with everyone." Some observers, including Lee, feel that this portends a significant change in US policy towards the Alliance for Progress from emphasis on the social aspects, health, education, etc., to economic matters, thereby providing a firmer economic footing in trade and commerce.

Still, according to Lee, "Most OAS members are more interested in access to the big US market for traditional exports than in their own common market and the export diversification it would produce."

Probably the only really significant guidepost, to date, which can help the Latins in their efforts to establish a common market, is the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Common Market, even though the economic conditions and the institutional relationships are dissimilar. It provides for them some conceptual frameworks already tested by time and experience to which they can direct their own efforts.

Plans for European economic cooperation began in 1949 with the establishment of the OEEC under the Marshall Plan. The OEEC, in turn, embraced the European Payments Union. This was the first form of multi-lateral international economic cooperation in the history of Western Europe that encompassed virtually all of the leading powers. Based in Paris, it brought together for the first time representatives of some 17 countries, some of whom had only recently been at war with each other.

Once OEEC was established and communications initiated,

a body of research information and materials was developed which provided the subsequent organizations of the Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and the Common Market, with the necessary data upon which decisive judgments could be made in the international economic field. Though not articulated in precise terms, and for obviously good reasons, the thinking of the framers reflected the functionalist school for world peace—that international economic cooperation would lead eventually to international political cooperation.

Some parallels could be drawn between the institutional rivalries of the Europe of 1957 and 1958 that have some relevancy to the present situation in Latin America vis-a-vis the established Latin American organizations. The leaders of the OEEC at that time were not altogether happy about the emergence of the CM. They saw it as a divisive force in Western Europe and a potential threat to their own unchallenged dominance and prestige as *the* international organization of Western Europe. Admonitions, although no restraints, were placed upon those of us who were operationally active for EPA in the member countries to emphasize that no cure-all for Europe's problems could be obtained by any combination of Sixes or Sevens. Similar warnings might be applicable today in Latin America.

Aside from the totally diverse economic and political considerations, the existing institutional arrangements at the present time in Latin America scarcely approximate what existed in Europe in this period. By comparison, the Latin American countries are virtually starting from scratch.

The recent declaration at Punta Del Este to establish a Common Market in Latin America beginning in 1970 and to be completed by 1985 is more of a *declaration of purpose and intent* rather than a sharply delineated guide-line around which a specific program can be developed. Unlike the European Common Market, which received its mandate in precise and definite terms from the Treaty of Rome, more evident here is an expression, somewhat loosely defined, on the part of the respective countries involved. Nor is there either clarity or unanimity as to what such declarations mean.

If Latin America adheres to the European pattern, representatives of the respective Latin American countries should probably draft a treaty or convention somewhat similar to the Treaty of Rome or a reasonable facsimile thereof. This will require many, many hours of painstaking work. *It is evident from the meetings that have already taken place that persuasive personalities such as Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet are not at hand to guide it through the shoals of opposition that have already arisen.*

The prospective time needed to create such a Latin American organization is quite apparent when one considers that the evolution of the European Common Market stretched from 1949 to 1957. Even now, a merger of both institutions, the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Area is still not in sight. One wonders, given the two established institutions in Latin America, the Central American Common Market (CACM) and the Latin American Common Market (LACM), whether their path will be any easier.

Beyond the requisite data necessary for decision-making is *the psychological preparation of both Latin American industry and labor to accept the principle of increased productivity as an essential condition to an improvement in their own well being.* The American aid missions to Western Europe had this as their Number One priority during the Marshall Plan days of 1947 to 1952. It was under this umbrella that thousands of industry and labor representatives were sent to the United States for training prior to the proposals for economic integration. Although there has been a full and free flow of Latin American nationals to the USA for all sorts of training, the point of departure was so dissimilar as to preclude comparison.

Given the paucity of data and information that now exists on the respective twenty countries of Latin America and the proximity of the announced target dates, it is dubious whether (a) sufficient information exists to enable treaty makers in the time allotted to come to conclusive judgments except of the most generalized character, and (b) whether any of the major interest groups in L.A., industry, labor, agriculture, are either intellectually or psychologically ready to accept the economic conditions which integration implies. The tendency to bandy words like "common market" and "free trade area" as if they were one and the same is all too frequent—often indicating ignorance of both.

The various national interest groups in Western Europe came to accept the Common Market as a natural consequence of Twentieth Century technology and the needs of their own individual economic systems. Latin America, on the other hand, still largely consists of producers of primary products, food and fiber, most of which is either consumed internally or sent to the United States. Internal exports to each other still do not exceed ten percent of the total goods produced in Latin America ("Latin American Common Market" by Sidney Dell).

There are inherent dangers of great consequence when governments announce policies of such magnitude where no consensus has been arrived at among the predominant interest groups. A case in point: the framers of the Treaty of Rome played their roles in a minor key so as not to invite opposition prematurely and to get ratification by the respective legislatures of each country. This is not the case with Punta Del Este where the LACM was launched with a publicity broadside amounting to the promise of a new El Dorado. Now when the technicians seek to plot the route to the treasure, it proves to be as elusive as it was 400 years ago.

Space here does not permit an elaboration of the present regional treaty arrangements or trade agreements, either in effect or proposed within Latin America, that now serve to inhibit diminution of internal tariffs and a common external tariff. Just to form a sensible-looking mosaic of existing trade relations, let alone setting up an LACM, means the unscrambling of a number of present national and regional trade agreements in Latin America. The recently concluded and unproductive meeting in Paraguay of the foreign ministers of the LACM member states pointed to this.

As yet, only marginal plans for a positive and specific implementation in programmatic or operational form have come forth. Possibly the principal reason for this is that there is a plethora of regional organizations in the economic development field in Latin America.

Interested observers have noted that one difficulty in moving forward toward a common market lies in the absence of a single executive coordinating body. Among the principal regional organizations are the Inter-American Committee of the Alliance for Progress, the Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, the Latin-American Free Trade Association, and the Central American Common Market, each with its own secretariat.

The present inability of the respective Latin American countries in resolving their own national differences should not impede Latin American scholars from taking the initiative in formulating informational and exploratory programs that will determine the impact on the respective economies of any projected treaty.

There is no better way to safeguard such interests than by being informed of all political, social, and economic developments either underway or proposed for the future. A thorough examination of the Latin American Common Market and its implications is indicated in that process. ■

REPEAT TO USUN FOR INFO

JOHN M. CATES, JR.

A CURSORY glance over any sheaf of cables coming into the Department will reveal that an extraordinary number of them, widely diverse in subject and in geographic origin bear that mystic and sometimes interventionist-appearing directive: "REPEAT TO USUN FOR INFO." Department readership from desk officer to Secretary level may sometimes wonder why this massive INFO influx to First Avenue, New York City. A glance at the "from" lines, or originating posts: Nicosia, Taiwan, London, Santiago, Ankara, Accra, Dar-es-Salaam, Tegucigalpa, Helsinki, Moscow, Saigon, Rawalpindi, Caracas, Ottawa, Dublin, Valletta, Katmandu, Kuala Lumpur, Paris, Prague, Rome, Manila, Tokyo, Ouagadougou, Bujumbura, Mogadiscio, Rangoon, Managua, Amman, Tehran, Jidda, reveals their glamorous global sources. And the "subject" lines: disarmament, seabeds, currency devaluation, Korea, palace revolutions, civil war, local elections, ministates, guerrilla operations, assassination attempts, slates, White House visitors, Secretariat appointments, epidemics, oil strikes, famine, warplane sales, civil disorders, reveal the breathtaking gamut of US international concerns. Geographically and substantively, these INFO wires quite obviously cut across all Departmental lines, cover a fantastically variegated field of interest and touch on delicate bilateral negotiations. Well may the Washingtonian ask, "Why are those UN characters getting into the act?"

This crazy-quilt diversity of locale and subject reflects in fact the scope of matters which affect actions or activities at the United Nations and of the consequent development of the United States Mission to the United Nations. It reflects the extent to which the United Nations headquarters has become the international diplomatic market place and the extent to which emerging as well as established nations look to the United Nations as the forum in which to raise any or all of their problems. The activities in this forum reflect, in fact, the limited formal bilateral representation of many new countries. It is safe to say that most UN members do not have bilateral ambassadorial representation in most of the capitals of the other 123 UN members. From this springs their insistence on representation at the UN

where so much of their diplomatic bilateral, as well as group or regional relations, are carried on. USUN cable traffic is a reflection of this contemporary diplomatic reality, far as that may be beyond the concept of the Founding Fathers in San Francisco. It is also essential background for USUN officers in their daily contacts.

It is not that the United Nations or the United States Mission to the United Nations reached out for power, prestige, or patrimony. The UN coverage of the world waterfront, like Topsy, just "grewed," a growth which could have been, and possibly by the prescient was, foreseen from the very first if one read the UN Charter literally. For what range of human activity, hopes, and fears is not touched on, by word or implication, in this remarkable document? The whole gamut is there: political security, economic development, human rights, and self-determination. All of the facets of these problems are reflected in what has come to be normally a one hundred item agenda for the annual UN General Assemblies. This is to be a discussion, however, not of the range of the UN Charter, or the agenda of its Assemblies, but of the responsibilities and the organization of the United States Mission to the United Nations, known as "USUN."

Whether the stress the United States has put upon the breadth of vision and interests of its Permanent Representatives to the UN and their diversified staffs encouraged an ever-

expanding role for USUN or whether the growth of USUN was merely the reaction of an increasing diversity of national, bi-national, and multinational problems coming before the UN is not important. What is important is that the United States, either to deal with problems put forward at the UN by other members or to originate and pursue matters of interest to itself, has followed a consistent policy of building USUN into a multi-purpose staff, headed by a prestigious national figure, prepared to take part in negotiations on the most diverse and complex collection of problems any single US Mission has ever had to contend with.

Just what is this USUN? In terms of definition, it is a "diplomatic mission" of the President of the United States, an "Embassy to the United Nations." It functions, as do other diplomatic missions, under the Department of State, its "bureau" being the Bureau of International Organization Affairs headed by an Assistant Secretary of State. What makes this Mission to the United Nations so different is the purpose of this article. Perhaps the most striking immediate difference is that the Chief of Mission in this case is a Cabinet Member and a nationally prominent figure in his own right. Senator Warren Austin, Henry Cabot Lodge, Adlai Stevenson, Arthur Goldberg and George Ball all fit this pattern. In terms of personnel, it is a small mission as First Class Missions go. Its officers, including the Chief and Deputy Chief of Mission, the Security Council Deputy and our Representatives on the Economic and Social and Trusteeship Councils, number about thirty-five. These officers are backed up by about eighty secretarial, reference, and communications personnel. This does not include the Military Staff Committee nor about a dozen persons on special detail.

The work load of USUN is broken down into broad divisions of responsibility which correspond to the demands put upon it by coverage of UN activities. The titles of these divisions, or sections, will be generally familiar to the Foreign Service officers who have served abroad, although their functions here are broader. These sections are: Political; Economic and Social; International Organization Affairs; Public Affairs; Reference; Communications, Administration and



Military Staff Committee. A brief description of the responsibilities of the officers in these sections will illustrate the demands and pressure from UN bodies and officials, as well as from United States sources, and help explain to those far from the UN and unfamiliar with its workings how matters of particular interest to them are handled in New York.

UN political activities present the greatest difficulty in terms of definition and of setting metes and bounds. Almost every matter dealt with or discussed at the UN has a political connotation: political because every matter is raised at the behest of some government, some political entity, and because every action, or recommendation, or even absence of action, affects some government. Action, or lack of action, at the UN may affect the claim of one government against another; secure, or point the way toward the securing of, financing; bring a calming influence to bear upon some local situation or conversely stir up local forces to a fever pitch; affect the outcome of an election or even propel some local figure into world prominence. The UN is a sort of a world hustings where personal or national ambitions may be furthered by election to such high international office as President of the General Assembly or a Committee Chairman.

Thus, USUN political assignments break down into trouble areas with responsibility on the item officers concerned to follow the consequences of certain political actions: economic, social, legal, or other spheres and conversely to foresee political consequences of initiatives taken in these non-political spheres. For example, individual political officers' assignments include such responsibilities as: the Middle East; Cyprus; Kashmir; peacekeeping; the Organization of African Unity; Cuba; the Organization of American States; disarmament; outer space; new States; NATO; the Arab League; Vietnam; the Congo and colonialism. Also on the staff are two area advisers or regional liaison officers, one for each of the two most cohesive, important, and difficult regions *qua* regions: Latin America and Africa. These two positions defy neat bureaucratic description and their occupants may well be described as roving contact or customers' men. They report, convey and often seek to persuade.

This listing of "political" functions should not be taken to mean that the respective USUN officers either assume the functions of the respective Department substantive officer or impinge upon their areas of responsibility.

USUN assignments require a general familiarity with the subject matter; a familiarity with past UN decisions on the subject and whether action was in Plenary Assembly, Committee, Council, or special committee. They also grasp national and international aspects of the problems sufficiently to assure intelligent reporting to the Department on UN developments and to assure equally intelligent understanding of Department instructions. USUN political officers are specialists in multi-lateral diplomacy and its procedures. They are the barristers before the UN bar. They may be compared in their relationships to the Department (through IO), *mutatis mutandis*, with the relationships of Embassy officers to their respective Department desk and bureau officers. The great number of subjects coming before the UN and the comparatively small number of political officers at USUN requires, however, that each officer be responsible not only for a diverse array of items but be prepared also to back up one or more of his colleagues on additional items.

To complete the picture, it should be noted that the political officers, backing up the ambassadorial Representatives, deal with matters coming before the Security Council; the First, the Special Political, the Fourth, the General and Credentials Committees of the General Assembly; the stage managing of our participation in the Plenary Sessions of the General Assembly and its special sessions; the Committee of 24 or the "decolonization committee," and the Trusteeship Council; the Outer Space Committee; the Committee of 33 (on peacekeeping); the Disarmament Committee, and for following the activities of certain special committees such as the Council on South West Africa, and the new committee on the resources of the ocean floor.

Coordination of the political aspects of items, whether before the "political" bodies or before the economic and social or budgetary bodies may fall to the Chief of the Political Section or to the Chief of Mission or DCM level depending on how a problem arises. Experience has shown our pragmatic approach to the coordination problem has been effective and has resulted in a minimum of numbing organizational strictures or clearance patterns.

The field of activities covered by the rather austere term "economic and social" is tremendous. Brooding over this nearly limitless expanse of activity is the UN's Economic and Social Council, better known as ECOSOC. USUN's economic and social officers' main concerns relate to

participation in ECOSOC and its functional commissions such as Human Rights, Population and Narcotics; the four regional economic commissions; the fourteen specialized agencies such as those dealing with aviation, health and meteorology; such specialized bodies as UNCTAD, UNIDO, and UNDP and touchy committees such as those on commodities: tin, cocoa, sugar, and coffee. During General Assemblies, these matters are the concern of the Second and Third Committees. USUN's activities in these fields require close contact not only with the Department of State and AID but also with such other Departments and Agencies as Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior as well as the Export-Import Bank and the Tariff Commission. The range and diversity of matters covered, the problems put up for discussion and the geographic extent of the UN's concern are staggering.

The title of International Organization Affairs for a USUN section is misleading to a degree. Its officers deal not only with United Nations budget, administrative, and management problems, and the US contributions to the UN, but with a multiplicity of UN personnel problems as well as diplomatic, legal and daily living problems which result from the US being the "host country" to the UN. This Section's budget and administrative responsibilities relate mainly to the financing and management of the UN. The US pays about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the regular UN budget and 40 percent, sometimes more, of such specialized activities as peacekeeping, UNRWA and the UN Development Program. These aspects of UN activity are carried on principally by the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly and the so-called ACABQ (Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions). But, in many cases, they also spill over into the work of the functional commissions and committees, especially when a special function or conference is involved. Our representative on the ACABQ, moreover, also examines the budgets and management problems of the Specialized Agencies of the UN. Other examples of this section's responsibilities relate to the work of the United Nations Pension Committee—a fund of approximately \$350,000,000; requests and recommendations for UN Secretariat employment; problems involved in securing and financing a site for the expansion of the United Nations in New York; and the problems of construction and financing, and of service on the Board, of the UN International School.



Ambassador Goldberg with USUN and Department advisers during the Emergency Special Session in July, 1967 on the Middle East Crisis, left to right, Ambassador Max Finger, Donald Toussaint, Chief Political Section, Don Torre, Public Affairs (USIA), Ambassador Buffum (DCM), Richard Monsen, Chief, Public Affairs Section, Ambassador Pedersen, Deputy Representative, Security Council, Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, the author, and partially hidden, Andrew Maguire, political officer.

USUN relations with the UN diplomatic community in New York, the so-called "host country" function, are unique in the world. The very fact that the United Nations headquarters is in New York presents us with a multitude of problems. A capital city like Washington is accustomed to the uses and adversity of diplomatic life and traffic. But now we have the greatest collection of diplomats and international civil servants in the world working and living in bustling, impersonal New York City or near by. This international community—diplomats, families, office staffs and international civil servants and their families—total about 16,000. The problems faced by the Office of Protocol in Washington are matched by the problems in New York but without the benefit of the accepted reciprocal diplomatic sanctions available in bilateral relations. Because of the complexity of the problem in New York, various special bodies exist to "help" with that problem: the UN Secretary General's Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Problems is an additional forum for the complaints of the diplomats; the recently created USUN—New York City Host Country Advisory Committee, co-chaired by Ambassador Bell and Mayor John Lindsay, attempts to co-ordinate the activities of the several governmental and

many non-governmental organizations in this field. These include the Protocol section of the UN; the New York City Commission to the UN; and various volunteer services, including the well established Hospitality Committee (for diplomats), the travel program, and the UN Volunteer Services. Charges of discrimination in the leasing of apartments; the issuance of diplomatic license plates and visas; certifications and recommendations concerning the granting of diplomatic privileges and immunities; parking and traffic problems (including the tow-away program!); tax-free diplomatic purchases, and leases broken by government ordered moves all must be dealt with while refraining from bruising the often over-sensitive international feelings.

Despite its title, USUN's Press and Public Affairs Section differs in many respects from similarly entitled activities of US missions abroad. USUN is the only diplomatic mission headed by a member of the President's Cabinet. His statements, opinions and travels are "news" which the press seeks avidly. When we say "press" in this instance, we are talking of some 200 regularly accredited UN press correspondents, representing the world's papers, news agencies and radio/TV networks. This number doubles in size when the General Assembly is

in session. To meet the demands of this press corps, USUN holds daily press briefings and frequent "back-grounders." The status of our Chief of Mission as a national figure results in a stream of press releases during debates, a flow which increases in volume during the General Assemblies when Members of Congress and other national figures join the US Delegation. This section also has the responsibility of following relevant events on the ticker coming in from any one of the other 123 UN Members' capitals; and a staggering load of some 15,000 letters a year on suggestions for, or criticisms of, our UN policy and to requests for information both general and specific, from the scholar and the crank, about the UN and its work. Reflecting deep American public interest in the United Nations is the stream of over 1,000,000 visitors touring the UN buildings each year. A special concern of the section is providing regular briefings for non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives and special visiting groups, and speakers for outside groups: students, churches, foreign policy associations, voters' leagues and so forth. Last year 389 briefings were held in the USUN auditorium and 180 outside speaking engagements were filled by USUN officers.

The demands of US spokesmen in:

UN meetings for quick information in debates and negotiations, as well as general background material puts a heavy load on USUN's reference, library and documents facilities. Such is the complexity and diversity of the UN's parliamentary and procedural history and practice that crash information requests are the rule rather than the exception. These services, as is understandable, must be more highly developed than in the ordinary Embassy. A great part of our UN activities may be compared to a continuous parliamentary, or even court, session where precedent and knowledge of procedural practices, as well as of the rules, play predominant roles. The volume of UN documentation: committee reports; verbatim and summary records of debates; draft resolutions; individual members' letters of complaint or explanation and UN Secretariat information and reports defies imagination. Keeping it current and handy is vital.

The Communications Section deserves special mention. In terms of cable traffic alone, the record of USUN's Code Room is unique. Probably only the Department itself handles more volume. In 1966 USUN's Code Room handled 14,429 incoming messages and 6,122 outgoing in addition to some 1,800 outgoing airgrams. The workload of the Correspondence Unit, responsible for analysis, distribution and recording of all incoming communications other than cables, also dwarfs most missions abroad. The load here of regular Department and public correspondence, diplomatic notes and special communications from the other 122 UN Missions and the United Nations averages 10,000 pieces of mail per month. The sorting, cataloguing and distribution of this mass of material, to all elements of the Government, is a demanding job essential to USUN operations.

Even the administrative responsibility of USUN, though broadly comparable to those of US missions elsewhere, is here complicated by the myriad and diverse needs of the substantive sections. Translations and reproduction of documents; specialized personnel; crash needs for evening and weekend services as UN emergency sessions trail on into the night; varying workloads as the conference delegations grow and shrink; transportation and handling visiting dignitaries from the President on down; security concerns of our own and other delegations all contribute to giving these functions a unique flavor and its officers special kinds of headaches.

The staff of the Military Adviser to the United States Representative

deserves a word. In and of the USUN, it is, in fact, a dependency of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to which it reports. The USUN staff is under the Deputy Military Adviser, a vice admiral who not only serves as military adviser to the US Representative, but doubles in what might well be called high brass as Commander of the Eastern Sea Frontier with offices at 90 Church Street. Also on the military staff are representatives of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Their basic responsibility relates to our participation in the UN Military Staff Committee. In addition, they furnish advice on the technicalities of peacekeeping and other security problems; maintain liaison with military staff officers in other Missions at the UN and appropriate UN Secretariat officials and advise and inform USUN officers on military happenings in various parts of the globe.

USUN presents a strange and wonderful combination of bilateral and multilateral functions and national and international responsibilities. It has aspects of a normal embassy and aspects of a Department Bureau. It responds to the combinations of traditional diplomacy of group pressures, of national causes. It handles the queries of the curious; parries the blows of the antagonistic; seeks to help the confused, and, overall, to make a living reality out of the lofty aims of the UN Charter.

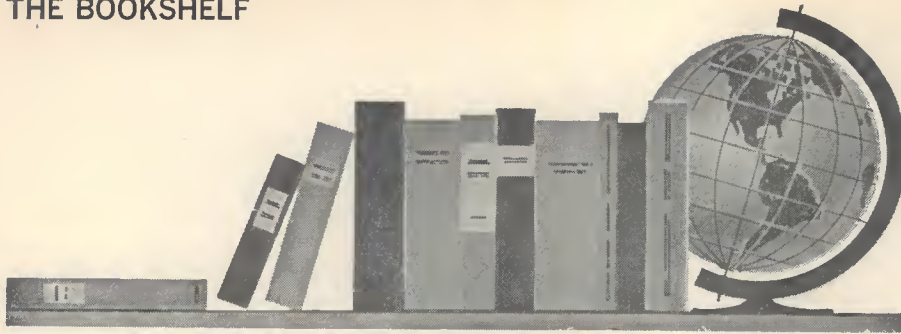
USUN must be seen as a reflection of the United Nations Organization itself as it has developed over the years and of the needs and hopes of the member delegations which give it purpose and life. Most striking of the developments, both as regards the UN's expanding field of activities and the needs of delegations, result from the nearly tripling expansion of the UN's membership from 51 in 1945 to 124 in 1968. This growth reflects the impetus given to the de-colonialization process by the terms of the UN Charter as well as the efforts of the former colonies themselves. Independence places sudden demands on new countries for appropriate representation abroad. The UN headquarters and the capital of the colony's former metropole are usually the first, and sometimes the only, places to which the new country seeks to send diplomatic representatives. In the capitals of the other 123 members, diplomatic representation is not uniform, although Washington, Moscow, London, Paris or Rome and the capitals of important geographical or political neighbors are exceptions. It is safe to say that representation in all other capitals is the exception rather than the rule among

UN members. This applies to the smaller, older countries as well as to the newer ones. The new trend seems to be toward having no representation at most other capitals, with emphasis instead on bilateral, and even regional, contacts through UN representatives at the UN headquarters itself. Thus, bilateral relationships between African and newer Asian countries and individual countries in all the other continents and between Latin American continents and new nations in Africa and Asia and even in the Caribbean tend to be carried on at the UN. Although the great majority of new UN members establish diplomatic missions both in Washington and New York, some twenty of these are "moon lighting" ambassadors having responsibilities as chiefs of mission in both Washington and New York. The bilateral interests and efforts of these representatives relative to the United States in Washington often carry over into their activities at the UN. Many governments seeking to influence favorably US policy decisions in Washington have their UN Representatives bring bilateral problems to the attention of the US Representative at the UN in hopes of enlisting his high good offices on their behalf in Washington.

Obviously there is a great deal of what might be called bilateral political information to be gleaned around the UN corridors and conference rooms and during the unending series of representational receptions, luncheons, dinners and other gatherings. The Delegates Lounge and Bar during important sessions of the Assembly and the Security Council is a daily scene of gatherings of the sung and the unsung: diplomats, politicians, newsmen, experts, special interest pleaders, exiles, international civil servants, gossips and fixers—a beehive of information both true and false. The crowding of the entertainment calendar follows naturally from the attempts of all 124 Missions to carry out at least the minimum in the way of status entertainment in addition to the informal efforts of the individual officers of each of these missions. Thus, USUN has become a useful net in which to gather from the UN sea pertinent information, speculation and rumor of broad scope, much of it bilateral in nature and beyond the formal confines of strictly UN business.

USUN is not only a collection depot but has taken on the function of dissemination of information and policy as well. Embassy officers will have often noted in Department cables directives to USUN to pass on US views

(Continued on page 45)



"Khrushcheviana"—what there is of it!

FOUR years ago, only a few days after Khrushchev's "retirement" as chief of the Soviet Party and Government, I walked into a Moscow book store and asked an attractive young salesgirl, "Do you have any books about or by Nikita Sergeevich?" She confidently replied in her Soviet salesgirl falsetto "Nyet, i ni budet." (no, and there won't be any either.)

So the sound curtain dropped before another of one of Russia's fascinating despots. We probably know more about Khrushchev than about any other Soviet leader except Lenin, yet how very annoying that we know so little. Much had been published by official Soviet sources on Khrushchev but, since his fall, not a word. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the last four years relatively little has been written in the West about the little man who for a decade dazzled and befuddled capitalists and communists alike. The body of "Khrushcheviana" is extremely small considering the shadows his rotund form cast on the world. He stands in importance along side two fellow endomorphs of the last 30 years: Nikita had some of Churchill's political brilliance and historical sense but none of his literary elegance; he shared with Pope John a remarkable sense of timing and a genuine populist appeal but none of John's compassion. Above all else Khrushchev was Stalin's most able heir. Like his former master and teacher, Khrushchev sought power and would go to great lengths to retain it. And those who reminisce today that Khrushchev would never have moved troops into Czechoslovakia don't comprehend either Khrushchev or, more importantly, the world outlook of Soviet leaders.

There are at least four books on "Mr. K" written in English that are worthy of consideration and reflect some of the various myths and realities of Soviet leadership.

A recent biography by Mark Frankland, "Khrushchev," concludes on the probably deservedly charitable note that Khrushchev "left his country

a better place than he found it, both in the eyes of the majority of his own people and of the world." Frankland in evaluating the Khrushchev leadership observes gratuitously that he understood the need for change, but not the implications of that change—but then I ask what leader really has. Frankland's book has the advantage of being short, but it is without bibliography and only on rare occasions acknowledges sources, giving the reader the feeling that much of the book was reconstructed from earlier biographies.

What is most distressing about Frankland's not very scholarly biography is the author's effort to rationalize Khrushchev's intimate involvement in the Stalinist terror in order to explain the touches of humanity that seemed to emerge in him during de-Stalinization. Frankland attributes Nikita's willing participation in Stalin's crimes of the 1930's to his "ignorance," his lack of speculative mind, his peasant limited view of the world and his "lack of natural squeamishness" at blood. Frankland, like Edward Crankshaw in his far more readable and comprehensive biography, "Khrushchev, A Career," believes that Khrushchev's leadership of the Ukraine during World War II left him a wiser, more individual leader than those who sat under Stalin's gaze in the Kremlin and left him more intimately aware of the great suffering of the Soviet people and more distressed by the ravages of war than the Moscow clique. Crankshaw, however, curiously attributes Nikita's humanity to Mrs. Khrushchev:

"When we ask ourselves how Khrushchev who had clawed and maneuvered his way upwards, stepping again and again into the shoes of his colleagues disgraced or liquidated, managed to retain more than a spark of humanity, the answer must be, can only be, that he was married to Nina Petrovna."

To understand fully the crucial paradox in the life of Khrushchev is to understand 50 years of Soviet power and to know far more than we will probably ever know about the history

of that dark period. But the great paradox probably could never be attributed to Khrushchev's "ignorance" (he had a natural intelligence, even brilliance) nor to the influence of Nina Petrovna (whom many say was more the source of his ideological discipline than the fount of his humanity).

Frankland believes that the Khrushchev's secret speech against Stalin was not just a political maneuver but an attempt "to cleanse his conscience" of the "guilt he felt" for participating in Stalin's crimes. Khrushchev as a human being may well have a conscious or subconscious sense of guilt, but I see nothing in history that would argue that this "guilt feeling" played a meaningful role in the decision to make the 1956 secret speech. Frankland seems to feel that from the beginning Khrushchev had in him the soul and intentions of a humanitarian leader who finally was allowed to show his true colors after the death of Stalin whereas Crankshaw portrays a more complex Khrushchev in which elements of natural humanity, corruption, and brutal force are in constant conflict.

Crankshaw, who saw Nikita in action several times, has come closer than the other biographers to capturing the spirit and dynamism of this most garrulous and public of Soviet leaders, whom Crankshaw sees as a "consummate political opportunist, accomplished actor, and natural bully." Where Crankshaw falters is in his political analysis of the period of Khrushchev's power.

The best short political study on the Khrushchev era is unquestionably Carl Linden's "Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership 1957-1964"—a scholarly work by one of those dedicated Kremlinologists who carefully read the Soviet press during the entire period, examining the evidence of deepening conflict within the Kremlin that many other analysts didn't acknowledge until the October, 1964 fall of Khrushchev. If there is a quarrel I would have with this excellent analysis of the politically complex post-Stalin period it is Mr. Linden's overemphasis on Khrushchev as a "radical reformer." At the outset Mr. Linden characterizes Khrushchev's erratic leadership: "Political necessity occasionally led Khrushchev to assume the colors of an orthodox militant; expediency frequently put him in a centrist position, but personal conviction moved him more and more toward radical reform within the context of the party regime." Many of the changes that Mr. Linden (and presumably Khrushchev) characterizes as "radical

reforms" seem to me nothing more than fancy political footwork by a brilliant political tactician always one jump ahead of (or behind) a confused and disunited opposition. But Mr. Linden covers his "reform" label with a rather broad definition "Khrushchev's reformism, while showing contempt for the rigid and restrictive doctrines of Stalinism, also revealed an attachment to the ultimate social and economic goals projected in Communist ideology"—that is to say Khrushchev is a far, far cry from a Dubcek. "Reformism" notwithstanding I strongly recommend for all this masterful and brief analysis of the period.

Finally one of the most valuable insights into Khrushchev's behavior and leadership style is Priscilla Johnson's near classic study of "Khrushchev and the Arts, The Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962-64"—which first appeared as a long essay in *PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM*. In her analysis of this well documented period of Khrushchev at his most erratic, Miss Johnson has combined her intimate knowledge of the Soviet arts and artists with the key speeches, poems, and literary milestones of the period to document what is probably the most fascinating and confusing period of Khrushchev's struggle to remain Soviet Party chief—a struggle he lost. In this careful analysis of the efforts of the young writers and artists to achieve more artistic freedom, Miss Johnson must surely have come closer to divining the nature of at least one major Kremlin debate than any of the other historians of the period. In retrospect perhaps the only shortcoming in Miss Johnson's book is her tendency at times to portray the conflict in terms of the black hats and the white hats—today (and then) the Soviet cultural and political scene is an exceedingly complex web of cultural, national, generational, and emotional threads that interlace the Party and cultural world in strange and contradictory ways.

One evening several months ago Khrushchev and his family sat at his small *dacha* outside Moscow and watched USIA's moving film on President Kennedy—"Years of Lightning, Day of Drums." I have been told that the former Soviet leader was deeply moved by the vivid recollection of the death of his young protagonist whom he had such great reason to respect and admire. Nikita must today look with wonder and no little envy on the Kennedy library and on the vast "Kennediana" that already provide human perspective and stature to this young man who governed his country

for only three years. Nikita must well wonder what Soviet and world history will one day say of Khrushchev's ten years. What will it know of him?

—WILLIAM H. LUERS

KHRUSHCHEV, A CAREER, by Edward Crankshaw. *The Viking Press, Inc.*, \$7.50.

KHRUSHCHEV, by Mark Frankland. *Stein and Day*, \$6.95.

KHRUSHCHEV AND THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, 1957-1964, by Carl A. Linden. *The Johns Hopkins Press*, (paperback \$2.45).

KHRUSHCHEV AND THE ARTS, THE POLITICS OF SOVIET CULTURE, 1962-1964, by Priscilla Johnson. *The M.I.T. Press*, \$7.50.

Department ABC's

HERE is a book you will want to hold on to. It's a big book and respectably solid as to content. It should be well read by state Department officers and all concerned with foreign affairs. Here is a journalist who likes quite a bit of what he sees about the men and women who make up the Foreign Service, as well as the Department in general.

The State Department is revealed in more than its simple ABC's. The look begins to spell out what is going well and what is not and why. There is cogent analysis in the book; you feel he sought opinions of knowledgeable people. He scans the State Department organization as if he was in a spotter aircraft. He may not have pictured everything but he spotted the nooks and crannies which many of us know full well are there.

A Foreign Service officer should buy the book if only for two chapters—the Department versus the Press (Mass Media: Sieve, Mirror or Mirage) and the Department and the "Hill" (The Congress: Democracy's Folk Wisdom.) He turns the spotlight both ways. Who in State at the present time could have written the incisive chapter on Congress? These are not the only excellent chapters but they certainly provide a bonus.

He traces the revolt of the 18, the Department's "Young Turks", with skill and admiration. The movement is documented like a Saigon *coup*. He writes with sympathy of the "leaf rakers," the young men (of all ages) who return to the Department in Washington with dreams and little responsibility and scarcely a job.

The book is also an antidote for the man enclosed in one small room in one bureau at one end of the corridor. It features anecdotes which border on sheer gossip but are as enjoyable and well told as good gossip should be. It's refreshing to be written about by someone who keeps the knife out of our backs but can cut through the red

tape and tell a story with a sure and even stroke. It is quite scholarly but the other reviews will tell you that. It's the best book on the Department and Foreign Service since Charles Thayer's "Diplomat." It is a book men like Harold Nicolson might read. They would if they want to see Foggy Bottom as it is in 1968, both current and universal.

There are inaccuracies but Leacacos keeps most of his facts hard and straight, down to the green ink used to underline material for the Secretary. His chapters on the President and the Secretary of State display the author's personal approach. He tells the tale of the State Department in such a way that you can recommend it to those who still ask the eternal question, "What is it exactly that you *do*, Malcolm?"

—F.A.

FIRES IN THE BASKET: *The ABC's of the State Department*, by John P. Leacacos. *World Publishing Co.*, \$8.95.

They Might Have Changed History

A particularly depressing feature in considering the rise and fall of Adolf Hitler is the seeming inevitability with which both Germany and its opponents moved toward catastrophe. The West closed its eyes to the remilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936, permitted the Anschluss with Austria, ceded at Munich, waited supinely for the German attack on France in May 1940. As for the East, the Soviets gambled and lost in their 1939 deal with Hitler which brought the full force of German strength against them two years later.

Harold Deutsch, in his "The Conspiracy Against Hitler," describes the gallant if fumbling efforts of a heterogeneous group of respectable Germans to combat this inevitability. Admiral Canaris, Carl Goerdeler, Father Mueller, the Kordt brothers, State Secretary Weizsaecker in the Wilhelmstrasse Foreign Office, Generals Beck and Halder, Colonel Oster and the other participants in the 1938-1940 phase of internal German resistance to Hitler were under no illusions. They saw that a war was in the offing which Germany would not only lose but in which untold needless suffering would result and their own country would sacrifice its character as a civilized nation. For these reasons, anything up to and including high treason seemed permissible to many of these men. As Deutsch points out, events conspired against them. A bomb was thrown in a Munich beer hall just when the group was ready to move. The result of the independent assassination attempt was tightened security precau-

tions forcing Oster to postpone his operation.

Deutsch, whose personal knowledge of the early phases of the anti-Hitler movement goes back as far as 1936, has written a thoroughly documented and gripping account of resistance at a time when Hitler's star was ascending rapidly. The plotters are entirely free of the charge leveled against them in 1944 that they were only trying to stave off certain military defeat. Deutsch treats them with unconcealed sympathy which this reviewer finds justified. For this battle against hopeless odds by a coalition of military men, politicians, civil servants, and churchmen is one of the finer chapters in the history of the "decent Germany" to use the conspirators' own expression.

—PETER SEMLER

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST HITLER IN THE TWILIGHT WAR, by Harold Deutsch. University of Minnesota Press, \$8.95.

Barbara Ward on Poverty

BARBARA WARD'S forthright views on the world's economic ills no doubt played a major role in her

selection last December as the Albert Schweitzer Professor of International Economic Development at Columbia.

Her latest published views are drawn largely from a series of lectures (the Christian Herter series) given at Johns Hopkins University four years ago. In lucidity typical of her style, Miss Ward makes it clear that the "have" nations had better help the "have nots" if any are to survive. Moreover, she points out, the effort needed to help our poorer brethren is minimal and can be refined to a simple problem of according the right priorities. The public, she suggests, and not governments *per se* hold the key:

"If citizens in each of the affluent countries were prepared to organize themselves in a pressure group to secure, say, the transfer of one per cent of the national income in genuine aid to world development and give their campaign the kind of energy and staying power the Abolitionists kept up in their day, the basic financing of foreign assistance would undoubtedly be secured before the seventies had reached the halfway mark."

This slight volume contains a series of intriguing appendices in support of Miss Ward's thesis. In the first the world's nations are compared vis-a-vis their gross national products and populations—facilitated by a listing according to economic status (very poor, poor, middle-income, and rich).

Ward admirers will find abundant idealism here while others may consider her hopes beyond 20th century realism.

—JAMES O. MAYS
THE LOPSIDED WORLD, by Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton & Co., \$3.95.

Of War and Peace

As Secretary of State Dean Rusk once observed, peace is "the question that makes pygmies of us all."

That is to say, the problems involved in putting an end to the hostilities plaguing the world for most of the first seven decades of the century are so enormous that the ablest statesman may well throw up his hands in despair. Not so, however, our writers: no year but produces its crop of earnest tomes offering formulae—ranging from the possibly practicable to the incredibly visionary—for peace. If rarely they come up with anything really new, they serve at least to keep the debate alive, which is all to the good.

Among recent entries not previously noted in these columns, William R. Kintner's "Peace and the Strategy Conflict" deserves most attention. A member of the "hardnosed" school of thinkers about US strategy, Kintner rejects out of hand the notion that the Soviet Union "seeks only to preserve its economic and technological base and has lost its ideological and expansionist ardor." He also rejects the currently fashionable concept that strategic "parity" of the two great powers is the best road to peace. He sets Russia, unchanged in her revolutionary goals, dead set on reversing "the strategic balance of power." Only by maintaining US superiority, he holds, can peace be preserved. To this end, he advocates heavily increased expenditures for weapons, civil defense programs, and underground nuclear testing.

Kintner does not write for the summer vacation reader. His book, heavily documented and tightly reasoned, makes hard going. But he is, as always, worth reading. Whether you agree with him or not, he will make you think.

Two other volumes may be dealt with more briefly. In "The Quest for Peace Through Diplomacy," Stephen D. Kertesz, onetime Hungarian diplo-

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"I'm just going for water, m'am. We ran out of soda."

mat now lecturing at Notre Dame, argues that traditional diplomatic methods are today obsolete; but when in his final chapter he comes to consider "the world task of Western diplomacy" he largely recommends that we simply do more of what we are doing—relying more heavily, perhaps, on international organizations. Frankly, I found the book dull, superficial, and in some matters naive. . . . M. T. Mehdi's outsized pamphlet "Peace in the Middle East" offers this simplistic formula: let American Jewry finance the departure from Palestine of all the Israelis who wish to leave for their countries of origin or for the United States, those who choose to stay to be merged into a "joint Jewish-Christian-Moslem" state. A trifle Utopian, to put it mildly.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

PEACE AND THE STRATEGY OF CONFLICT, by William R. Kintner. Praeger, \$6.95.

THE QUEST FOR PEACE THROUGH DIPLOMACY, by Stephen D. Kertesz. Prentice-Hall, \$4.95.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by M. T. Mehdi. New World Press, \$1.50.

American Take-Over

SOMEWHAT in the genre of an exposé, this sad and rather repetitious book is all about American economic imperialism.

In simplistic terms it sets forth the thesis that Britain's alarming economic dissolution by American "infiltration" is leading to total political dependency on the United States. What is needed is a new wave of nationalism along Gaullist lines; a highly protectionist policy (preferably within the EEC); heavy government subsidies of British industries; and other forms of discrimination against US interests. Britain was naive and trusting under both Tories and Labour, hence she lost her liberty: the Americans "took over."

The strident tone and certain assumptions of the authors will irritate many: ". . . what Big Daddy [the US] says, goes." The book is provincial and not as penetrating or responsible as J.-J. Servan-Schreiber's "The American Challenge" which deals with the same problem from a French point of view. But the anguish in the argument cannot be ignored. The nature and extent of American influence in Western Europe is being hotly debated and this book will be cited widely by critics of the US. Written by two working journalists, it is very quotable.

—LUREE MILLER

THE AMERICAN TAKE-OVER OF BRITAIN, by James McMillan and Bernard Harris. Hart Publishing Co., \$5.95.

Dynamics of Modernization

IT is natural to read with particular enthusiasm the work of a former State Department colleague. In this case, the enthusiasm is justified and rewarded. During the early World War II years Cy Black worked on post-war planning in the Department's Division of Territorial Studies. Towards the end of the war he went to Sofia with a small group to reopen our Legation there. He later returned to academic pursuits at the History Department in Princeton.

This book is short, less than 200 pages, exemplifying the rule that really important books are brief. In seeking to understand the modernization process it is grappling with perhaps the single most significant element of contemporary existence. Professor Black discerns seven patterns of modernization and catalogues all political entities under these patterns.

He brings a historian's depth of knowledge and perspective. The conceptual framework is much profounder and more subtle than, for instance, in Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth" which is admittedly in a narrower focus. Particularly valuable in Black's book are the historian's *aperçues* in understanding past and present as well as envisaging prospects for a modern world. There are also suggestive and helpful insights for policymakers in the final chapter entitled "Modernization and Policy."

A general work of this kind can be read profitably by all officers, Department, FSO and AID. Perhaps it should be read particularly by those in the boondocks because it will bring a meaningful context to their labor.

—HOWARD TRIVERS

DYNAMICS OF MODERNIZATION, by Cyril E. Black. Harper Torchbook, \$1.60.

The Administration Record

MOST books of presidential speeches are more reference books than public affairs readers. What makes this a shining exception are the essays which lead off the book's subdivisions. Thus, in addition to Lyndon Johnson, we hear from Chester Bowles, David Lilienthal, Walt Rostow, Walter Heller, McGeorge Bundy, editor Burns, and others.

As the Foreword admits, the book was essentially finished before Mr. Johnson's withdrawal from the 1968 presidential race (though his withdrawal speech is included). In many ways, this makes both the essays and the speeches better reading. They were obviously prepared and chosen to argue the administration's case to

the American people in current, political terms rather than as something now virtually history.

The best of the essays are Heller's on economics, Rostow's on foreign affairs, and Burns' on Johnson's contributions to the presidency. If we do not sense the rising estrangement between administration and public over Vietnam, we do get a feel for the more lasting accomplishments of the past five-plus years, most of which will be with us after the Vietnam spectre has passed from the scene.

Foreign Affairs personnel will find the book useful not only as a Johnsonian self-assessment, but also as a quick review of what government's been about for the past five years.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

TO HEAL AND TO BUILD: *The Programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson*, edited by James McGregor Burns. McGraw-Hill.

Diplomatic Fiasco

ACCORDING to the two Los Angeles TIMES correspondents who wrote this book, the ineptitude, disorganization or plain ham-handedness of the Administration in general and the Department of State in particular have, during the last four years, fouled up several opportunities for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam. Bombing the wrong places at the wrong time seems to be the major cause of these diplomatic fiascos, according to Kraslow and Loory.

The principal example of opportunities missed through bombing, the case of "Marigold," dominates the book. The authors describe "Marigold" as an effort to begin negotiations through Polish intermediaries both in Warsaw and Saigon which was thwarted by bombing raids in the Hanoi area during December 1966. Much of the book is obviously taken from news accounts and public documents; however, quite a bit of it is written to give the impression that the authors have revealed a great deal of what transpired behind the scenes. Since this reviewer was never privy to much of anything on these matters, it is impossible for him to judge the reliability of these parts. Nevertheless, one still gets the impression that it couldn't have been all that simple.

It is rather fun running into so many old friends and colleagues in one book. Actually most of them don't come off too badly. It's the system, not necessarily the players, that the authors are after.

—WILLIAM L. STEARMAN

THE SECRET SEARCH FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM, by David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory. Random House, \$5.95.

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THUNDER ON THE LEFT (Continued from page 25)

—a new establishment—in a sequence that took as long as fifty years in Russia or Mexico. Such hitherto has been the mottled prospect before the enthusiast.

But now he sees a new vista. It is precisely an effort to keep up the revolutionary momentum that is happening in China. The regime has called in the new generation to revive the fervor of the old, and one may foresee indefinitely into the future that cleansings and renovations of this sort will—or should—periodically follow. The costs to order and production must be reckoned up with the gain.

The fascination of Cuba for the intellectual is that he sees in it similarly a live revolution. Its momentum is unimpaired and the course of its cycle still undetermined. Not questioning that gains are already made, reformist elements throughout Latin America feel they can anticipate still more to come, though they may not be sure just what.

For, in the end, who can agree on the details of the New Jerusalem—but who cannot agree on the pleasures of the journey thither? It is plain that we want political participation somehow by all people, and economic benefits for all people. But how it is to be done, how, indeed, these goals are to be reconciled with the exigencies of the violent convulsions through which society must pass to attain them—these questions are another matter. Latin American intellectuals are satisfied to know only that, once the present structure is broken, affairs will move at least for a while with an clan in which the eager and the idealistic—and the impatient—can feel swept along and involved. One need know only that, though the cycle thus set going will certainly lead to a new status quo, another frozen equilibrium, it will have raised that status one step higher on the cosmic ladder toward an ultimate society which will elicit from every man the full exercise of his best talents.

Such, then, is the shape of intelligent discontent in Latin America, combining frustration over blocks in the way of change, disbelief in the possibility of political gradualism, thirst for the intoxication of fervor, acceptance nonetheless of a sort of secular gradualism in the slow generational spiral from establishment to slightly better establishment, and in the end devotion to an ultimate apocalypse as vague as it is glowing.

And what does all this mean for us? In the minds of people so disposed, the

US is clearly altogether untrustworthy—or rather only too manifestly to be trusted to turn up always on the side of the establishment, the military, and the government. If the US really meant what it professes about desiring significant social change in Latin America, it could not conscientiously deal with a single present Latin American government. Why has the US never tried to deal directly with the groups that actually embody the principle of change? To object that government has to deal through government convinces no one. It must be possible to find some way to achieve direct relations between US social resources and the representatives of change. Socialists do it and are welcomed. It is up to the US, these people say without helpful suggestions, to find non-governmental ways of putting itself on the side of non-governmental angels—and they pay no regard to the difficulties the US would face in selecting particular political shades from among the bewildering variety of angelic plumage.

So it is that these thinkers conjure up a faceless future, specifying only that it will be reached through blood and fire, and then reprehend the US for not putting its money on that prospect. We might as well recognize that in their bi-polar concept they have simply effaced the middle ground which is our accustomed area of maneuver. These people prefer means to ends; it is more important to feel a subjective frenzy of revolutionary spirit than to accomplish a particular objective program. In short, the chief positive content in this pattern of thinking is not advance in a clearly marked direction but hasty motion away from a sharply felt frustration. It may be that in the furious speed of the modern world this political cocktail fits better than the thoughtful draught of beer; at very least we must expect it to be preferred in certain places at certain times, and perhaps especially so in Latin America where opposition and violence traditionally flourish. Certainly we should heed in these doctrines the light they shed on the facts of reactionary intransigence. Yet in Latin America too the weight of intellectuals does not always measure up to their clamor, and many groups exist whose attitudes they by no means represent. In the end, I take the liberty of thinking that even now and even there we can usually and properly continue to pursue improvement with common sense, orderly process, and rational hope. ■

USUN (Continued from page 39)
or opinions to certain, or all other UN members.

A word should be said of the USUN building, an interesting honeycombed structure on First Avenue just across the street from the UN. In addition to the accustomed stratified offices, the building contains an auditorium seating 200 persons and a large room at the top which is used for staff meetings, conferences, briefings and official receptions. A reception lobby on the first floor and an interior courtyard complete the physical structure. In the courtyard, lobby, corridors and offices of the building are some fine paintings and sculptures either on loan from galleries in New York or gifts. The most spectacular of these is the Alexander Calder stabile in the courtyard. These cultural and decorative additions to the building have resulted from the interest and activities of Mrs. Goldberg, the wife of the former US Permanent Representative. Herself a painter, she has stirred the interest and generosity of donors and lenders in the metropolitan area.

Such is USUN—An Embassy, a branch office of the State Depart-

ment, a conference site, a continuous sitting delegation, a lively public information center. It is a true reflection of the interest and concern of our government and our people with efforts at reaching universal understanding at the UN. It is hoped that the Department will not only continue the practice of designating Bureau officers as members of General Assembly and other delegations, but will adopt as a regular practice the assignment to USUN of promising Foreign Service officers of all grades for two to four year stints as a prerequisite to their advancement in the Service. USUN assignments justify comparison to assignments to the various military service colleges, to the FSI or to the several mid-term and senior seminars. No single assignment at an Embassy abroad or in the Department, except at the very top echelon, permits a junior or even most senior officers to see and experience so diversified and important a cross section of problems vital to our national interest and our international concerns. In no other single mission will an officer receive the satisfaction of having participated so fully in so many activities of deep interest, not only to the United States,

but to the world at large. USUN itself also stands to gain from having on its staff officers with bilateral diplomatic experience, this being the rule rather than the exception with other Missions at the UN.

It is relevant that a UN assignment is not only eagerly sought by diplomats of other nations but seems to have become a prerequisite to advancement. A growing number of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors of other countries including Permanent UN Representatives have served an apprenticeship at the UN on their way up the ladder. Each year also more UN members include on their General Assembly Delegations members of their legislatures or parliaments, a practice followed by the United States since the San Francisco Conference. These legislative contacts have become a sort of bonus for diplomats of all countries serving at the UN.

Indeed, in an international sense, here is where the action is. It is hoped a wider understanding of USUN's problems and possibilities will be helpful and will encourage more US Foreign Service officers to seek assignment here. ■

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develop our story characters. Theodore Roosevelt, the Big Stick Policy, the Panamanian Revolution, General Pershing's "invasion" of Mexico, a variety of occupations by the US Marines, and the Standard Oil Company are all valuable for this purpose.

2) *The Economic Exploitation-Imperialist Strangulation Plot*—This theme contributes substantially to mood, characterization, setting and action. It is a *must* for any gringo story. This is not to say that it is necessarily the central theme, for the degree of emphasis remains optional with the writer. Among the many variations, the "terms-of-trade" plot is the easiest for the beginner to handle in a professional way and is adaptable to all situations. Using this approach, Wall Street in cahoots with the Coffee Roasters Association, and the United Fruit Company and supported by the State Department are engaged in a conspiracy to undermine Latin American economic independence. This is a clearly defined villain role. By various machinations and manipulations, they manage to force prices down for Latin American exports, such as bananas, coffee, etc., and to force prices up on US products exported to Latin America. Thus our Good Neighbors are enslaved permanently as producers of raw materials and cannot accelerate their industrialization. At the appropriate point in the narrative, the writer should punctuate his paragraphs with fairly strong references to the United Fruit Company, Standard Oil, the Rockefeller Trust, J. P. Morgan, Kellogg's Corn Flakes, Anaconda Copper, Campbell Soup Company, Sears Roebuck, American and Foreign Power, the ex-Bolivian tin barons, Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo, and other big names taken from the 30 stocks in the Dow Jones Industrial Average.

3) *Miscellaneous Themes*—Some of the minor plots are refinements of the major ones. I shall mention just a few in passing which are current and choice: The US has failed to give "aid without strings" in proper quantities to Latin America; there was no "Marshall Plan" for Latin America which proves our neglect; the US owes Latin America several billions for not paying enough for its World War II contribution, viz. selling its products to us; and the Organization of American States is really the Colonial Office of the State Department.

4) *The Story Climax*—Whatever themes, theses, and materials have been selected to this point, the writer must bring his reader to a climax in successive waves of plot development, characterization, and action. One of the best choices for this critical part of the manuscript is the Yankee embrace of Latin American dictators, or paranoiac suspicion of the Latin American democratic movements. Military equipment which we have supplied the strongarm regimes inevitably is used to prevent free elections and shoot up the democrats and liberty-lovers—an idea which solidly reinforces the basic ideas. A Chart listing "Dictators the US Has Supported" can serve as a convenient guide for your reader in this section.

III. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Your story should have a clear, not an obscure, ending. Remember that the average reader is seeking in the printed page a diversion from the cares and harsh realities of today's world. Hence, avoid a finale which is off-beat, down-beat, or too pessimistic, without sacrificing the stark shocking quality of the mood. The unanswered alternatives in the story "The Lady or the Tiger" are not far removed from what we are striving to achieve here. The following is a conclusion from one of my articles, which I have used repeatedly with some variation:

It remains to be seen whether the US can marshal its skills

and resources and alter its policies in the hemisphere with sufficient rapidity to produce large-scale reforms by evolutionary rather than revolutionary processes. Time seems to be running out.*

Perhaps the most important part of the final section of the manuscript is the set of recommendations of what the US should do about and for Latin America. In short, the story should have a positive, constructive "pitch" at the conclusion. I shall list here some of the principal ideas now in vogue among Latin Americanists to which the aspiring writer can add from time to time:

- 1) We must understand Latin America better
- 2) We must base our policy on sincere friendship and morality
- 3) We should support democracy in Latin America
- 4) We should stop supporting dictators in Latin America
- 5) We should do something to help Latin America
- 6) We should stop sending arms to Latin America
- 7) We should give more money and aid to Latin America
- 8) We should do something about Latin America
- 9) We should support social reform in Latin America
- 10) We should stop neglecting Latin America
- 11) We should make the Alliance for Progress work
- 12) We should stop intervening in Latin America
- 13) We should stop exploiting Latin America
- 14) We should help Latin America to agrarianize and industrialize
- 15) We should help Latin America to resolve its problems
- 16) We should do something about Latin America
- 17) We should help Latin Americans help themselves ■

*From my article "Fidel Castro and the Future," PROBLEMS OF POLITICIZATION, May, 1963, p. 272.

VIET CONG PROPAGANDA (Continued from page 21)

that this order comes from the Party and Uncle [Ho] but to say that it comes from the Front."

One especially striking example of the two faces of the Viet Cong occurred on two consecutive days. A Liberation Front Radio broadcast in English on December 20, 1966 described the Front's foreign policy as "independent and neutral." On the previous day, however, NFLSV delegate to Peking, Tran Van Thanh, enunciated Front policy in far from neutral terms in a speech broadcast by Radio Peking:

The liberation of our fatherland is a contribution to the national liberation movement of the whole world . . . The SVN people take the task of defeating US imperialism in SVN as support for the people of Laos, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Congo. . . . If the US . . . can be defeated in SVN, it will be possible to defeat it anywhere in the world.

The communists' world-wide propaganda effort on the Vietnam war is probably greater and better coordinated than any other propaganda campaign in history. The propaganda din is well calculated to confuse. Contributing to public confusion is the dearth of news reporting from communist areas where few reporters are admitted, while some 500 foreign newsmen of at least 20 nations freely observe and report virtually all that transpires in South Vietnam. It becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between the propaganda-induced arguments and the normal differences of opinion about national policy, strategy, and tactics. The individual citizen is saddled with an awesome task of differentiating between fact and propaganda fiction, a distinction necessary to the safeguarding of American democratic processes. ■

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FOREIGN BANKS AND DEVELOPING NATIONS (Continued from page 24)

throughout the free world side-by-side with national banks which would, of course, be most closely in contact with the local finances of their own countries. Such an arrangement would provide the benefits of two financial systems. In the first, a worldwide system, international private banks would draw resources from areas where capital accumulation exceeded capital needs and would make such capital available to other areas where capital needs exceeded available local capital. The large international banks by accepting deposits in some areas and making loans in others, would perform the very useful function of allocating resources to areas where they were most needed. These international private banks would thus help to bridge the gap between national boundaries. Without them, the capital available to each nation would be nearly limited to its own capital accumulation. Without this bridge, the development potential for countries with low capital accumulation would be reduced, even though such countries might offer productive investment opportunities.

Alongside these international banks, local banks, in addition to handling local business, would perform such essential functions as providing the knowledge and understanding of local practices and investment needs in their individual countries.

Actually, the private financial community of the free world already has many aspects of this ideal combination. In most countries of the free world, there are local offices of large international banks as well as an active and, in fact, dominant local banking system. No city could become a great international financial center without both types of banking. In New York City, there are over 60 foreign banks operating actively in the local community along with the large and small US banks of that city. This is particularly interesting as it refutes the often-heard statement that small local banks cannot compete with large international banks. In New York City, the branches of foreign banks, which are relatively small by New York standards, find ample opportunity to expand their operations in the New York market in competition with the very large US banks operating there.

London, too, is characterized by a highly developed mixture of international British banks, local British banks and local branches of foreign international banks. European capitals have tended to be dominated by local banks, and the foreign international banks have been slow in finding a place for themselves there. Now this is changing rapidly and the European capitals are also assuming the characteristics of a mixed local and international private banking community.

The developing countries have been alert to the importance of providing a channel for capital to flow into their country through the international private banking community. Almost without exception, these countries have welcomed international banks. Current exceptions are Egypt, Cuba, Indonesia and Costa Rica. Under their present forms of government, Egypt and Cuba are not likely to change their position. Indonesia, however, is currently revising its banking law to welcome foreign international banking. The matter is a strong political issue in Costa Rica, where the country is coming to appreciate the extent to which its exclusion of foreign banks may deprive it of needed foreign capital.

Under the conditions suggested at the outset of this section, the distinction between local and international banks would become less important and the two would operate smoothly side by side in the economic development of the country in which they are operating. We believe that this ideal situation is, indeed, already becoming a reality in many parts of the world.

25 YEARS AGO

OCTOBER 1943

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Growing

Amid the rapid war-time expansion of the Foreign Service, George Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State, took a look back. To diners at the 30th National Foreign Trade Convention in New York on October 26, 1943, he said that at the peak during World War I there were 537 Foreign Service officers; in 1937 there were 816. By October 1943 there were 839 regular and 438 Auxiliary officers and 2,870 regular and 493 Auxiliary clerks in the Foreign Service. In 1943 the Department of State in Washington had a staff of 3,000 in offices and divisions costing 7.5 million per annum compared with 209 persons costing \$318,000 in 1913.

Second Growth

The Honorable Sheldon T. Mills writes from Santa Barbara about his two assignments in New Delhi. He arrived for the first one late in 1943 and replaced Norris Haselton. George Merrell was in charge in the absence of the President's Personal Representative. The other officers were Clayton Lane, Lampton (Dick) Berry, and Adrian Colquitt. Soon James Speer replaced Berry. It had been agreed with the British that the staff would be small and would not have diplomatic titles. India was not then independent. Consular services performed in New Delhi had to be recorded as extended by the Consulate General in Calcutta so one officer was carried at the same time as Vice Consul in Calcutta.

"Of course Americans sent to India by Uncle Sam were far from being in short supply. The rear echelon of the China-Burma-India theatre was in New Delhi and the US military element in the theatre grew to something like 220,000. Perhaps the next biggest contingent was the group of 50 American officials with Lend-Lease, which included Andrew Corry, the minerals expert later made Attaché. The OWI under Ralph Block must have had 15 or 20 Americans while the War Shipping Administration in Bombay had half a dozen. The Consulate General in Calcutta had a larger staff than New Delhi, while the Consulate in Bombay was just as large and those in Madras and Karachi only slightly smaller.

In due course Jim Speer was replaced by Glen Abbey, then later by Tom Weil. In the early fifties, Corry, Weil, and I found ourselves in New Delhi for a second tour of duty. This time we were in an Embassy with some 63 officials listed in our section of the Government of India diplomatic list."

For two of the three years of Sheldon Mills' first assignment in New Delhi, the head of the mission was the Honorable William Phillips, Personal Representative of the President. But Sheldon never met him. He spent only a few months in India, before Shelley's assignment. Two letters that he wrote to the President at a time when it seemed that a grant of independence to India would prove beneficial to the war effort found their way into the hands of Drew Pearson and were published. Mr. Phillips never returned to New Delhi.

Exchange of Persons

The second exchange of civilian Japanese for American and other civilians interned by Japan took place in Mormugao in Goa in October 1943. The *Teia Maru* with 1,236 American repatriates and about 265 nationals of Canada and other



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American Republics docked there October 15. The passengers included 492 Protestant and 162 Roman Catholic missionaries. The Catholics represented 18 orders of priests and 12 orders of nuns. Among the Americans were the Foreign Service contingent, headed by Nathaniel P. Davis, interned in Manila since December 1941: Mr. and Mrs. George Abbott and their daughter Ann, Claude Buss (of the High Commissioner's office), Robert Burton, John Coffey, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Constan, E. W. A. Hoffman, Mr. and Mrs. C. Porter Kuykendall, Horatio T. Mooers, Lloyd N. Parks, Mr. and Mrs. Karl Rankin, Samuel Sokobin, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Steintorf, Charles H. Stephan, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Whitaker and their children, Paul, Andrea and Gretchen. Gretchen was born on the *Teia Maru*. Americans from China included Carl Mydans of TIME-LIFE and his wife and Emily Hahn.

The *Gripsholm* docked at Mormugao the next day with some 1,330 Japanese civilians and quantities of relief supplies, medicine, and mail for American and other prisoners of war and interned civilians. The supplies had been provided by the American and the Canadian Red Cross and other organizations. Transfer of these supplies was one of the time-consuming operations of the exchange. Just before the exchange, Vice Consul Wagner had come over from Bombay with clerks Warden and Iyer to join Austin R. Preston, Consul General, and Ray L. Thurston, and Mrs. Kleven. The advance arrangements they made and those made by committees on board the ships expedited the dockside and office operations of the exchange, including promissory notes, passengers' messages, welfare and whereabouts inquiries, transfers of baggage, and allocation of cabins. On October 21 the *Teia Maru* left for Singapore and Japan and the *Gripsholm* sailed the next day for Port Elizabeth, Rio de Janeiro and Jersey City.

Only 25 Years Ago

A delayed despatch dated October 2, 1943, to the NEW YORK TIMES reported from Partisan Brigade Headquarters in Yugoslavia that the Commander in Chief of the Partisan army resisting the Germans was a revered figure, Josip Broz, known as Drug (Comrade) Tito, reputed to be a veteran of the Republican army in the Spanish civil war. The report said that he had welded his guerrillas into a tightly disciplined and hotly idealistic force and that they were in two groups, the Narodna Oslobodilacka Vojska—National Liberation Army—and the Partizanski Odredi Jugoslavize—Jugoslav Partisan detachments, the one fighting as an army, the other operating where there was no front and wearing red stars on their uniforms and painting the hammer and sickle on the walls of their headquarters.



A daughter, Sarah Elizabeth, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur L. Richards on October 10, 1943, in Pretoria, where her father was Second Secretary at the Legation. Sarah grew up with her parents during assignments of her father to Tehran, Istanbul and the Department. She attended the Holton Arms School in Washington. After graduating there she entered Chatham College in Pittsburgh. Soon after graduating from Chatham she married John Nurminen, a graduate of Carnegie Tech. He is a candidate for a Ph.D. in metallurgy. Sally is teaching mentally retarded children and her husband has a position in a nuclear research laboratory. They live just outside Pittsburgh.

After retiring two years ago following service as Ambassador to Ethiopia and then United States Deputy at Geneva with rank of Ambassador, Arthur joined the Meridian House Foundation and has been very busy with international visitors. He served as Executive Director of the Washington International Center until last June, when he replaced the Honorable Andrew Berding as head of the Center.



BY HELEN KINDLER BEHRENS

Shelley Getchell, who had been with her husband, Jack, in Saigon when he served with USIS there in 1958, was on a return visit three years later in transit to another post. At tea with a new friend, she was served a familiar cake—familiar because she had contributed the recipe to a pamphlet of American dishes suitable for Vietnamese kitchens which had been put together by the post wives for a Christmas bazaar. Delighted, Shelley turned to her hostess and said, "This is perfect; where did your cook . . ." "Oh, he got the recipe from the neighbor's cook who got it from his cousin," Shelley's hostess interrupted. "All the Vietnamese make this; it's quite the typical local dessert!" And she beamed, pleased at having introduced an Asian culinary specialty to the visitor.

WALNUT STAR CAKE

- 2 egg yolks, unbeaten
- ½ cup egg whites (4-5 eggs)
- 1 cup plus 2 tablespoons sifted cake flour
- ¾ cup granulated sugar
- 1½ teaspoons baking powder
- ½ teaspoon salt
- ¼ cup salad (vegetable) oil
- ¼ cup plus 2 tablespoons water
- 1 teaspoon vanilla extract
- ½ teaspoon almond extract
- ¼ teaspoon cream of tartar
- 1 square (1 oz. or 4 tablespoons) grated unsweetened chocolate
- ½ cup finely chopped walnuts

Set out yolks and whites from refrigerator one hour ahead of time. Preheat oven to 325°. Sift together into a large bowl the flour, sugar, baking powder, and salt. Make a well in the center of the flour mixture and pour into it the salad oil, yolks, water, and vanilla and almond extracts. Beat with a wooden spoon until very smooth. Beat the egg whites with the cream of tartar at high speed on an electric mixer, or with hand mixer or whisk, until they hold very stiff peaks. Pour the yolk-flour batter gradually over the whites, folding with spatula or flat spoon until it is just blended. Gently fold in grated chocolate and nuts, being careful not to stir.

Pour into ungreased star-shaped mold (9" x 5" x 3" loaf pan, or tube mold with 5½ cup capacity,) to within ½" of the top; (pour remainder of batter mixture into individual casseroles.) Bake large mold 45 minutes, smaller molds 30 minutes, or until top springs back when pressed with finger.

Invert pans, leave until cold. Carefully run a dull knife or metal spatula around edges to loosen. Invert pans again, strike edges sharply on table edge so cakes will drop out—into the serving dish I hope you are holding there. Sift confectioner's sugar over top of cake when ready to serve.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

Con . . .

I find it difficult to understand why readers of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL should be subjected to the incredible distortions of American history in which Mr. Tristram Coffin, in opposing US policy and action in Vietnam, engages in his article in the July issue. It is to be hoped that members of the Foreign Service have either been taught, or otherwise learned, enough of the history of their country to recognize for what they are such threadbare oversimplifications and exaggerations of American history, viewpoints that find nothing but sordidness in the foreign policies our leaders have fashioned and our people have supported. Our backing of the concept of independence in the New World in the 19th century, our conviction that aggression should be stopped before it obliterates freedom, and our efforts to help others to help themselves may be "folklore," but the state of the world would be a lot sorer even than it is if we had not pursued them.

The JOURNAL should certainly be open to differing expressions of responsible opinion, but that particular article does not seem to meet any test of responsibility except the author's own prejudices.

EDWARD A. JAMISON
Monterey

. . . and Somewhat Pro

I would like to congratulate the JOURNAL on its July, 1968 issue. It would appear that either there has been a change in JOURNAL policy as to the type and slant of its articles, or this was just a very unusual issue. I hope it is the former.

As one of the JOURNAL's "captive audience" (people who joined the Association in order to take advantage of the low insurance rates offered members) I must admit that I have usually been impressed more by the magazine's cover than what I found inside. If the State Department can be termed a "Fudge Factory" then it might not be too inaccurate to call the JOURNAL a magazine of fudge-making recipes. The articles, at least in my opinion, have too often dealt with esoteric subjects which were of inter-

est only to Ambassadors and high-ranking FSOs. This, together with the diplomatese language used, often resulted in stodgy reading.

The JOURNAL was no doubt originally designed as a trade journal. However, today more than ever the magazine is read by low-on-the-totem pole FSOs and an ever-growing number of FSSOs, most of whom are not particularly interested in how to make fudge, but who *are* interested in reading knowledgeable views on timely subjects, such as Frederick E. Nolting's "The Turning Point."

The key adjectives would be, I believe: controversial, provocative, informative. Tristram Coffin's article is another excellent example. While I do not necessarily agree with Mr. Coffin's views (any more than I agree with the subtle anti-Vietnam war theme that appears to have been woven into this issue) I found the article well worth reading.

Anyway, here's to the liberalization of the regime. May it last longer than Czechoslovakia's.

J. WAYNE HANKS
Manila

It Will Make a Great Movie

NOVELS based on State Department remaining still somewhat of a rarity, perhaps one more comment on Galbraith's "The Triumph" would not be inappropriate.

This lightweight exercise demonstrates the author's command of the professional writer's bag of tricks and provides a pleasant bit of summer reading in a class with James Bond. I imagine it was hacked out as a lark—not without profit, of course, between more scholarly endeavors.

I agree with Carlton Coon's excellent assessment (JOURNAL, July, 1968) but would hesitate to characterize "The Triumph" as "gargantuan" in any respect, even as to its spoof-like qualities.

The story is heavily embroidered with detail from life in State and the Foreign Service. Galbraith thus contrives a degree of verisimilitude, but his over-exaggeration, the facile "surprise" ending, and the wooden stereotypes filling his novel deprive it of serious significance. The "people are not perfect" formula is very handy and can be applied with equal facility to almost any organization after brief familiarization. Harvard and various learned societies would provide suitable settings. Others have fitted it to the United Nations and divers elements of the US Government. Perhaps we will soon see adaptations of the theme to the Politburo and the Curia, if indeed they have not already appeared.

State is not perfect, foreign policy formulation can be improved, and corrective efforts are needed. But until the Department, together with the entire structure of government, is dehumanized by a computer takeover, we will have to make do somehow with people and their manifold imperfections.

It will make a great movie.

GEORGE KIRK

Washington

It Will Make a Great Movie No. II

THE review in your August, 1968 issue by Robert W. Rinden of "Our Own Worst Enemy" by William J. Lederer has just come to my attention. If you have not seen it, I respectfully draw it to your attention.

Mr. Rinden is, of course, perfectly entitled to dislike the book and to say so in his review. I suspect that it is, distressingly, to be expected that the Foreign Service JOURNAL would take exception to "Our Own Worst Enemy." However, I wonder if a review which is so childishly patronising, while completely failing to divulge the contents and theme of the book, is doing your readers a service. Since a vast majority of the public press and a great many individual experts have praised "Our Own Worst Enemy," I should think Mr. Rinden at the very least might have tried to supply the Foreign Service JOURNAL with a substantive rebuttal.

I realize that I write this letter from what must seem to be a very biased position but I trust you will give the matter some thought anyhow. An argument *ad hominem* such as Mr. Rinden's does the Foreign Service JOURNAL no service.

ERIC P. SWENSON, Vice President
W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.
New York

I am sorry about Mr. Swenson's distress over my book review and I do wish he wouldn't take on so. His agitation does seem excessive; after all, it isn't as though Hollywood had refused to buy the film rights. (Remember Marlon Brando as the Ambassador in "The Ugly American?")

Since Mr. Swenson didn't write the book, he must be upset at the thought of lost sales. Actually, my failure to review the book at length wouldn't affect its sale among JOURNAL readers, for Lederer's theme and his writings are well known throughout the Foreign Service. Well known—but not favorably. So, as of some comfort (if a bit on the cold side), it is clear that no damage has been done: the book wouldn't sell anyway—even if highly touted by this reviewer.

ROBERT W. RINDEN

Once again an increase in benefits

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A Prayer for LaVerne Baldwin

I know his many colleagues are aware of the sudden demise this summer of LaVerne Baldwin, retired officer of the Foreign Service. A remarkable, a wonderful man was this servant of God and I say so not only because I was his brother-in-law and knew him well.

At the funeral services held for Mr. Baldwin in Salisbury, Connecticut on July 17th last, I offered the prayer enclosed.

FRANCIS B. SAYRE, JR.

Washington

Ahmighty God whose loving hand hath given us all that we cherish, accept the thanksgiving we lift to thee for the strong and humble life which we have been blessed to share upon this Earth.

Earth he loved, who dug her soil and planted until the forest became a garden of quiet and tranquility; mountain and swift stream was he wont to explore, his soul kindling to the wild strength of weather and untouched places. Thy handiwork he revered, who sought ever to discern among men those laws of peace and truth wherein lies the honor of service to a nation. To teach and to learn was his companionship with Thy creation—and with us to whom he gave his friendship so openly.

O God, such holy gifts as these Thou dost not destroy; grant that as we treasure them in our hearts, Thou wilt make them to bloom in Eternity. So may we never be far distant from him who on earth bore Thy image, and through whom we beheld a wisp of Thy glory—which now we beseech may surround us all—him and us, through Jesus Christ our Redeemer Lord.

Is Congress Susceptible?

SO now we know who the professionals are. I mean our own journal, on the editorial page (FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, July '68, "What is Wrong with Us?"), has informed us that they are "the National Rifle Association and a handful of magazines dedicated to the sale of guns and ammunition." They are so "highly organized" and presumably skillful (organization alone is hardly enough) that in spite of the will of the people, they prevail upon Congress to do their bidding. State Department personnel, active and retired, have for years been attempting to persuade Congress, with admittedly less than outstanding success, to do or not do a great many things. And this frequently when the cause was good and the people's support presumably great.

Most members of Congress try to be re-elected. To be re-elected, they

usually vote in a way acceptable to their constituents. Does it occur to our FSJ editorial writer that perhaps they have a little better understanding of the accuracy of the polls than he has and that perhaps they are a little more skilled in locating the public's position on a subject than he? Did he consider the possibility that his emotional involvement with the recent sad assassinations has, perhaps, distorted his thinking on the subject of the existing legislative situation as it pertains to gun control laws?

It would seem that an accurate analysis of the situation would lead one to the conclusion that Congress is less susceptible to being carried away by emotionalism than some editors. Instead of its being a case of a handful of gun lovers being that much more effective and persuasive than our own Department's professionals, isn't it possible Congressmen understand what the public wants better than our editorial writer or Mr. Harris?

Incidentally, how many have been asked the question the writer anticipates? What is his suggested response?

HARRIS H. HUSTON

Curacao

A Heartfelt Apology to Mr. Hoffmann

I have been informed that the July issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL carried a report of my death.

Since, as Mark Twain has said, such a report is grossly exaggerated, I would appreciate it very much if you would let your readers—and those of my former colleagues who still

remember me—know that I am very much alive and hope to remain so for many years to come.

WALTER W. HOFFMANN
Cambridge, Mass.

All We Need . . .

CONGRATULATIONS on the excellent editorial in your August issue!

Is there any way we can bring to the attention of the highest levels of the new Administration that a truly professional Foreign Service is sorely needed, but cannot come into being under the traditional system of appointing ambassadors?

All we need is a sympathetic President and Secretary.

KARL L. RANKIN
South Bridgton, Maine

Irony

THE June issue of your subsidized competitor, the Department of State NEWSLETTER, contains apparently unconscious irony which might be found amusing.

On page 19, there was an article on the Department's further restrictions on travel by foreign flag carriers which state "the regulations on air travel followed by about a month the issuance of regulations curbing the use of ships by STATE, AID and USIA personnel." Then, on page 44, there is a large photograph of Ambassador and Mrs. H. Gardner Ackley arriving in Naples "after an Atlantic crossing on the *T/V Michelangelo*."

WALLACE E. WOODBURY
Santiago



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Among Our Contributors

DR. CHESTER A. BAIN, chairman of the Operations Support Branch, Vietnam Training Center, FSI, began his special interest in Vietnam in 1952 when he became Indochina Analyst at the Office of Naval Intelligence. Subsequently he did his Ph.D. on Vietnamese history at American University and worked with Dr. Bernard Fall on the first draft of the US Army Handbook on Vietnam. Dr. Bain first visited Vietnam in 1958 while he was an Associate Professor of Asian History at Illinois State University. The following year he joined USIA, serving in Tehran, Seoul and Saigon. Since his return to the States he has been engaged full time in research and writing on Vietnam. His book "Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict" was published by Prentice-Hall last year.

The three poems from NILES W. BOND's "Elegos" (published in Brazil late last year) were translated into the Portuguese by Mrs. H. Reid Bird, whose husband is now Consul in Salvador. Mr. Bond has been writing for nearly 20 years but "had never published anything until two or three years ago when the extraordinarily high degree of receptivity to poetry in this most poetic of countries led me to be persuaded to publish my first book. Since the first one was very well received, the second was only a matter of time. And thus my private vice has become public property."

LAWRENCE MARLEY is a Latin American historian and occasional free-lance writer. His major writing interest is contemporary satire.

JUAN D. SANCHEZ, is a senior vice president of First National City Bank and heads the Caribbean Group of the Overseas Division, which supervises the bank's operations in Mexico, Central America, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, the West Indies and the Bahamas. Mr. Sanchez served as a naval

officer in World War II and joined Citibank in 1947. He is a director of the Americas Foundation and the Bolivarian Society of the US.

JOHN J. SCHULTER is currently Labor Advisor in the Trade Union Exchange Programs Division of the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor. He served as Labor Consultant to the European Productivity Center of the OEEC in Paris and Labor Advisor to the American Aid Mission to Austria. His greatest achievement, he records, was his ability to survive as a CIO labor organizer in the South from 1938-1955, a service only broken by three years in the Army where he served as a combat correspondent.

GRETA NEWMAN makes a second appearance as the JOURNAL's cover artist. Mrs. Newman is the wife of FSO Joseph K. Newman and has exhibited in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Paris, London and the Washington area.

JOHN M. CATES, JR. is Counsellor for Liaison Affairs at the US Mission which he joined five years ago as Latin American Adviser. Previous assignments have been in Germany, Mexico, Venezuela, twice in the Department and the National War College. He served on delegations to UN General assemblies, ECOSOC and its Commissions; six specialized UN agencies and the OAS Council.

ROBERT D. MOESER, who contributed the Vietnamese photographs to this issue, draws on more than 20 years' experience as military photographer and writer. He is a retired Navy Chief Journalist, now employed with the Department of Labor and serving as a contributing editor to GOVERNMENT PHOTOGRAPHY. Mr. Moeser is writing a book on the practical side of photographic journalism.

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\$ 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	\$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	\$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		
\$ 8,500	\$127.00		
\$ 8,700	\$129.80		
\$ 8,900	\$132.60		
\$ 9,100	\$135.40		
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