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EDITORIALS

The Challenge of the Next Fifty Years

IN this Fiftieth Anniversary issue, articles by a number of distinguished contributors perhaps will impress some readers as being extensions of that rash of analysis and self-analysis which has been a favorite pastime of the Foreign Service in recent years. If so, that was our aim, for we believe a most useful purpose is served by a running discourse on where the Foreign Service has been, where it is going and how it will get there. This belief, of course, was not always in evidence; indeed, an "epic poem" in these pages reminds us that the JOURNAL was allowed to be born fifty years ago only on the condition that it exclude "tendentious talk" from its contents. Moreover, recalls James Barclay Young, every page had to be read and approved by Assistant Secretary of State Wilbur Carr. We trust this issue then, like the Association and the profession it represents, demonstrates progress away from these limited beginnings.

Some of our contributors offer critical views, in historical perspective, of American diplomacy, its practitioners, and its organization. This anniversary issue, hopefully, will leave the reader with more than hindsight called up in tranquility. Historic reminiscence and reflection, while mirroring the past, also have their lesson for the future. For the Foreign Service, in particular, should look ahead and not behind. Indeed, the President and the Secretary of State have issued just such a challenge to the Department and to the Foreign Service, a challenge to play the leading role they should in influencing and implementing United States Foreign Policy. How we meet that challenge will also determine whether or not the Foreign Service will attract and hold officers of the quality it seeks and deserves.

The challenge was inherent in remarks made by the President when, early in his Administration, he visited the Department and addressed a large gathering of officers. He used the occasion to express his high regard for their professional merits and emphasized his full recognition of the importance of their task. At the same time, he reiterated a plea for independent thinking, for the expression of dissenting and divergent views, and for the articulation of constructive criticism.

It was a challenge that was evident, too, in messages sent by the Secretary of State to all employees of the major foreign affairs agencies. In it he said that, in keeping with the President's views, he hoped "to lead to a receptive and open establishment where men speak their minds and are listened to on merit, and where divergent views are fully and promptly passed on for decision." In particular, he urged "the participation of our young people," and the tapping "of all the creative ideas and energies of his department."

To be completely candid about it, neither the Foreign Service nor other components of the foreign affairs community have earned as high marks in the past as they could for their creativity, imagination, or constructive utilization of dissent. That this should be true despite the talent, dedication, and capability of most of the individuals in their ranks, is a paradox of no small dimensions.

Progressive business management has long been aware that what motivates people is, above all, the knowledge that their ideas are recognized and the feeling that top management is willing to share responsibility. For all practical value, this awareness has not in the past been evident in the Department of State. Innumerable Foreign Service officers have felt that to oppose established policies, even (and perhaps, especially) in the areas of their particular responsibility and knowledge, is both futile and negatively rewarded. Dissenting views, therefore, have rarely been transmitted intact up through the chain of command and the result has been that many officers are

frustrated and unhappy, particularly in the younger ranks.

The recommendations of the American Foreign Service Association and various of its recent efforts (the Foreign Service Days Conference, the establishment of the Harriman, Rivkin, and Herter awards) stem from a blunt realization that the foreign affairs community—with its rules, procedures and traditions—was not sufficiently equipped to perform its required tasks.

It is clear that we can not have it both ways. A high quality product for the President and the Secretary, and a passive group of professionals whose ability to say "yes" is its sole recommendation simply do not go together. There is no such thing as a talented, creative, imaginative officer who at some time does not have strong dissenting views, and who does not want on occasion to rock the boat. Obviously dissent in itself is not the criterion of an idea's merit or of an officer's worth. An officer with the courage of his convictions, however, is the key to the high quality product we need so urgently.

We, therefore, heartily welcome the challenge issued by the President and the Secretary for a more creative and imaginative Foreign Service. We hopefully predict, at this mid-century mark, that the pages of the JOURNAL during the coming years will contain more "tendentious talk" than in the past fifty. Such expressions will be the reflection of a healthy but responsible ferment in the foreign affairs community.

In Memoriam—January 1969

JANUARY was a month of losses for the world community and for the Foreign Service. This one month marked the passing of the greatest intelligence expert, the renowned philanthropist who, with her husband, gave us Dumbarton Oaks and its collections, and a popular retired ambassador, who was also a Rhodes scholar and a teacher.

The passing of Allen Dulles removes a great craftsman from the field of modern foreign relations. A true professional, he saw intelligence work as an integral part of our foreign relations. As Director of the CIA from 1953 to 1961 he took credit and blame for a wide range of activities. While one could argue about the results achieved in some cases, one must admire the bold professionalism of his approach to intelligence work.

Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, patron of the arts and widow of Ambassador Bliss, also died in January. The Bliss's gathered an impressive collection of pre-Columbian art in their famous home, Dumbarton Oaks, and were leaders in Washington society for many years. They donated ambulances to the French forces during World War I and founded the Field Ambulance Service, now the American Field Service. In 1940, after Ambassador Bliss's retirement, they decided to vacate the huge house and grounds and presented it to Harvard University as a center for Byzantine research, and it later became famous as the site of the meetings which led to formation of the United Nations.

The JOURNAL also notes with sadness the passing of Ambassador Carl Strom, who headed the Foreign Service Institute before he retired in 1961. See Frank Snowden Hopkins's tribute in Letters to the Editor.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossy 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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About this issue . . .

This 50th anniversary issue of the JOURNAL has been months in the planning and we hope our readers will consider it our golden anniversary gift to them.

Our cover was painted especially for this issue by Robert Sivard whose work is well-known through the pages of TIME, HORIZON, NEWSWEEK, many exhibitions, and, we like to think, through the many covers he has done for the JOURNAL.

The JOURNAL called on many of its former contributors and not a few former members of the Editorial Board for articles to commemorate this occasion and the response was both pleasing and stimulating. One across-the-seas item, the interview with Dr. Toynbee, caused a crisis condition in the JOURNAL offices. The first tapes and photos were sent by sea mail and, due to the embargo, have not yet arrived. The second set winged its way to us, however. We deeply regret that well-loved Dr. Edward D. Myers, our cultural attaché in London, died within weeks after doing the interview.

The JOURNAL views with pride all the material in this special, over-size issue and asks pardon for singling out a few authors. Among them is Ambassador Jefferson Caffery who sent us a communication from his retirement. "Mr. Diplomat," as Robert Foster Corrigan referred to him in his article of November, 1967, retired in 1955 after 44 years of service, almost 30 of them in chief of mission status.

Among the contributors who have served on the Editorial Board over the years are James K. Penfield, Louis J. Halle and Henry S. Villard. John Keppel, whose "Undersecretary for Functional Affairs" appears on page 50, unfortunately had his biographic note omitted from the usual place for lack of space. He writes that he has gradually been abandoning specialization in Soviet affairs in favor of his interest in the growing gap between the less-developed and the developed worlds. He spent a year doing population studies at Johns Hopkins, 1967-68, the first FSO to be given such training.

Wendell W. Blancke, who odes the JOURNAL's fifteenth on page 44, will be remembered for "The Doggerel Dip" in September, 1967. Once again, the illustrations and layout are Mr. Blancke's own.

Jack Grover, former State Department courier and now Pouch Control Officer, has files of photographs from all over the world, see "Last Boat to Dakar," page 56. Hallmark's 1969 calendar features Jack's "Far-away Wonders."

Losses to be listed in the process of working on the issue were Board Chairman Malcolm McLean, off to Guatemala as PAO, and Vice Chairman S. I. Nadler, to Ankara. They were succeeded by David T. Schneider and Archie M. Bolster, who ably continued the work on this landmark issue. Victor Olason of USIA also joined the Editorial Board during this period.

The JOURNAL also wishes to extend its thanks to the Monumental Printing Company for patiently bearing with late copy and quantities of it and dealing with it quickly and well.

In closing, the JOURNAL expects that this issue will be succeeded by others of equal interest and plans call for a special issue devoted primarily to the influence of science and technology on foreign affairs, another on Africa, and a special fall issue with accent on youth.



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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, March, 1969

A Communication from Ambassador Caffery



THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, which will celebrate its 50th anniversary this year, was founded eight years after I entered the Foreign Service. I believe that my more or less thirty years as head of a Mission is a record. My life has been closely and happily linked to the Foreign Service. A number of men who worked with me at one time or another, thirty or more perhaps, became Ambassadors. Several men served with me at various posts, one for about fifteen years, another for about nine years, two for six years. I retired as Ambassador at the age of a little past 68.

The Service today, although not in any sense perfect, is in a position to

adjust itself to meet the challenge of the world of to-day.

The efficient practice of diplomacy has basically the same requirements as it has always had but it must be prepared at all times to make adequate adjustments to meet changing conditions.

True diplomacy is an art and its objective is to convince other countries that our policies are conducive,

not only to the good of our country, but to the good of other countries of the world as well.

Our primary objective is to protect our national interests and we should endeavor to persuade other countries that, in so doing, we are protecting their interests too.

When and if we find these objectives to be unattainable, then we must do the best we can, establish priorities but never sacrifice any of our vital national interests, and if necessary take a tough and sometimes even an unbending stance.

These practices hold only in part in our relations with the Communist world. I have had pleasant and satisfactory connections with some of my

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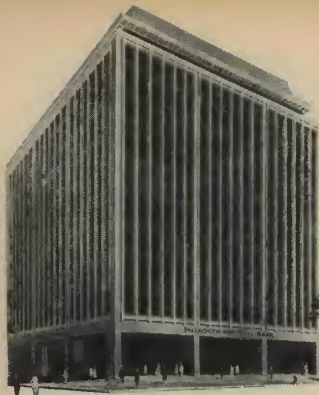
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Russian colleagues but they never forget that Communism is out to take over the world; and some of their methods are not our methods.

In the art of diplomacy the personality equation is outstandingly important. To explain this, I will refer to a few experiences at my early posts as Chief of Mission. (Experiences in France and Egypt were recent experiences.)

In Central America, I was able to persuade pertinent people to cancel an effort to set up an organization unfriendly to us.

In Colombia, I met a somewhat frigid atmosphere derived from our part in earlier days in the Panama Canal Zone. By the time I left Colombia, that atmosphere had been changed to our benefit.

When I was sent to Cuba in late 1933, the President, after telling me what he expected me to do, said, I don't know how you will do it, but remember, you get no Marines. I got no Marines but I did it.

In Brazil, soon after my arrival, I was told that Brazil was planning to join the Axis. I did what I thought I should do. Brazil did not join the Axis and, on the contrary, became convinced that their own interests would be served by allowing us to establish airbases and other facilities in North East Brazil from which vitally needed supplies were flown at critical moments to various parts of Africa. Thereafter Brazil joined the Allies and sent first rate troops to fight on our side in Italy.

Now I come to the point. I would not have been able to accomplish all that I accomplished without the cooperation of the men who worked with me; and I did have the cooperation of men of great and genuine ability.

I appreciated the talents of those men, and it mattered little whether they were high-ranking or low-ranking, if they produced satisfactory results.

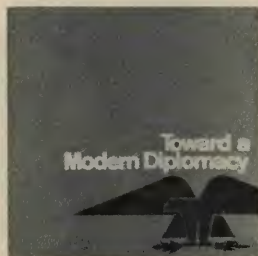
When I was Assistant Secretary in 1933 (we were four Assistant Secretaries then, I believe) I had Latin America on my own and collaborated with Carr over Personnel. I know a bit of the difficulties of a promotion system. We must be fair to all men but I do believe that, in certain cases, men of exceptional ability, should receive certain promotion facilities.

Quality is more important than quantity. I do not approve of over-staffed embassies and consulates. The men get in each other's way.

And finally, the Ambassador must never forget that he is the President's personal representative, and must act accordingly. ■

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 READING:**

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"... a new set of proposals for reform which have come, surprisingly, from within the State Department itself. The proposals are contained in a report prepared by the American Foreign Service Association, a sort of diplomatic trade union that was taken over recently by a band of Young Turks who are determined to breathe new life into the old Foreign Service."—*New York Times*, December 10.

"... A set of detailed proposals submitted, not by outside experts, but by the professional diplomats of the American foreign service—the men who both form and operate the machinery."—*Christian Science Monitor*, October 30.

"... to reorganize the State Department's organizational structure so that, in their view, State can recapture a leadership in conducting the nation's foreign affairs that it has gradually lost over the past 20 years."—*National Observer*, October 21.

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The First Japanese Embassy to the United States 1860

The arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry of the US Navy with his squadron at Uruga, Japan in July, 1853, awakened Japan from its three hundred years of self-imposed seclusion and convinced her of the vital importance of opening of diplomatic and economic relations with other nations of the world. Accordingly, Japan signed with the United States of America the Treaty of Peace and Amity at Shimoda on March 30, 1854, and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce at Yedo (Tokyo) on July 29, 1858.

In conformity with the provision in the Treaty of Amity and Commerce that its ratifications be exchanged at Washington, the Tokugawa Shogunate dispatched to the United States a special embassy of 77 members, headed by the First Ambassador Masaaki Shimmi, Lord of Buzen; the Second Ambassador Norimasa Muragaki, Lord of Awaji; and the Chief Censor Norinasa Oguri, Lord of Bungo.

The account which follows has been drawn largely from a personal diary of the historic journey by Second Ambassador Norimasa Muragaki. The diary is candid and sometimes humorous, but at the same time it reveals the reactions of the Japanese mind a hundred years ago to the first full impact of Western civilization. In addition to the human interest of the diary, the document records the beginnings of the process whereby isolated Japan became one of the great modern industrial nations of the world.

BELLS were ringing in all directions as a sign of welcoming our Embassy. From the third or fourth floor windows of the buildings, women showered bouquets upon our carriages, which we later learned to be a custom among women, intended to show their respectful welcome of us, the Embassy.

"... They told us that the city of Washington had never seen so great a crowd before! At first, we thought that they told us so merely out of courtesy; however, we later discovered that their statement was no exaggeration.



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The first Japanese Embassy to the United States—1860. The envoys receiving guests at Willard's Hotel.

"The reason for this unusual excitement was probably that the embassy from any Western country wore more or less the same kind of costume and consisted of but few members, whereas the Embassy from Japan, a country which had remained so long behind the closed door of exclusion, observed customs and manners very different from those of the Westerners and moreover consisted of as many as 80 members, including its retinue of servants."

Two days later they called on Secretary of State Lewis Cass. Acting on the suggestion of an American liaison officer that the visit would be an informal one, they "wore . . . traveling costumes and took but a few servants each."

There was an exchange of amenities with General Cass, "a tall gentleman of mature age—probably over 70—with a genial manner and dignity befitting the high position of Secretary of State."

Muragaki continues: "We were surprised to see ladies present in the government office but later learned that such was one of the customs in the United States . . . It seemed to be one of those strange customs of a foreign country, to receive foreign ambassadors without ceremony or formality but in a most friendly manner, as if they had been some old acquaintances, without offering a cup of tea even!"

Next day, May 17, 1860, they were to be brought to President Buchanan. Muragaki records in his diary that the Ambassadors "made all the necessary preparations with the utmost care. Masaoki, wearing a short sword with silk-twined scabbard, and I, with a short court sword with gold hilt, and Tadamas, bearing a sword with scabbard twined in front were dressed alike in *kariginu* (wide-sleeved ceremonial silk robes) and *eboshi* (small black headgear) with green braided cords and wore sandals woven of silk threads.

"Both Morita and Masanori Naruse wore *horoginu* (brocade ceremonial robes) while the two officers of super-

intendent's rank put on *su-o* (wide-sleeved linen court robes) and Goro Namuro, our official interpreter, was dressed in *kamishimo* (*samurai* costume) made of ramie cloth."

In open carriages-and-four, the party drove off to the White House. "The First and Second Ambassadors and the Censor each took with them three footmen, one spear-bearer, and three retainers, while Morita and Naruse were each accompanied by two retainers, one spear-bearer, and one sandal-carrier." Muragaki's account continues:

"The wide main street was literally packed with vehicles, (and) men and women who were eager to get a glimpse of our procession. I could not help smiling, finding myself feeling quite elated at representing Japan in such grand style in the foreign land; and I looked around almost proudly, even forgetful of my own ignorance, at the wonder registered in the faces of the crowd, as they pressed forward to see our party in strange costumes such as they had never seen nor could ever have imagined."

The presentation of the Japanese Ambassadors to President Buchanan was conducted twice, first in the Japanese manner, then in the Western way.

"As we approached the Audience Room," reads the Second Ambassador's chronicle, "the doors to its entrance were swung open on both sides. In the center of the room . . . stood President Buchanan flanked by high-ranking civil and military officers; at his back were seen many ladies, young and old, all attired in beautiful dresses. Having entered the room and made an obeisance, Masaoki, I, and Tadamas advanced to the center of the room. We made another obeisance and approached where the President stood.

"Masaoki delivered a short address, conveying to him the Shogun's wishes. The First Ambassador then took from a paulownia-wood casket lined in silk brocade and bound with vermilion cords, the State letter to the President, written on gold-leafed Japanese



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paper adorned with a picture of flowers and birds. He presented the letter to the President while an aide handed the casket to Secretary of State Cass. After suitable expressions of gratification, the Embassy then retired to an anteroom."

The Muragaki account continues: "As we were resting in the anteroom, Capt. Dupont came to us and asked us if the ceremony of presenting the State letter according to our customs was completed. We answered him in the affirmative. Thereupon, he conducted us again to the Audience Room.

"This time, the President gave his hand to each of us and delivered a short address to the effect that the President and the entire American nation rejoiced in establishing amicable relations with Japan for the first time since her declaration of seclusion, and particularly in receiving her first Embassy to the United States and that they were exceedingly gratified to have received the Shogun's letter of good-will."

There followed a round of parties which the Ambassadors attended—reluctantly, because they found them bewildering. One was a dinner given in their honor by the Secretary of State. Muragaki commented:

"After dinner, we were ushered into another large room, the floor of which was covered with smooth boards. In one corner, music was played on instruments which looked like fiddles. Officers in uniform with epaulets and swords and ladies dressed in robes *decolletees* of light white material and wide skirts began, couple by couple, moving around the room, walking on tiptoe to the tune of the music.

"They went 'round and 'round as nimbly as so many white mice on their monotonous walk, without even making fluttering gestures with their hands.

"I was quite amused to watch the way in which the ladies' voluminous skirts spread to an enormous proportion, as their wearers took quick turns. Upon our inquiring, we were told that this was what is called a 'waltz' and that even officials of high rank and elderly ladies, as well as young people, were very fond of this pastime. . . .

"This we were told, would continue all night. We stood there gaping at this amazing sight such as we had never seen or dreamed of. Having intimated to Captain Dupont our desire to go home, we cordially thanked our host and returned to our hotel.

"However, there would be no end to our getting embarrassed should we allow ourselves to be disconcerted by

minor transgressions on our sense of propriety. I felt, however, greatly comforted when I was brought to a full realization of the fact that with this nation the basic precept of life was drawn from neither loyalty nor etiquette but from the very spirit of friendliness.

"Ladies of this country are all fair-complexioned and beautiful, always dressed handsomely, wearing gold and silver ornaments. Although we are getting accustomed to their appearance, we find their reddish hair uninteresting, as it reminds us of canine eyes.

"We have come across, less frequently, ladies with dark hair and dark eyes. They must have been descended from some Oriental races. Naturally, they appeared to be more beautiful."

Then came the President's Banquet, at which, "considering the President's presence, we all ate and drank somewhat in a reserved manner." Muragaki continues:

"Helen (Lane), the President's niece, played the role of 'hostess' at the table, supervising everything during dinner and acting as mistress of ceremonies. So impressive was her grace and dignity that she might have been taken for the Queen and her uncle, the President, for her Prime Minister. This lady graciously invited us to partake of wine, asking numerous questions concerning our country.

"Most of her questions were very difficult for me to answer, as they were posed entirely from an American viewpoint. They were: what was the number of our Court Ladies, what were their customs and manners like, and so forth. I tried to give non-committal answers as best I could. One question she asked me was: which did we consider to be superior, the American ladies or the Japanese—a question, interesting in that it showed the familiar vein of feminine curiosity.

"When I replied that the American ladies were the more beautiful of the two with their fair complexions, she and her companions looked well-pleased. They must be of a very believing nature."

Although the fervor of the debate in the Senate had left the delegates dumbfounded, they seem to have been impressed by the general atmosphere of Washington. Muragaki wrote: "The capital city of a nation should be quiet like Washington; a thrifty way of living will then be encouraged among its citizens."

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Births

ERDOS. A son, John Christopher, born to Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Erdos, on January 4, in Washington. Mr. Erdos is DCM at Niamey.

HARWOOD. A daughter, Laura Vera, born to FSO and Mrs. Douglas J. Harwood, on November 23, in Trieste. Mr. Harwood is assigned to Kinshasa. Mrs. Harwood is the former Luciana Conti.

RITCHOTTE. A son, George Laurence, born to Mr. and Mrs. John F. Ritchotte, on November 16, in Palermo.

Marriages

SHERMAN-MALERICH. Katherine Courtney Sherman, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William C. Sherman, was married to Edward Paul Malerich, on December 20, in Nishinomiya, Japan. Mr. Sherman is serving as Consul General, Osaka-Kobe.

Deaths

ANDERSON. Carlyn F. Anderson, AID, died on December 15, in Falls Church. Mr. Anderson was a program officer in Sweden during the Marshall Plan (1951) and later served as a program officer in Taipei and La Paz. From 1966 to 1968, he was international relations officer and assistant director for development in the Bureau for Latin America in Washington. He is survived by his wife, two sons and a daughter at 6441 Queen Anne Terrace, Falls Church, Virginia.

BLISS. Mildred Barnes Bliss, widow of Robert Woods Bliss, died on January 17, in Washington, D.C. Robert Woods Bliss, who retired in 1933 after serving as Ambassador to Argentina, and his wife were known for their philanthropic contributions and patronage of the arts. The Blisses donated Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard University as an institu-

tion of Byzantine research and 27 acres of the gardens to the National Park Service. Some of Mrs. Bliss's philanthropies were the Museum of Modern Art, the Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian, the National Symphony and the American Field Service. The Bliss collection of pre-Columbian art and a 10,000 volume library of garden literature is housed in a modern museum on the Dumbarton Oaks grounds, completed in 1963.

DULLES. Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1953 to 1961, died on January 29, at Georgetown University Hospital. Mr. Dulles was the grandson of a Secretary of State, the nephew of another and the brother of still another. He entered the Foreign Service after receiving his M.A. from Princeton and served until 1926. During World War II he was recruited for the OSS and served as the foremost intelligence operative during World War II. He joined the CIA as Deputy Director in 1950. Mr. Dulles is survived by his wife of 2723 Q Street, N.W., two daughters and a son, and three sisters, including Eleanor Lansing Dulles of Washington.

MILNER. Michael R. Milner, FSO, died on February 1, in Hong Kong. Mr. Milner served as a Peace Corps volunteer from 1964 to 1966 and entered the Foreign Service in 1967. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert R. Milner, 3822 Kirk Road, San Jose, California.

STROM. Carl W. Strom, retired Ambassador, died on January 27, in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. Mr. Strom entered the Foreign Service in 1935. He served at Vancouver, Zurich, Mexico City, and Seoul before his appointment as Ambassador to Cambodia in 1957 and Ambassador to Bolivia in 1959. In 1961 he returned to Washington to head the Foreign Service Institute. He retired in 1963. He was appointed Career Minister in 1957. Mr. Strom is survived by his wife of 215 Hilltop Drive, RFD 3, Decorah, Iowa and two daughters.

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DR. ARNOLD TOYNBEE TALKS ABOUT . . .

ETHICS AND MORALITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS; THE WORLDWIDE SOCIETY;

COLONIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE; STUDENT UNREST;

COLLECTIVISM AND CHANGING SOCIETIES; THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND WORLD ORDER;

THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE PUBLIC.

Interviewer: Dr. Toynbee, this issue marks and celebrates the Golden Jubilee of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. We are most grateful to you for being willing to give your views on some of the major questions that will in the future confront the Foreign Service officers who read the JOURNAL.

Your own working life more than spans the life of the JOURNAL, and during those nearly sixty years you have enjoyed and made the most of the advantages of a Renaissance classical education, your thirty-year-long vantage point as the editor and, with Mrs. Toynbee, the chief writer of the Chatham House Annual Surveys of International Affairs, and, perhaps above all, the extraordinary perspective that you have worked out in producing the twelve volumes of the "Study of History."

To begin with, Dr. Toynbee, we would like your views on the role of ethics and morality in the conduct of foreign affairs between nations.

Dr. Toynbee: Well, now, before I say anything else at all I'd like to say how much I appreciate this opportunity of really having an intimate discussion with the members of the Foreign Service because Foreign Service officers of the United States and of the Soviet Union between them have the fate of the world in their hands, and this is a great load to

■ Dr. Edward DeLos Myers who, with William B. King, interviewed Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee for this issue, died on January 13 in London. At the memorial service for Dr. Myers, Dr. Toynbee said in his eulogy, "Dr. Myers was a philosopher as well as an intellectual. He wrestled with the mysteries that lie behind the universe." He added "Dr. Myers was truly a missionary in a modern way. He set out to unite people, not to convert them. He worked on behalf of the brotherhood of man. He can be considered one of the few physicians in a sick world."

William B. King served as a foreign correspondent before joining UNICEF as European public relations director in 1949. He entered on duty with USIA in 1951 and served at New Delhi, Baghdad and Karachi before his present assignment to London.

bear, bigger than people in public service in any country have ever had before. I feel this very much and I'm glad to get into touch with them.

Well, now, the role of ethics and morality in the conduct of foreign affairs between nations. I think there's only one ethics and morality. It's the ethics and morality that applies in all relations of all kinds between human beings among each other. And, though there are different ethical situations that people find themselves in, and though it may be that rather different rules apply in different circumstances, I don't think this is a difference between public affairs and private affairs. What I'm thinking of really is that if you are in the position of a trustee, and all public officers are in the position of trustees to some extent, you aren't quite a free agent to do simply what you yourself think right. You have also to think what is my duty towards my master or my ward or my client. But now this isn't especially connected with public affairs or with foreign affairs, because in private life the lawyer is in this position. Any trustee in a private situation, any trustee of a private estate is in this position.

So I think the problems are the same, and I utterly disagree with people who say that the laws of morality, the laws of God if you like, just don't apply in public life. It's ludicrous to think that moral law should stop at the fringe of international affairs. Many people have acted as if they did, but this has always produced awful disasters for the human race. The sooner we stop doing that the better.

Question: And I take it you would hold this to be true whether the ethic of morality on which you are basing your behavior and conduct derives out of, say, a Christian, a fundamentalist Christian revelatory ethic or out of a natural law sort of thing à la the 18th Century philosophers, or out of any other kind, whether it's Aristotelian or Platonic?

Dr. Toynbee: This brings us up to a very important point, that the society of nations isn't simply a society of Western nations with all that ethical background that you have just described. It's become a worldwide society, and we have to

take account of Confucian ethics, Indian ethics, Islamic ethics.

I don't think this is really a very great difficulty. I think that, though the religions and philosophers differ enormously in what they say about the facts, most of which can't be verified, when they come to tell you what you ought or ought not to do they much more agree with each other. But still it's very important, even just for establishing communication, that if we are talking, say, with the Chinese or Japanese we shouldn't simply talk in terms of the Western tradition.

This is something that has come up within these last fifty years—it's come up really since the West ceased to be dominant in the world.

Dr. Myers: I would suppose that on a point like that you, Mr. King, would have some observations to make arising out of those years that you spent in a society that had originally a different ethical basis from the one in which we were both brought up.

Mr. King: Well, I think that's quite true. I was going to ask Dr. Toynbee if there had been in history a nation that worked on the ethic that has been set out for the individual, or are you talking of something that's Utopian when you say that there is no distinction between the two?

Dr. Toynbee: Well, I don't think it's Utopian unless it's Utopian to hope that human affairs won't go into a complete disaster. Non-ethical conduct is, I think, even more disastrous in public affairs than it is in private affairs.

I think the Chinese can probably help us here because Confucius very definitely compared public life with family life, didn't he, and this not just as a literary conceit. I mean, he really tried to think of the organization of society in terms of the family, the community being the larger family, the family being a microcosm of the community. And I think we would do well to think in Confucian terms about the world which we have moved into now.

But I think Christian or Jewish or Moslem ethics would say the same probably.

Dr. Myers: I suppose now we had better move on to the second general topic on which we should like your views, and it's this. What is the challenge to the technologically advanced societies from the developing or, if you like, the undeveloped countries, and what would you suggest would be or could possibly be the more appropriate responses to these really awesome challenges?

Dr. Toynbee: Well, in talking about the last point, we really opened up this, in a sense, when I said that we had to take account of the ethics and the general point of view and the traditions of the non-Western countries. Broadly—though this is becoming less and less so—the technologically advanced societies are still the Western countries. The big exception is Japan, but Japan's exception today is going to be widespread tomorrow.

Of course, I suddenly think of Samson pulling down the pillars of the house. The great mass of the people of the developing countries, the majority of the human race who are now conscious of their poverty in comparison with us, they might feel like Samson, they might choose (and this would be within their power) just to destroy the human race, destroy the world, wind up human history rather than stand this intolerable situation. There's perhaps a touch of that state of feeling in China as a result of her experience during the last century. And I think this is an awesome challenge.

I would say about this that we had better take the advice given in the Gospel: "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him, lest . . ." well, unpleasant things happen if you don't. We are still in a position of

temporary strength because in modern times we've temporarily got ahead of the non-Western peoples in science and technology. We are now losing this advantage because apparently technology and science is hard to discover but not so hard to learn when somebody else has discovered it. So haven't we got to look ahead, and get off our perch of superiority now while we still can, and thankfully get back to the footing of equality with other civilizations on which we still stood only about three hundred years ago.

So I would say act quickly to decolonialize the world and avoid economic as well as political-military colonialism.

Dr. Myers: After colonialism, though, what is the extent of our obligations to the former colonial countries and peoples?

Dr. Toynbee: I think that, when a more powerful, more efficient people has a less efficient people under its rule, it ought to decide two things. It ought to decide that this is an unnatural situation, a temporary one; therefore, I must look forward to giving up my position of power over the other people, but, as I am in power and am responsible, I must help them in the process of my giving up, to take over from me. Otherwise you get what happened in the Congo, and I'm afraid this is what's happening in Nigeria now.

This is a great difficulty. I'm afraid none of it's been very successful—this immense handing over of power since the second world war, I suppose India and Pakistan are the most successful cases, but even they are not very happy. And Africa is certainly not all happy.

Dr. Myers: One of the questions I'd like to put to you, and this is a little bit more specific and bringing it down to the nuts and bolts of how we do it. In some countries that you and I have both visited, apparently at any rate at this juncture, the net result of a very great deal of American and West European aid to some of these countries has been that it has engendered in them the feeling: Oh, well, we don't need to do this or that for ourselves. We will ask somebody else to do it. They've got this feeling because somebody else has been doing it. Now surely the effort to help these people in so many ways, public health, agriculture, medicine, and the lot, education, the whole range, has been counterproductive in so far as it has engendered this attitude. Now, how in the world do you get around that which seems to me to be a very large difficulty indeed?

Dr. Toynbee: It is a difficulty. If you were British you will often be conscious of the incongruity of the present situation. You will feel, well, nowadays we are in trouble ourselves, yet people who have been under our rule, in India, Suez or in Pakistan still think that we have an ancient obligation towards them and the power to fulfill this obligation. We haven't the power and it isn't the best thing that we can do for them. What we have tried to do is to help them to help themselves, to get them to stand on their own feet. Well, this is what you have to do with children, in bringing children up.

Dr. Myers: I would suppose that what's involved as much as anything else is an almost infinite stock of patience. It isn't really dollars or shillings or pounds. It's being willing to go along at their pace for a much longer time than any of us had up to now thought it would take.

Dr. Toynbee: Yes. And the trouble is: You do have to have great patience, but things move so fast now. We're at the mercy of the technology and the tools and weapons that we've invented. We haven't got the time that people used to have.

Dr. Myers: This is exactly the next question that I was going to raise. We've got to have patience and we've got to

have time, yet the time isn't being given to us. So what, in terms of practical dealings with so many of these undeveloped countries, ought we be doing in addition to what we are doing? And I don't think that, at bottom, it's a matter of dollars or pounds or shillings.

Dr. Toynbee: I think human nature has its own pace, and technology is forcing all of us, "developed" or "developing" or whatever you call any of us, to move faster than it is natural for human nature to move. And this is a great difficulty for us all. We are being forced, in the external superficial things, to move faster than . . . well, in the deeper spiritual and psychological things we can't move so fast. And this has produced a kind of disjointedness. This comes out in the internal life of any country of any degree of development, but especially in the relations between the more and the less developed countries.

Dr. Myers: Would you suppose that this tension, this sort of schizophrenia that has been set up, through our being forced to move faster than we actually can move, would or could be part of the cause of the almost worldwide and universal student unrest that's facing every country and every university now?

Dr. Toynbee: Yes, I think student unrest is a symptom of general unrest. You've had it before in Germany after the Napoleonic Wars. When Germany was in a mess, students couldn't wait to be grown up in order to intervene. In Russia in the 19th Century again the students went into militant politics in the last stages before the Revolution of 1917. This is always a danger signal. It's very sad when boys and girls of sixteen have to take the burden of the world on their shoulders. It's not natural. It is a sign that the world's in a bad way, I think—and also a sign, as I said before, that things are moving at a killing pace. What they think is: "Now I'm sixteen, and by the time I'm twenty, the world may have blown up. I can't wait to intervene until it's too late." I don't

know what the answer is, how we can slow down the pace of material change.

Mr. King: Another very general but vastly important subject on which we should like to hear your views, Dr. Toynbee, is that of the similarities and differences among the various types of collectivist societies now existing in the world.

Dr. Toynbee: I'm glad you said collectivist, because I think that, to some degree, every society is collectivist and that every society is also the opposite. I can't think of any society, certainly not of any state, in which there isn't both a public sector and a private sector. The difference is the relative importance of each of the two, how much of life each of them covers respectively; and I think that in the present world you have an almost infinite series of gradations, short of 100 percent collectivism or 100 percent private enterprise, the variations between say, about 80 percent collectivism and 80 percent private enterprise. This is brought home to us by what's happened recently in Eastern Europe. We woke up to the fact, if we didn't know it before, that collectivism in Czechoslovakia is a pretty different thing from collectivism in Russia, apparently the present regime in Russia thinks—and this is another point. We're all on the move all the time, rather rapidly—they think that, if collectivism is like this in Czechoslovakia today, perhaps we might wake up tomorrow in Russia to find that the Soviet Union is being affected. Then Yugoslavia, Rumania, they all have slightly different varieties. So does the welfare state in Britain and the Scandinavian countries. And really the present day "American way of life" in the United States is a form of collectivism mixed with private enterprise.

I suppose the biggest socialist organization that there has ever been is the United States armed forces. That is Socialism on a massive scale.

Mr. King: Would you say that one type of society is more resistant to change than another?

Dr. Edward Myers, Dr. Arnold Toynbee and Mr. William B. King at the interview in mid-December



Dr. Toynebee: I think at once of China, of course, when China suddenly came up against the dynamic and restless Western world. Then I think of Japan, how she saw the red light and adapted in time. So did Thailand on a smaller scale.

Yes, I think that different traditions are very different about this. The Islamic world, for some reason, is very rigid and resistant to change. It's apparently harder for Muslims to modernize than it is for Eastern Christians or for Japanese.

The Chinese had an extraordinarily well rounded out system which had a momentum of several thousand years. They were certainly self-complacent. They were sure that they were it, that this was civilization, and that they knew the answers for everything. It cost them a great deal, and is costing them a great deal still to adjust to the fact that the traditional system in China isn't the last word in the management of human life.

The Japanese, and I suppose the Russians, who after all weren't Western, they were Eastern Christians. They were of a different tradition. I suppose Peter the Great was the first person in the modern world who saw how dynamic the Western World was, and that you've got to come to terms with the West sooner or later, and probably pretty quick and pretty drastically.

The Chinese have been about the slowest to accept that fact. And incidentally, actually when they accepted it they accepted present day Western civilization in the form that the "Establishment," so-called, in Western countries most dislikes—I mean, of course, in the form of communism. Communism is Western, but it is anti-Western-Establishment. If the Chinese can take Western Civilization at all they can take it in this "anti" form. But the Chinese don't like Western Civilization even in the form of communism, really.

Dr. Myers: You mentioned China and Japan, and one thinks right away that Japan was in some senses anyhow an offshoot of Chinese society, and also that Japan was in certain senses pretty stagnant for a long time. Would you be willing to take a guess at all about what peculiar thing in the Japanese society or Japanese character it was that made them able to adopt—adapt and adopt—as quickly as they did and with such astounding success the Western ways and technology business and the rest?

Dr. Toynebee: Well, for one thing they had experience—they had previously adopted and adapted Chinese civilization and the Chinese version of Buddhism. And unlike the Chinese, they hadn't got an ancient, entirely indigenous civilization of their own which had great value for them. I think the Japanese felt, "Well, civilization is adopted from abroad. We've done that once, we can do it again."

Also they realized that they had adapted, because when they introduced Chinese civilization just as it was in the 7th Century A.D. they very soon found that they couldn't keep it just as it was. It had to be changed out of all recognition almost as radically as Buddhism in order really to suit Japanese life. So probably they were confident that they could adapt Western institutions.

However, I think they tried for about half a century, from the Meiji revolution until the end of the Second World War, to live in two worlds at once, to live in the Japanese world in family life, personal life, social life, and to live in the Western world in science and technology and business and industry and so on.

Dr. Myers: And the military

Dr. Toynebee: Yes, and I think they found it doesn't work. I think today they're really going Western through and through. But then one is caught up, because when one visits Japan and

talks to the Japanese, one realizes how much, in their personal relations, they are still not Western.

It's a very remarkable achievement. The men who . . .

Dr. Myers: Yes. And here's an illustration of this point that you're just making, inevitably my eye falls on this screen that you brought back from Japan last year. It is, I suppose, typically Japanese, thoroughly unwestern, profoundly beautiful even to our eyes, and technically and technologically, I suppose, as advanced as anything that's been done in this field of art.

Dr. Toynebee: It's terrific technology, of course . . . Of course, the Japanese are uneasy. As you know, I went over there about a year ago, and they feel, "Yes, we're being immensely successful in technology and science, too, actually making original discoveries in science. But there's a kind of spiritual vacuum; our traditional religions and philosophies have evaporated, and what's going to take their place?"

Dr. Myers: Now I'd like to come around to this. The readers of this JOURNAL will expect to spend the rest of their working lives, really, in a multitude of day to day operations whose general purpose and goal is, however, the search for peace and world order. And we'd be most grateful for your comments on how best this search can be and ought to be conducted.

Dr. Toynebee: Well, I naturally haven't served even as a temporary officer in the United States Foreign Service. But I have served ten years altogether in the two World Wars as a temporary officer in the British Foreign Service, and I also know the American public fairly well. I have been 19 times in the United States, and I have very many American friends.

The fault of the British Foreign Service has been that they've been excessively security-conscious. Also I would say that possibly they have a trade union feeling that this is our exclusive affair, foreign affairs, it's not for the vulgar public and it would be very dangerous to let the public in on it. And this catches you out if you are running foreign policy. Do you remember the Hoare-Laval plan and how astonished the Foreign Office was when it found that the British public revolted against this. They hadn't got the organization for finding out what the British public was thinking.

There's been an enormous change since I first worked temporarily in the British Foreign Office in the First World War in the Foreign Service attitude towards public relations. But this is a point of general importance. Governments can't go—I think I said this before—more than a certain degree beyond or away from their public. Even in an autocratic, ably-governed country in the last resort they can't do that, and therefore they must keep in step with their public, and if they want to put something through, they must put it through in association with their public. They must know what the public is thinking. They must keep the public informed and keep themselves informed about the public.

Now the other thing, I do know a bit about the American public, and what has struck me in talking to even highly educated and sophisticated Americans is that for many of them the historical background of the regions of the world in which America now is mortally involved is fairly blank. For many Americans history begins when the Asian or African country goes communist. If you think of the history of Vietnam or the history of China in that way, it's a rather hopeless approach. And therefore I would say that, because this is the great difference in the United States between the Foreign Service officer and the members of the general public, the Foreign Service officer, who is, of course, fully grounded in the past histories of the countries that he is

dealing with has a tremendous educational job to do. It needs great tact to tell the public that they are pretty ignorant and that they've got to learn a great deal.

But somehow, perhaps through the universities and through the great foundations, the Foreign Service has got to help to get the public educated in the background of these things. You can't possibly understand the Chinese reactions and the Vietnamese reactions if you don't have this background.

Dr. Myers: Well, of course, there is going on, as you well know, in the United States, even during the short time—long time from one point of view—relatively short time since I was myself in the university, there's been a proliferation all over the country in the universities of schools of Asian Studies, Soviet Studies, African Studies, and the rest of this.

Dr. Toynbee: And of learning languages, too.

Dr. Myers: And of learning languages, which must be beginning to have some effect and even has some detectable effect, I think, in the newspaper leading articles and that sort of thing. This, I think you would say, is a hopeful sign.

Dr. Toynbee: Yes. My first experience with American educators abroad was in the Near East just after the first World War, and they were doing very fine work. But at that time they were not coming at all on to the ground of the peoples whom they were trying to educate. They wouldn't learn the languages. The students had to be taught by "native" teachers to speak English before the American faculty would deal with them. Now, there's been an enormous change in that respect, I think. I think that, in the Foreign Service and in the American business community in foreign countries now, wives even are encouraged now, and are accepting the encouragement, to learn the language of the country, to do welfare work, to take part in social relations with the people of the country. I think the Americans are coming out of their traditional insulation. I think this is a very big and very happy change, and it's happened extremely quickly, really.

Mr. King: On your earlier point, surely you don't discount a sense of cohesion, an esprit de corps in a group like the Foreign Service of a country like the United States and Britain—particularly when they are willing to bring in experts such as you when they need them.

Dr. Toynbee: I think that's very important. This is a point that the British Foreign Service has, I think, always tried to hang on to. They've tried to be a family in the sense that the organization is small enough and informal enough in its internal relations, though it's pretty formal in its external relations—that every member will be able to know every other in a personal relationship like one's relation with a friend. And I think this makes a very great difference to the good working of any body like the public service.

Dr. Myers: But at the same time there needs to be some balance between this, which is a proper and good attitude and an effective one in many ways, and the business of bringing in experts by what we call lateral entry, and then they may stay for two years or four years and then move back to business or the university or wherever it may be.

Dr. Toynbee: Yes. I think the United States is very much ahead of Britain in that. You have been much more open to bringing people in temporarily into government service, and also in letting the public servants go out into private life and come back again. I think this is admirable. It's not always easy to organize, but I think it should be done.

One difficulty is of course the scale of things again. I know

the British Foreign Service is always struggling against the increase in scale which makes things impersonal, the number of, the volume of, the papers that pass across the desks triples and quadruples. The number of members of the Service naturally increases, because all public affairs now deal with some sides of private life as well as with what's conventionally thought of as public affairs.

This creates big managements, big numbers, and therefore impersonality. It's very hard to resist this. But it's rather important to keep relations human inside the Service.

Mr. King: The final question that we should like to put to you, Dr. Toynbee, is this: What advice would you give to those young people of good will, not only the readers of this JOURNAL but people of good will everywhere, about how they could best make their own contributions to a better future for mankind?

Dr. Toynbee: Well, of course, it is easier to give an answer to this question for the members of a public service than for the general public, because, in choosing this particular career, you have chosen a career in which you are going to make a contribution, maybe a fortunate or an unfortunate one, but, just by being a public servant, you make a contribution, for good or evil, to the future of mankind.

But if you are an obscure member of the electorate in a fairly unimportant position in private life and are conscious that you are one among hundreds of millions, you are nevertheless also aware that decisions taken in public affairs may blot out your children. Then you feel, "How can I, this insignificant little creature, influence this at all?" This is a terrible dilemma. This is one of the things which is agonizing the human race at present. I think you have to make an act of faith and to believe, which I sincerely think is the truth, that, even though the degree may be infinitesimal, the amount that one individual can contribute does make a difference. And it is supremely important that the individual, even if he thinks that his contribution is infinitesimal, and even if he can't see the result of what he does, should still do his utmost to make the good prevail.

Dr. Myers: Now, would there be any special application that you would draw from that for Foreign Service officers of whatever rank, whatever grade, whatever age, but I suppose particularly for those who are beginning on their careers and who are sincerely anxious to do the best they can not only in their jobs for career-promotion and that sort of thing but who are there because they think that this is one good avenue of genuine help to mankind as a whole, with their own country taking the first place, of course?

Dr. Toynbee: Of course, happily the distinction between one's own country's interests and the world's interests is disappearing, because you can't try to promote your own country's interests against other countries without sinking your own country, too, I think. If I might say so without disrespect to President de Gaulle, this is his trouble. But I think an increasing number of people in all countries are realizing this.

This brings us back to the first question about morality, that morality is the only possible policy, and that we are all in the same boat, and that the human race is now, as a consequence of technology, so knit up together that we have to think in terms of the whole human race because this is in the best interests of our own country, whatever the country is.

I'd like to say one thing more that perhaps might stimulate people to "participate," even if they feel that their contribution can be only insignificant. My point is that obviously we are at a very critical stage of human history and that this generation that is alive now may make the difference to hundreds of generations ahead. This ought to stir us up to do something. ■

PROFESSIONALISM

and the Foreign Service

LOUIS J. HALLE

INVITED to make a contribution to this 50th Anniversary Issue, I do so as one who has more questions than answers. In the observations that follow I shall be defining problems rather than solving them. Such problems as I shall be defining, however, are not in any case susceptible to the categorical solutions of Euclidean geometry. We have to think in terms of living with them, mitigating them as best we can, until in the great secular evolution of human society they disappear, giving way to others.

A whole group of problems may be subsumed by noting that since the Second World War diplomacy everywhere has tended to lose the quality of professionalism it had previously had. There was a time when it was properly regarded as a skilled profession with professional traditions of its own, including its own code of behavior. Our professional diplomats, like those of other countries, constituted an élite corps—not only in terms of professionalism but also in terms of values many of which are no longer acceptable.

Social background was one such value, the background of a patrician family and patrician schooling. A closely related value was the kind of general education that produced the cultivated gentlemen of former generations. Professional diplomats were likely to have had their minds formed by Greek, Latin, and the literary classics generally. They were likely to

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have cultivated tastes in poetry, wine, and matters sartorial. They wore their clothes well and were at ease in any society. If these were not the most admirable of qualities in themselves, they nevertheless helped their exemplars to maintain the dignity that went with their representative function.

There were advantages and disadvantages to the snobbishness, the code of behavior, and all that. One advantage was that the members of this professional élite had a special cultivation in the use of language. The language of instructions, dispatches, and reports, when I first came to the Department, was generally stiff and cumbersome, but it was also clear and precise. This skill of language, essential to good diplomacy, was largely lost after the War, when the sudden expansion of the Foreign Service had to be paid for in some features of quality, among which this one was prominent. There was a point, I believe, when Mrs. Blanche Halla, who for years had checked the language of every official communication going out of the Department, simply had to give up.

Undoubtedly the greatest advantage of the old-style professional diplomacy was that, in its heyday, the professionals tended to constitute a single cosmopolitan élite, capable of readily understanding one another across international boundaries. The diplomats of most countries had more in common with one another than with the mass of their fellow countrymen. In the era when you couldn't tell an Argentine diplomat from a British diplomat (the Argentine having gone to the same school in Britain), Argentina and Britain got along as they could not have if the two countries had been represented, respectively, by a Buenos Aires *descamisado* and a London cockney.

The fact that, traditionally, professional diplomats shared a cosmopolitan culture foreign to most of their fellow countrymen was what, in the age of nationalism, came to render them and their profession increasingly suspect in the eyes of the ordinary citizen. There was some basis for this. Just as the lawyers of the two parties in a bitter divorce case, having in common their membership in a professional brotherhood, may find themselves acting together in an implicitly conspiratorial relationship to resolve difficulties arising out of the unreasonableness of their respective clients, so it may sometimes have occurred that diplomats built a bridge of tacit understanding in circumstances that otherwise tended to exclude understanding between their respective countries. This kind of thing in the past is what made diplomacy the great peacekeeping art, as well as making diplomats suspect.

When the United States finally emerged from isolation, when its foreign relations assumed primary importance, the existence of the Foreign Service as a sort of aristocracy became intolerable in terms of the popular democracy we had been ever since 1829. In the period after World War II, especially in the years identified with the dominance of Senator Joe McCarthy, the question arose whether our country should be represented abroad by "the best" Americans or by "representative" Americans. A quite different way of putting this was to ask whether it should be represented by "pretty boys who spoke French" or by "short-sleeve Americans" who could be counted on to handle foreigners without kid gloves.

I want to say a word here for some of the pretty boys who spoke French. I remember one who had

lived abroad so long that he was no longer clearly recognizable as an American. At a dinner-party in Washington I recall how he referred to "what you in this country call vitamins"—"vit" rhyming with bit. He was, however, a superb professional. His personal handling of a crisis that proved to be one of the great turning points of the Cold War (unknown to the public because the best diplomacy is kept quiet) makes him more worthy of commemoration in bronze, now that he is dead, than the majority of those whose status ornament or deface the City of Washington.

In those days the greatest complaint any newspaper could think of for an American ambassador was that he was "a real shirt-sleeve diplomat," by contrast with those who were thought to wear striped pants. (How tired one got if these stereotypes!) It did not matter that at least one of the "shirt-sleeve diplomats," whose photograph got onto the covers of all the news magazines, went far toward ruining our relations with a number of our allies.

I should add that the old professionals, with all their good manners, could be extremely effective when toughness was called for. I think of that model diplomat of the old school, Norman Armour. (Where is *his* statue?)

The old diplomacy, however, was unsuited to popular democracies. Even in the days of our patrician beginnings Benjamin Franklin, when he went to Paris, had seen fit to masquerade as a frontiersman in skins and furs. By the middle of the present century, in any case, the polite old diplomacy had largely gone from the world, and with it the freemasonry of the world's diplomats. The new diplomacy demanded publicity through the mass media, so that the people could see how their representatives were upholding their interests, and such publicity meant that diplomats had to be actors playing to an audience which had its own conceptions of diplomatic technique. In slanging contests with our opponents, the audience that counted was not satisfied unless our diplomats were seen to give at least as good as they got. It kept score, as in a boxing match.

There were other reasons why new and different qualities were required of diplomats after the War. Technological problems made it necessary to have corps of specialists in telecommunications, aviation, food-production, public relations, etc.—not all of whom could have, as well, the more general qualifications of the old professionals. It was, however, unten-

able to deny them equal standing with the old professionals. At the same time, the Foreign Service had to be immensely enlarged on a crash basis. Those who were brought in wholesale, however brilliant their intellectual and moral qualities, did not share the traditional training and discipline.

I began by saying I had more questions than answers. The chief question is how a popular democracy (and this applies in one way or another to virtually all countries today) can generate the means to conduct a skilled and effective diplomacy. Thucydides raised the question, de Tocqueville raised it, and since neither of them could find an answer I am in good company.

THE diplomatic career requires so much self-abnegation and sacrifice that there must be balancing compensations. The consciousness of belonging to an élite was one such compensation in the old days. The associated sense of belonging to a brotherhood was another in the pre-bureaucratic days when it was still possible for an American FSO to know and be known by all the other officers in the Service. Still another was in the cosmopolitan, international life—in seeing the world—which gave the career a glamor that has diminished now that New York business men can fly to Switzerland for a weekend's skiing. With full employment added to the loss of these attractions it is no wonder that recruitment has become a major problem for the diplomatic services of the United States, Britain, Switzerland—and, I daresay, every other developed country.

There can be no doubt that a special self-abnegation and discipline, which imply something of professionalism, are essential to an effective diplomatic service in any age and under any circumstances. The diplomat dealing with a foreign government has to make the views of his government his own, banishing from his mind for the occasion any different views to which his personal inclinations might lead him. For most of us, such a renunciation of personal views is not easy and can only be a function of the self-discipline that goes with

lifelong professional training.

The self-effacement, the passion for anonymity, also requires a special professional dedication. While it is a basic principle that justice must not only be done but be seen to be done, the triumphs of the diplomat should not be seen as such, simply because his adversary could not accept his corresponding defeat if it were to be seen as such. The true professional diplomat must know that, even if he saves his country, the fact is unlikely to be commemorated in bronze or even in the history books, as are the deeds of political or military leadership.

Finally, there is the problem that during the first years of his career an FSO is almost sure to be confined to dull and menial tasks. For the right kind of person, however, compensation can be found in the opportunity to familiarize himself with the history, the geography, the culture, the ethos of the country in which he is stationed. Our own Service was criticized in the past for the fact that its officers so rarely took advantage of the opportunity. I remember spending three days traveling about a country on official business, at the end of which, when it came to discussing my observations with our Ambassador, I found that in his three years at the post he had never been out of the capital city. One should read George Kennan's "Memoirs" for an example of the opposite disposition and practice.

Our own Foreign Service went through a bad spell in the early 1950s. Its professionalism and its pride in its professionalism were largely destroyed. Its sense of the brotherhood of a common service was shattered. But the discipline, the self-abnegation, and the sacrifice remained, then as now, necessary for its effective functioning.

Although I have since largely lost touch with these matters, I have no doubt that there has been a steady recovery, which necessarily remains incomplete. In the long run, stabilization on new terms suitable to the new world environment must lead to the gradual development of a new professionalism, different in many respects from the old. Out of that new professionalism there must develop, increasingly, a professional pride and a sense of professional honor that constitute one essential compensation for the self-abnegation and sacrifice.

This in turn raises questions having to do with the attitude and administration of the political government under which the Service serves, and with its own internal leadership. I therefore end as I began, still with more questions than answers. ■



Political Ambassadors Then and Now

JAMES K. PENFIELD

FOR some time now the key word in any discussion of the Foreign Service has been change. It should therefore not surprise us to realize that so fixed an institution as the political Ambassador is also changing. In fact, this process has gone so far in recent years that it is now possible to talk about old style and new style political Ambassadors. In order to give a pseudo-scientific flavor to our consideration of the subject we might call the old or traditional kind of political Ambassador Type A and the new breed Type X.

Each of these types seems to be generally associated with a certain type of post. We will call the A type's post a "B post" and the X type's a "Y post."

The Type A was a man who had had a successful career in business or one of the professions and was financially well enough off to be able to make a significant contribution to the election of the President who appointed him. Sometimes he had little connection with government, politics or foreign affairs and perhaps little interest in them. But he might have a socially ambitious wife and the necessary sum to drop in the right party's coffers. Sometimes he might have strong political affiliations and an aggressive approach which made those who arrange such things feel less harassed if he were packed off to an Embassy, preferably a distant one. Occasionally, an honorable change of scene had to be found for a formerly highly regarded public servant, civilian or military, who had stepped on the wrong toes, or for an able and dedicated one who had earned release from Washington pressures. Then there were the outstanding and public spirited citizens who were willing to pay for the privilege of giving distinguished service to their government, rather than the other way around, as it should have been.

This system produced a maximum range of talent and

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performance, from those whose names and exploits are best forgotten to the Bunkers, Bruces, Harrimans and Dillons. Despite their variety of backgrounds and abilities, most of these appointees had certain common characteristics. They were normally well heeled, they usually had already had distinguished careers and, although some of them were not too advanced in years, most of them had the maturity and assurance of those who have "made it."

The typical B post where the Type A Ambassador flourished was in Europe or Latin America, or was at least a capital where there was a certain established social life and governmental machinery. Unless an Ambassador had a particularly strong bull-in-the-China-shop tendency, this situation provided a certain framework within which he found himself operating.

At B posts there is a steady flow of US official business with the host government which is conducted along well established patterns with bureaucracies and bureaucrats who operate sophisticated and relatively efficient governmental machinery. At these posts the social and protocol demands on an Ambassador are heavy. There is thus much less built-in temptation for the boss to get his fingers deeply into the machinery or feel an urge to fundamentally renovate the premises.

The intelligent, highly motivated Type A usually approached his job with the intention of contributing his own special expertise and wisdom to an operation the nuts and bolts of which he was content to leave to his subordinates. Some drove with a heavier hand than others but all of them taught their career colleagues a great deal and in return earned their admiration and devotion.

His less enlightened colleague arrived at his post determined to show the striped pants boys what real private enterprise efficiency was. The host government, his diplomatic colleagues and his Embassy soon learned his idiosyncrasies and how to deal with them. He usually dropped a few bricks during his settling in period. He sometimes started working assiduously at being a new broom, but his heart wasn't in it. He had neither the imagination nor the basic motivation to

Eventually, however, newcomers to the profession learn that there are subtle but important differences between dealing with a foreign government and with an American bureaucracy, corporation or academic institution. They learn that there are limits, sometimes narrow ones, beyond which people cannot successfully be appealed to by a foreigner over the heads of their government; that "good will" is an ephemeral commodity; that paternalism cannot really be disguised and that it doesn't pay off any better in international life than it does these days in the family circle; that optimum and maximum are not synonymous in considering the most effective mix and scale of official American programs in a foreign country; that there is a special knack to locating and tuning in on the real sources of power in the country; that the division of an Ambassador's time between this activity and promoting the public image of his country has a great deal to do with how lasting the success of his mission will be; that diplomatic colleagues who may seem to be useless bores at one post are sensitive creatures and can turn out to be potentially valuable allies at another post; that the point where persuasion runs into the law of diminishing returns is often a delicate calculation which must be worked out under local rules; that ignoring the composites of protocol, down to local custom in the use of first names, is a dangerous business, sometimes profitable but other times highly unprofitable. And so on, almost *ad infinitum*. It is in these matters, as well as in elucidating the intricacies of State Department bureaucracy, that the US Foreign Service professional can be of assistance to the newcomer.

Generally speaking, the career service has done a much better job of supporting Type A than Type X; in some cases, indeed, the Service is falling down in its responsibilities vis-a-vis the latter type. This is no doubt due in part to the fact that Type A has been around longer and the Service has therefore over the years developed a certain expertise in giving him the support he needs. Probably more important, a Type X Ambassador for optimum performance needs to have associated with him officers who are temperamentally compatible—that is who are unorthodox and imaginative. An established bureaucracy and a hierarchical career service are not noted for producing a surplus of such officers, and those who are around have usually acquired the habit of curbing the uninhibited exercise of these qualities.

The essence of providing professional assistance is the same for both types, but the Type X job is normally the more exigent. The basic qualifications are those which should be found in any competent FSO of the appropriate seniority. He must know his business and he must be able to present his views persuasively and in terms which make sense to an intelligent man with no previous experience in the profession. He must be alert to sense the interests and desires of his boss and he certainly must avoid falling into the trap of talking down to him from some imaginary height of esoteric professionalism. In addition, the senior professional colleague of a Type X must possess even greater all around professional competence based on experience and, to a high degree, a talent for empathy, defined as an ability to establish a relationship of confidence so solid that the Ambassador will give full and serious consideration to suggestions, even on matters on which he thinks he needs no advice.

Sometimes, an FSO faced with his first Type X finds the world of his previous experience cut out from under him and tends to freeze up, as he might with a particularly terrifying Type A, and simply tries to sweat it out. Sometimes he reacts with horror and devotes himself to endeavoring to teach both the host government and his boss how things really should be done—a losing game if there ever was one. Or, he may pretend not to be startled and apply himself conscientiously to trying to do exactly what he thinks his chief wants him to do.

None of these reactions produces a performance which both

the boss and the taxpayer have a right to expect. The fact that the Ambassador may think that he is well served does not relieve the professional of his responsibility any more than a doctor is relieved of his in the rather parallel doctor/patient relationship. The opposite is also true. If an Ambassador does not believe he is being given effective staff support, *ipso facto* he is not.

People with the qualifications to meet this kind of situation are rare birds in any walk of life and the Foreign Service is no exception. Furthermore, one can reasonably comment that, as Type X Ambassadors are by definition specially selected individuals of exceptional talent, it is really too much to expect a career civil service to provide the competence needed to fill the positions which are in themselves demanding and in addition have a flock of "rare birds" available to serve Type X Ambassadors. There are, nevertheless, steps which can be taken to improve the Service's performance in this field.

First, attitude is important. An officer assigned to a Type X/Y post situation should be well aware, whether his Ambassador is or not, that his job is to supply the professional ingredient which, added to high nonprofessional abilities, will result in a smooth, balanced and effective operation. He must realize that the responsibility is on his shoulders to develop that empathy described above and to tune in on his chief's wavelength. A greater conscious awareness of this point could in itself lead to improved performance.

The other important factor is individual qualifications. It is of course impractical to make wholesale changes in an Embassy every time a new Ambassador is appointed. But changes are constantly taking place and the needs of the Ambassador, whether effectively articulated by him or not, should be determining in how the positions are filled.

The DCM is of particular importance. An assignment as DCM to a Type X at a Y post should be regarded as a special opportunity and challenge which, even though the post may be small, should be open only to officers who have had previous successful experience at this "program direction" level. It is hardly fair to an officer to require him to initiate himself into an executive level new to him and at the same time concentrate on satisfying a boss who is often not sure himself just what he needs from his deputy.

Political Ambassadors have always been with us and doubtless always will be. Both types have made and will continue to make major contributions to the conduct of US foreign relations and to the continuing development of the Foreign Service. It is not an exaggeration to say that they are part of the life-blood of the Service.

However, like blood, neither an excess nor a lack is healthy. No personnel system which can be devised by mind of man—or computer—is able to match to the needs of the Service the number of qualified upper echelon officers produced, if the proportion of top level positions filled from the career fluctuates within a few years between 30 percent and 75 percent of the total number of such positions. Someday, we hope, a President will take the probably unprecedented step of imposing on himself and consistently holding to a ratio of career to political appointees in these top positions. Whether this ratio is in a traditionally low, medium or high range is of less importance initially than that it exist and be consistently applied.

Insofar as Ambassadors are concerned, neither the problem of their fluctuating numbers, nor the appearance of the occasional dud, nor the sometimes long and painful breaking-in period required by some of the non-duds, should be allowed to obscure their high value to and healthy influence on the profession. An item high on the Service's agenda of never finished business should be the development of habits and procedures to make ever more effective and mutually profitable its relationships with these valuable colleagues. ■

A Half Century in Perspective

GEORGE V. ALLEN

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A fiftieth anniversary, or midway point in the first century of an institution, should be dedicated to Janus, the god who looked in two directions.

Today, we look back on 50 years of growth and progress in both the Foreign Service and in the Foreign Service Association. We also look forward to the next 50, which in accordance with Parkinson's Law will certainly bring further growth. We may hope that it will also bring continued progress.

One criterion by which progress in the Foreign Service is often measured is the number of career men appointed as chiefs of mission. Contrary to popular belief, there has been little or no progress in this regard for more than fifty years. The percentage of such appointments was higher, in fact, in 1913 than it is at present writing (January 1969). When Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated, the United States had 41 ambassadors or ministers in charge of diplomatic missions (embassies and legations) overseas. Twenty-eight of them (67 percent) had been promoted to their positions after previous diplomatic or consular service, and only 13, or less than one-third, were appointed without previous diplomatic experience.*

While there was no career service as such in 1913, promotions from junior to senior positions on the basis of demonstrated competence was, in essence, a merit, or career system. It was made possible, in practice, by the

continuation of one party in power for 16 years, 1897-1913, although some of the chiefs of mission had been serving continuously at diplomatic posts for more than 30 years, which included two Cleveland administrations.

During subsequent years, the percentage of career chiefs of mission has varied considerably, although since the Rogers Act of 1924, the number has usually been between 60 and 70 percent. In 1964 it reached its highest point, 73 percent. At present, 64 percent of the 107 ambassadors assigned to posts overseas are career men. During 1968, only 34 percent of the newly-appointed ambassadors were from the career service. Thus, paradoxically, during the Johnson administration, the career service reached its peak, in 1964, and its nadir, in 1968.

Another criterion of progress is the relative importance of the posts to which career men are appointed. In this regard, there has been some meas-

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urable improvement. Of the 22 Class I embassies at present, eleven were headed by career officers in mid-1968. While no career man has yet been appointed as Ambassador to Great Britain, four (Henry Whit, Jefferson Caffery, James C. Dunn, and Charles E. Bohlen) have served as Ambassador in Paris. The last five ambassadors in Moscow have been career officers. Recently, the Embassies in Paris, Rome, Bonn, Moscow, Tokyo, and Mexico City were all headed by career men. This was the high point of career assignments to major embassies. If and when a career man is sent to London, the Service may be considered to have arrived.

Until Andrew Jackson's inauguration in 1833, both diplomatic and consular appointments were made primarily on the basis of qualifications for the position, with relatively little consideration of domestic political activity. Then came the spoils system, under which every vice consul or third secretary was considered a political appointee, and all were expected to resign when the administration changed. Within a few years, voices were raised demanding reform, but nearly 100 years passed before the Rogers Act of 1924 was enacted.

Prior to that Act, laws and executive orders attempting to create diplomatic and consular services took separate paths. The earliest effort to remove the diplomatic service from the spoils system came in 1856, when an Act of Congress established salaries and grades for diplomatic appointments below chief of mission rank, and provided for a system of apprenticeship to reduce, if not eliminate, the prevailing custom of political appointments as diplomatic secretaries. The Act was repealed within a year, following the elections of November 1856 and a change of administration. Members of Congress were not ready to give up one of their possibilities for political patronage, even though no more than forty positions were involved.

The repeal of this Act typifies the problem of establishing a career service. No administration, particularly if it involves a change of party, wishes to cover into a career service persons appointed while its predecessor was in office.*

*In 1959, I argued long and hard with a Congressman in an effort to persuade him to support career legislation for USIA. He finally told me that the Democratic Congress would never enact the legislation giving tenure to "six years of Republican appointees." My argument that most USIA employees had been appointed under Democratic administrations was of no avail.

*Speech by Congressman Rogers in the House in 1919, as quoted in *The Foreign Service of the U.S.*, by Barnes and Morgan (page 184).

Incidentally, Professor Samuel F. Bemis thinks it was fortunate that no "civil tenure" (career service) existed when the Civil War began, since "unbending loyalty to the Union was necessary for its very preservation."¹⁶ The distinguished Professor's views brings to mind, however, that the military services had long been established on a career basis, and Colonel Robert E. Lee (West Point 1829), was offered command of the Federal forces and had to make a painful choice. An official of any country which experiences civil upheaval or a coup d'état must make a painful choice, but this possibility seems a weak basis for Bemis' conclusion that the US was lucky not to have a career foreign service in 1861. Would the nation have been better off without a career military service?

Be that as it may, no further legislation was enacted to establish a career system in either the diplomatic or consular services until 1906, when an Act was passed which classified consular officers into grades ranging in pay from \$2,000 to \$12,000 and provided for an inspection corps designed to establish a basis for promotion by merit. Promoters of the bill hoped to include provisions for appointment after examination and for tenure of office, but these were eliminated during the debate. Nevertheless, the law as passed was hailed as having created, for the first time in US history, a "career consular service." President Theodore Roosevelt promptly issued an executive order requiring qualifying examinations for new appointments and the elimination of political considerations for either appointments or promotions. It was hoped that this would result in permanency of tenure.

Thus, when Woodrow Wilson became President in 1913, he found about 300 consular officers at posts around the world who, for the first time since Andrew Jackson's day, expected to retain their positions even though most of them had been appointed during the Republican administrations of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft.

Wilson, a close student of the Constitution, doubted the constitutionality of any law or executive order which limited his freedom to nominate whom-ever he wished to diplomatic or consular offices. Although he favored the merit system for both domestic and overseas careers in government, the specific constitutional provision which empowered the President to

appoint, by and with the consent of the Senate, Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls caused him concern. While he could fulfill this requirement technically by simply issuing new appointments to all officers who held consular positions when he assumed the presidency, he could hardly pretend that they were persons who enjoyed his personal confidence in the sense intended by the Constitution. (Incidentally, the term "consuls" in the Constitution has been construed to embrace consuls general, consuls, and vice consuls, just as "other public ministers" has been construed to embrace ministers plenipotentiary, ministers resident, *chargés d'affaires*, counselors, and diplomatic secretaries.)

Wilson's Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, was a spoilsman of the Andrew Jackson school. He suspected all Republican appointees, and he thought Democrats, after 16 years out of office, deserved the positions. Wilson, while not a spoilsman, never felt quite satisfied that he was carrying out his oath of office properly by simply reappointing existing officers. He did reappoint most of those who wished to remain, but he was disturbed about the situation which any new President finds himself in vis-a-vis the career foreign service.

In 1915, Wilson himself signed an Act containing further provisions leading toward the establishment of career services for both the diplomatic and consular corps. The Act included the important provision that all appointments of secretaries in the Diplomatic Service and of consuls general and consuls were to be by commissions to the offices of secretary of embassy or legation, consul general, or consul, and not by commission to any particular post. It also attempted to insure that below the rank of ambassador or minister, all classified positions should be held by career officers.

There were some differences of view as to how closely this Act bound the President's hands. Two years after its enactment, Wilson tested it by sending to the Senate the nomination of a longtime friend, a Dr. Glazebrook, Presbyterian Minister in Staunton, Virginia, to be Consul General in Jerusalem. Dr. Glazebrook had taken no examination, had had no previous consular experience, and could in no way be considered a career officer. Nevertheless, the Senate confirmed the nomination, and Dr. Glazebrook served with distinction in Jerusalem for 11 years, under three successive Republican administrations.

Having made his point, Wilson made no further effort to demonstrate

that the President could appoint whom-ever he wished to any foreign service post, and no President since him has sought to establish the point, although Franklin Roosevelt had some of the same misgivings as Wilson, and on one occasion, when he was annoyed with the Foreign Service about something or other, is said to have threatened to "fire the lot of them."

There has never been a court test of the constitutionality of the career Foreign Service, and there would be plausible grounds for the courts to declare that Foreign Service legislation always has been, and remains, merely advisory to the President under his authority to appoint "ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls."

The Rogers Act of 1924 finally created the Foreign Service of the United States by combining the diplomatic and consular services. Curiously enough, during the debate on this bill, there was relatively little discussion about its constitutionality. The chief objection was raised by the diplomatic service, many of whose members declared that they had not entered their careers to do consular work.

One provision of the Rogers Act pleased the diplomats, however. Before its enactment, the salary of the counselor of embassy in London was only \$4,000, while the Consul General there was paid \$12,000. The salaries of most diplomatic officers doubled under the Rogers Act.

Under the Act, there was no provision for the appointment of a career officer to be chief of mission. Any officer so appointed was required to resign from the Foreign Service. Henceforth, he held his appointment at the pleasure of the President, in the same manner as political appointees. If he was not reappointed when the administration changed, he was automatically retired.

In actual practice, most career chiefs of mission were reappointed or reassigned during the years between 1924 and 1946, when the rank of Career Minister was created.

The most important new provision of the Act of 1924, foreshadowed in the Act of 1915, was the classification of individuals rather than positions. Previous to those Acts, the rank and salary of an officer depended on the position to which he was assigned. Whenever an officer was transferred, he received the salary attached to the new post. He could not be promoted until a specific post opened up to which he could be assigned at a higher salary. Every promotion required a transfer.

A key attribute of any career serv-

¹⁶*A Diplomatic History of the United States*, fourth edition, 1955. Page 339.

ice is rank in the person and not in the post. Thus, an army officer promoted from captain to major remains a major regardless of the job to which he happens to be assigned. Absence of such a system in the former consular and diplomatic services made management and transfers extremely awkward.

Serious thought has been directed during recent years toward the possibility of ranking employees instead of jobs in the higher levels of the Civil Service. Under this system, an individual would take his personal grade with him, regardless of the job he was given to do. This system has been in effect for many years in the British and other civil as well as foreign services.

On the other hand, several "experts" on career service reform have suggested from time to time that positions in the US Foreign Service again be classified and that officers be assigned strictly to positions which match their classification. One Congressman has often complained when high ranking officers have been assigned to lower ranking positions. (The same Congressman does not appear to be concerned if junior officers are assigned to senior positions since, in that event, the taxpayers get "a \$20,000 job done for half the amount.")

The Office of Personnel should (and presumably does) try to match Foreign Service officers and positions closely, but it is difficult to achieve this in every instance. If the laws and regulations put more shackles on the personnel assignment procedure than it now has, personnel administration would become an impossible task, just as it would be in the armed services if officers had to be assigned in every instance to positions which corresponded precisely to their rank. If an FSO's rank and pay again became dependent at all times on the position he held, or if his rank and pay fluctuated each time he was reassigned, a chaotic situation would result. This is particularly true as regards assignments to the Department.

Whenever a career officer has accepted a chief of mission assignment, he has taken something of a risk. Following Roosevelt's election for a fourth term in 1944, Cordell Hull resigned, after 11 years as Secretary of State, and was replaced by Edward Stettinius. The late John G. (Jack) Erhardt, a genial and much admired career officer, was Chief of the Office of Foreign Service Personnel at the time.

Stettinius called Erhardt to his office and instructed him to "clean out

the deadwood among career chiefs of mission." Stettinius did not know the Foreign Service well and left the job of cleaning house to Erhardt, with one exception. He told Erhardt to retire Nelson T. Johnson, Ambassador in Australia, and recommend Eliot Palmer, Consul General in Sydney, for an ambassadorship.

It seems that a former deputy to Stettinius in the Lend-Lease Organization had called on Johnson at the Embassy in Canberra. Johnson, an unconventional officer who had made official calls in a rickshaw while Ambassador in Peking, continued his informal ways in Australia. When the Lend-Lease official entered Johnson's office, the latter is said to have been "in his shirt sleeves, with his feet on the desk and did not bother to remove them." By contrast, the Lend-Lease official had been given a bang-up reception by Consul General Palmer in Sydney, attended by the highest civilian and military officials of the area. The official's report to Stettinius is said to have been the basis for Erhardt's instructions.

Erhardt was told to weed out a dozen or so career ambassadors and ministers. The quota of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs was three. Erhardt asked Wallace Murray, Director of the Office, to make the selection and also to find a post for Palmer, who had had considerable service in the Near East.

All chiefs of mission submitted their resignations (and still do) after each Presidential election, even if the same President had been re-elected. The purpose was to give the President an opportunity to replace them if he wished. Career men who did not wish to retire hoped their resignations would be considered routine and would not be accepted. In December, 1944, and January, 1945, a dozen career resignations were accepted, including the Ambassador in Kabul, who was replaced by Palmer. Nelson Johnson was retired.

The situation was changed somewhat by the Act of 1946, which created the rank of Career Minister. Thereafter, a career officer serving as chief of mission resigns as Ambassa-

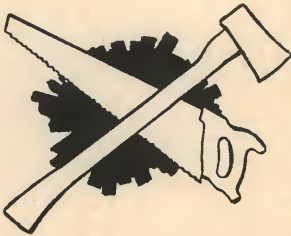
dor or Minister Plenipotentiary when a new administration takes office, but he does not resign as a Service officer. However, if he is subsequently recalled from the post and not given an equivalent position within 90 days, he is automatically retired from the Foreign Service. So, a career chief of mission can still be dispensed with whenever a new administration wishes. The process merely takes a bit longer today. Moreover, a considerable number of positions in Washington have been designated as equivalent to chief of mission assignments, so finding an "equivalent position" today is not very difficult.

The Department is not "heartless" in this matter and usually hesitates to terminate a senior officer's assignment abruptly. When the Eisenhower administration assumed office in 1953, George Kennan, who had rendered distinguished service as Ambassador in Moscow, happened to be in Washington and available for reassignment. Secretary Dulles gave him a desk in the Department under the title of "consultant," but no one consulted him, and after a short time he became fed up and requested retirement, as Dulles expected he would. Thus, Kennan was not forced out of the Foreign Service. He was allowed to wither on the vine.

Eight years later, when the Kennedy administration took office, eight or ten career chiefs of mission were recalled to Washington, presumably for reassignment. Many were outstanding officers. They were given desks in adjoining rooms on the first floor, promptly dubbed "skidrow," and given little or nothing to do. It soon became apparent that the administration would not be brokenhearted if they requested retirement, which most of them did, one by one. A few were given temporary tasks, and some who were tenacious enough to stick it out were brought back into the main stream of the Service.

A devastating blow to the career service was struck by Under Secretary Katzenbach in 1967, when he stated that he would not pass along a recommendation for an ambassadorial assignment for any career officer over 50 years of age. He added that a career officer could expect only one assignment as ambassador. No sighs of dismay were heard among career officers, when Katzenbach announced that he was returning to private life.

Despite its tribulations, the Foreign Service remains the most exciting and rewarding career any young man or woman can enter in America today. I wish I had space for another article of this length to say why. ■



THE CONSULAR FUNCTION

WILLARD L. BEAULAC

SOME of the most eminent officers in United States diplomatic history have served as consuls, some of them for long periods. One has to mention such names as Bohlen, Thompson, Kennan, Murphy and Messersmith. And there were many eminent names before those. There were American consuls before there was a United States. The Yankee consul has been a romantic figure, celebrated in song and drama as well as in our history books.

Yet today many officers, including the most promising perhaps, do their best to avoid consular service. And this at a time when the consular function may be as important as it has been at any time in our history. What are the reasons for this? What is its meaning in terms of the national interest? How can it be remedied?

It is important to have in mind, in this connection, that the consular function embraces not only the statutory-protection work with which it frequently is identified but the whole complex of work categories performed in consular offices.

These categories, as all of us know, are political, economic/commercial, administrative, and statutory consular; that is to say the same categories of work as are performed in embassies. Viewed in this light there is no basic difference between work performed at consular posts and work performed at embassies.

What differences exist are in levels of representation and in degrees of emphasis. Embassies deal with governments at the national level while consular officers deal with them at the local level. And obviously there is more, and more important political and economic/commercial work in most embassies than there is in most consular offices. On the other hand in some consular offices there is a con-

siderable amount of political and economic/commercial work, just as in some embassies there is a great deal of statutory work.

In other words the Foreign Service officer who is trained in political or economic/commercial work can exercise his talents in consulates as well as in embassies, just as the Foreign Service officer with training in the statutory field can work in that field in embassies as well as in consular offices. Consular work is an integral part of our diplomacy. Furthermore its importance has grown with changes that have occurred in the nature of diplomacy.

A characteristic of today's international world is the new importance of people as people. As great empires have broken up new nations have assumed a free status in the world community. The people of those nations were largely unknown to us before they won their independence. Most of them still are little known to us. This is true despite the vastly increased attention given to international affairs not only by our government but also by the daily press, the weekly news magazines, and the radio and television, all of which manage with dismaying frequency to convey images of foreign peoples that are quite salable but for that very reason perhaps are distorted and misleading.

In new countries and also in countries that are no longer new people are influencing events in ways that are unsettling to the established order and that are capable of involving the interests of other nations. Old institutions are weakening or crumbling. In some countries new institutions are emerging. In others men are replacing institutions. In still others chaos often appears to be just around the corner.

Change often is rapid and radical. Conflict, dissension, and subversion may be more common than order and predictability. In these circumstances governments can speak with less assurance than they used to be able to and we must look behind them to discover what is going on and how it may affect our interests and responsibilities.

It is a truism that the world becomes smaller every day. A few decades ago Europe was days away from our shores. Today Vietnam is only hours away by jet plane. And Cuba may be seconds away as ballistic missiles travel.

But in terms of defending our interests and carrying out our responsibilities the world is large indeed. If it is difficult to keep abreast of developments in our own country, some of them deeply disturbing to our friends as well as to us, it is immensely more difficult to keep abreast of events in Africa, in Asia, or even in the American hemisphere just beyond our borders.

We shall never know all we should about the swiftly changing world in which our diplomacy operates but we need to know as much as we can. We need to know what is going on not only in capital cities where our embassies are but frequently in places remote from capital cities.

We have given formal recognition to the new importance of people. USIA and AID have become huge bureaucracies whose purpose is to communicate with people as well as with governments. USIA goes over the heads of governments to address people directly. AID also addresses itself to people and their problems. In many countries it stresses social improvement over economic improvement even though in the more developed countries the latter appears to have come first.

We have involved ourselves in the affairs of other peoples to a degree not dreamed of a generation ago. We have shown a willingness, and even an eagerness, to plan for other peoples, to appropriate vast sums of money to be spent on behalf of other peoples, indeed to do a great deal of the thinking that other peoples formerly did for themselves.

Yet many of the peoples we have helped to plan for and sometimes to think for have been little known to our planners and to some who have tried to carry out plans. This undoubtedly helps to account for the failure of some of our programs, or what has appeared to be failure, and for many of the disappointments and disillusionments of foreigners concerning our power, our skills, and even concerning our good will.

Our failures clearly are not due to lack of good will, or of dedicated officials, or of skills, or of money. They are due, in some measure at least, to ignorance; ignorance concerning foreigners, concerning the foreign peoples who are the raw material of our diplomacy and who will, in the last analysis, determine whether our

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programs will succeed or fail, or the degrees to which they may succeed or fail.

The broader responsibilities we have assumed in the international world, affecting the lives and fortunes of countless millions of persons outside our borders, have created new and different problems for our diplomacy. But our diplomatic representation has not been broadened in ways that are open to us and that might be helpful. Rather contraction and centralization have been the rule. Embassies have tended to absorb functions of consular offices, and "wisdom" and decision making have been concentrated more and more in Washington.

Our principal instrument for following what is going on in the world and for trying to influence it is, of course, the embassy. But consular offices also have a role to play. In many countries it is already an important role. In many others the role could be strengthened with advantage to our diplomacy.

Consular work, like all diplomatic work, has one overriding purpose: To contribute to the accomplishment of the great objectives our country has in the world. It is capable of doing that in numerous ways.

Statutory work is an important part of consular work. It makes it possible for Americans to live abroad, as they must in increasing numbers. It also makes it possible for foreigners to travel to the United States, as our interests require that they do.

Persons doing statutory work may come in contact with more foreigners and Americans than do all the rest of our representatives in a country. Perfunctorily carried out, statutory work can lower the opinion foreigners and Americans have of United States diplomacy. Well performed, as an integral part of our diplomatic effort, it can be a very useful part of that effort.

But consular work has additional and broader importance. There have been consular officers who have more correctly appraised political developments of great importance to the United States and to the world than the ambassadors in the countries where they were serving. The American Consul in Malaga was predicting that a Spanish Republic would emerge and be followed by a civil war, replete with mass assassinations and church burnings, while the Ambassador in Madrid, a career officer, was proclaiming his faith in the permanence of the monarchy. Our Ambassador to the Spanish Republic, a non-career officer with equal loyalty to the *status quo*, expressed faith in the Republic's

stability only days before the outbreak of the civil war that was to destroy it. He had few supporters among our consuls throughout Spain.

Both these ambassadors were ideologically and emotionally committed to the governments to which they were accredited. The consuls were closer to the Spanish people than the ambassadors were, and they knew them better.

That is not to suggest that officers in consular establishments usually know more about a country than diplomatic officers, but any experienced Foreign Service officer can point to cases where a consul's appreciation of a situation was helpful, or should have been helpful, to the Department as well as to the embassy to which the consul reported.

There are many countries, for example countries where power is local, in which the view from the capital city always will be inadequate for our government's purposes. Bombay and Calcutta have more than a hundred million persons each in the consular district. It is puerile to believe that the Embassy in New Delhi could adequately maintain communication with those people. The consular officers in Bombay and Calcutta cannot do it either, but they can make a beginning, and the calibre of the consul general in those places should be no lower than that of the deputy chief of mission in New Delhi, nor should the consul general be less close to the Ambassador than the deputy chief of mission is.

Guayaquil, the site of our Consulate General in Ecuador, and São Paulo, the site of a consulate general in Brazil, are the most important cities in the respective countries from the economic viewpoint and perhaps from the political viewpoint as well. Furthermore each may be controlled by a political faction which is in opposition to the government. This may permit or even require the exercise of considerable political acumen on the part of the consul general, particularly if the ambassador is a newcomer to diplomacy as he may well be.

In countries that are not politically homogeneous, in which political and economic developments are not readily predictable or stability relatively

assured, and most countries fall in these categories, the consular officer who is trained in the political and economic fields may perform a function which is of the highest value, and consular offices in such countries should not be closed for purely budgetary reasons.

What budgetary value can be placed on intimate acquaintance with a country, or a group, or a person who may be important to the United States? What is the budgetary value of communication, of understanding and of peace? The arts of peace should have as enthusiastic budgetary support as the instruments of war but it has frequently been easier to send a military mission to a country than to open a consulate there.

I am not suggesting an increase in the numbers of persons we send abroad in a consular capacity or in any other capacity. On the contrary I consider that such reducing exercises as TOPSY and BALPA were long overdue and would have taken place much sooner if the climate in Washington had been better—if there had been less infatuation with Washington's own ideas. Whatever broadening of consular representation might be needed to meet the requirements of our diplomacy would be infinitesimal in terms of men and money compared with resources that have been dissipated in carrying out programs. The probability is that no increases in personnel would be required. If ritual reporting were eliminated and procedures simplified, reductions rather than increases might be the rule. In any event budgetary considerations do not stand in the way of improvement in the consular function.

The consular function requires excellent men if it is to be well carried out. It also helps to develop excellent men.

The day is long past when a young man with a fair education, a good presence, and an interest in living abroad, could helpfully begin his career in an embassy political section and work his way up to the rank of chief of mission without ever leaving the diplomatic world of which he was a part. He must know economics for one thing merely to understand what is published in the daily press, surely a minimum requirement of a Foreign Service officer. And he must know a great deal about the real world that is outside the conventional diplomatic world. Consular service can help him gain that background.

Consulates are not huge bureaucracies as many embassies are. They are less inward looking than an embassy can become. Consular officers



have privileged opportunities to know foreign peoples, not only government officials and other members of the rarefied society diplomats must spend so much time with, but those who live at a country's grass roots, who probably are more representative of the country and who may more accurately reflect the temper of the nation, the direction it is moving in, its attitudes, its receptivities, and its capabilities.

Running a consular office is an exercise in management and in leadership. Consular officers in many countries are called upon, while still young, to show initiative, to make decisions, to demonstrate courage, qualities that are essential in a Foreign Service officer but that not all officers are able to develop in the routine conduct of embassy work.

The consular function probably has not been so important since the early days of the Republic. Nevertheless it is downgraded by the very agency that should give it all possible support—by the Department of State that is. There is a tendency in the Department to equate consular service with statutory consular service. The Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs has nothing to do with security and nothing to do with consular affairs except with statutory consular affairs. And at the Bureau level only one person has had any extensive experience in the statutory field.

Every new Foreign Service officer is obliged to take a "consular" course before he goes out to the field. But in reality it is not a consular course. It is a course in the statutory consular function. An inevitable effect of the course is to identify the consular function with statutory work at the beginning of an officer's career.

The course concerns itself with the voluminous regulations that govern the statutory function and with the forms that are used. At the end of the course the new officer is given a large envelope containing an enormous number of blank forms and is encouraged to carry them with him to his post. A second effect of the course, therefore, is to surround the statutory function with an atmosphere of dreariness.

But the Department also has downgraded the consular function in a more basic way—by providing a separate "career" for consular officers. The Department has a Career Management Program the objective of which is to develop officers with the skills that future needs of the Service are estimated to require, and in the numbers required. Career Management officers in the Department, with those ends in mind, and also with the

"career goals" of each officer in mind, "project" the careers of officers for some years ahead. One of the careers which officers may be projected into is the consular career. The others are of course the political, economic/commercial, and administrative careers.

The consular career, or "ladder," as it tends to be called for promotion purposes, revolves around the statutory function, and persons in that career are expected to spend the bulk of their service in consular offices and in consular sections of embassies. The consular career, therefore, is limited in terms of responsibility and opportunity for professional growth. Political and economic/commercial work that is done in consular offices, although often more important than it is credited with being, still tends to be much less important than political and economic/commercial work done in embassies.

Thus officers who have had their advancement within the consular career or ladder are not and cannot be expected to be competitive, in substantive fields, with their colleagues who have ascended within the political and economic/commercial ladders. Nevertheless, under Selection Board procedures applied in Classes 5-4-3 a portion of the officers in each ladder are promoted without having to compete with officers in other ladders, and promotions in each ladder have had a fairly uniform relationship to the number of officers in the ladder.

Officers in the consular ladder, then, are both favored and discriminated against in the promotion process. They are favored in mid-career because some are promoted without having had to compete with officers in other and more demanding ladders. And they are discriminated against as senior officers because with the inadequate backgrounds they have been able to acquire in substantive matters they are unable to compete across-the-board with officers who have risen in the political and economic/commercial ladders.

A natural and inevitable result of separating consular work from political and economic/commercial work for purposes of career management and promotion has been that the consular career has become a refuge for mediocre officers. It also has condemned to mediocrity many who have been projected into it.

The Rogers Act of 1924, a milestone in the development of professional diplomacy in the United States, abolished the Diplomatic Service and the Consular Service and created a single Foreign Service. But consular

service has again become substantially separate largely as a matter of administrative convenience and to the detriment of our diplomacy.

Young officers frequently are eager to take advantage of opportunities that consular service offers. But many fear to be taped as consular "types" and to find themselves enclosed in a consular "career" or "ladder" or "cone" in which opportunities for development will be limited. And they are justified in their fear. As a result consular service is deprived of many of the most enterprising and ambitious Foreign Service officers and those officers are deprived of the opportunities for training and accomplishment that consular service provides.

Just as the Department is responsible for the low estate of the consular function so only the Department can rescue it from its low estate by demonstrating through its acts and attitudes that it considers the consular function to be an integral and important part of our diplomacy. Only then will the consular function be in a position to make the full contribution it is capable of making and that our diplomacy requires.

A logical first step would be to abolish the consular career or ladder. There may or may not be justification for an administrative ladder. Administrative personnel, so long as they are confined within their own career or ladder at least, are not concerned with the substance of diplomacy. But consular officers are.

Leaving aside for our present purposes administrative officers and special professional officers such as doctors, scientists, etc. I suggest that all Foreign Service officers should compete with each other for promotion within a Foreign Affairs specialization, either political or economic/commercial. All officers would have some training in the statutory consular function but that function would be secondary to their specialties, and performance in the consular function, the statutory as well as the broader consular function, would be judged for promotion purposes as though it were performance in their specialties. Persons unable or unwilling to compete on that basis would be encouraged to transfer to the Staff Corps where they might concentrate on statutory work, or to leave the Service.

A corollary of such a system would be a strengthened Staff Corps whose members would be principally responsible for performing the statutory function, the proportion of Foreign Service officers engaged in that function being determined by the number

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THE COUNTRY DIRECTOR: A SUBJECTIVE APPRAISAL

JAMES W. SPAIN

The Origin of the Species

On July 1, 1966 there came into existence a hitherto unheard-of creature, the Country Director.

Four months before his actual birth, FAM 385 of March 4, 1966 heralded him as:

The single focus of responsibility for leadership and coordination of departmental and inter-departmental activities concerning his country or countries . . .

When he was little more than a month old, on August 4, 1966, the then Deputy Under Secretary for Administration told him in a personal (circular) letter that he:

Must exercise the same leadership, foresight, government-wide overview and wisdom that the Secretary and the Assistant Secretaries exercise at their levels and the Ambassador exercises at the diplomatic mission.

Even further, the letter suggested, the Country Director's view must be "truly Presidential in outlook."

A few weeks later in a meeting called by Secretary Rusk, one precocious seeker after identity asked: "Just what are we?" The hearts of forty-odd fledgling Country Directors throbbed when Mr. Rusk replied: "For your country or countries, you are me!"

In those first few months of life, the Country Directors were presented to the public and the press as the senior US Government officials concerned with relations with their respective countries, to their bureaucratic brethren as the equivalent of the Ambassadors in the field and the heads of the Country Team at headquarters, and to the foreign Chiefs of Mission in Washington as their opposite numbers.

This was all a long time ago, and since then little or nothing has been said in Government circles about the Country Director. (The only signifi-

cant exception is the recent Report to the American Foreign Service Association, *Toward a Modern Diplomacy*. This document, incidentally, puts the finger directly on the weak spots in the system.)

In trying to say something more now, the question of methodology arises. I have been Country Director of NEA/PAF since July 1, 1966, but one man's experience in one job is . . . one man's experience in one job. To the best of my knowledge no real data base exists for a study of Country Directors. They do not file regular work sheets. They are seldom the subject of professional pollsters. They do not even write many letters to the editor.

The thought of trying to arrange a gathering of Country Directors to pool experiences did occur to me. However, my own experience in the business has been that (a) Country Directors get more invitations to meetings peripheral to their main interests than they care to attend, (b) they often have a very hard time getting people with knowledge and authority to come to meetings they call, so (c) they are sometimes reduced to taking such soundings as they can in a not very organized way and adding their own wit and wisdom. That pretty well explains the methodology of this study.

The Vertical Puzzle: A Working Solution

"Layering" was the principal dragon that the Country Director system was supposed to slay. This truly formidable beast had the feudally complex and aristocratically hyphenated name of Dooifododod-Dásasómus*.

It is a pleasure to report that within the department the dragon, if not completely dead, has been routed from the field. On his own terrain, the Country Director has a number of things going for him. The relative smallness of his own staff encourages spontaneity of ideas, prompt discussion, and confident judgment. It is now routine to have a cable imple-

menting an action on the wires within an hour or two of its inspiration and with no higher signature than that of the Country Director. At least 75 percent of PAF's cables go out that way and *post factum* complaints from higher authority have been practically nil.

Purely departmental matters requiring the Assistant Secretary's attention can be brought to him almost as quickly. The functional bureaus of the department generally respect the responsibility and knowledge of the Country Directorate and necessary coordination is usually easily effected. The Country Director has a built-in incentive for settling questions that involve countries other than his own with peers (i.e., his fellow Country Directors) rather than referring disputes to higher authority. Too many such referrals inevitably undermine his own authority. Thus, he is forced to look beyond his own parochial concerns and take into account broader US interests.

Never in two and a half years have PAF (Pakistan-Afghanistan Affairs) and INC (India-Nepal-Ceylon Affairs) had to take an issue to the Assistant Secretary for decision. This is not to say that the Assistant Secretary does not review or even reverse my colleague's and my decisions, nor that the Secretary himself does not make the important ones. We have managed, however, to spare both of them the nonsubstantive histrionics that we go through with each other before reaching a mutually agreeable position. This harmony should confound those early doubters who believed that each Country Director's enthusiasm for his own "clients" would, in tricky regional situations such as India and Pakistan, lead to the Assistant Secretary's having frequently to play referee.

When an important matter must go to the top in the department, the Country Director can usually choose the people whom he wishes to involve. In my experience not only other bureaus but most of the key command levels are willing to deal directly with the Country Director. As a result

■ James Spain joined the Foreign Service in 1951, left for several years in the academic world, and "came home again" in 1963. Since then he has been assigned to S/P, INR, and NEA.

*Desk Officer-Officer in Charge-Deputy Office Director-Office Director-Deputy Assistant Secretary-Assistant Secretary-one or more Under Secretaries-Secretary.

more than once I have had the previously rare satisfaction of seeing an idea of some import put forward by an officer in the Country Directorate at, say, ten o'clock in the morning and signed off in a telegram by the Under Secretary or the Secretary by seven o'clock in the evening of the same day, with as many departmental clearances as necessary collected in the interim.

Of course, the departmental trail is not roses, roses all the way. If the upward flow from Country Director to Secretary is good, the downward flow sometimes leaves something to be desired. Only twice in two-and-a-half years, have I been called directly by the Secretary, but at least twenty times an assistant secretary or deputy assistant secretary has called for an answer to a question put by the Secretary—which they in due course repeated back up to him. (I am not speaking here of matters of policy which necessarily involve the bureau level but of details of fact, the best repository of which is almost inevitably the Country Directorate.)

Another factor, almost fundamental to the philosophy of Foggy Bottom, enters the situation. While the Foreign Service in the field has always stressed preparation for the personal responsibility of command which an ambassador must assume, the department seems to be devoted to dissipating the command function at all but the highest levels. Instead of giving a man a job, letting him work at it, and if he doesn't do it well, getting rid of him, the emphasis is on devising mechanisms for guidance and supervision to make it impossible for him to make mistakes. If this also sometimes makes it more difficult for him to do anything promptly and effectively, the safeguard is considered worth the cost.

One of the more ambiguous of these safeguards in the present system is the Deputy Assistant Secretary. An assistant secretary cannot be in the Department all the time or in two places at once, so he must have a deputy to whom his truly formidable and sometimes indivisible responsibility for a fifth of the world can be passed on occasion. However, the establishment of two or three deputies with sub-regional responsibilities can, if not very carefully managed, come close to reintroducing a layer of "super office directors" between the Country Directors and the assistant secretary.

That "the problem of the Deputy" has been more a theoretical than a practical one is due largely to the common sense, self-restraint, and mutual respect of the men involved.

The Embassy Tandem: Love at First Sight

FAM 385 also said that the Country Director would be responsible for seeing that the Ambassador's needs are served both within the Department and Government-wide. He was to ensure that the mission was fully supported in the full range of its requirements: policy, operations and administration.

If ever a couple were made for each other, it is the Ambassador and the Country Director. The Ambassador needs someone in Washington who not only shares his full range of interests fully (to echo the FAM) but (1) does so virtually exclusively (unlike the Assistant Secretary who must also share those of twenty-odd other Ambassadors) and (2) is able to exert a reasonable amount of direct influence both vertically and horizontally (unlike the desk officer who had to fight his way through *Dooicdadad* before he could even tackle *Dásasómus*). In short, to an Ambassador an ideal helpmate is someone on whom he can count to help inspire the Secretary to a major policy decision but also someone whom he does not feel embarrassed to ask about the prospects for getting a new limousine.

The bulk of the teamwork takes place between these extremes, of course. To mention only one example, I have found it desirable to try to exercise as much influence as possible in the selection of personnel for field assignments. The Country Director knows the personalities of the people who must work together in the field better than anyone else. He is intimately familiar with the requirements of the various jobs. He is in the best position to make sure that the Ambassador gets the kind of individuals he wants, while giving due attention to the need to maintain some institutional character in the Embassy. He can help tie these factors into the broader personnel policies and requirements of the Foreign Service as a whole.

Ambassadors, it must be noted, are also good for Country Directors. Their Presidential lineage is impeccable. Their authority is universally acknowledged. Their skill and experience is usually of a high order. When it becomes apparent that an Ambassador and a Country Director work as a closely knit team with views and objectives almost always in harmony, some of the former's magic rubs off on the latter. "What is the use," asks the wise bureaucrat, "of fobbing off the Country Director today if there's likely to be a rocket in tomorrow

from the Ambassador on the same subject?"

There is an aspect of the tandem with the Ambassador that neither FAM 385 nor any other exhortation to the Country Director mentions. Once in a while it is necessary to say "No" to an Ambassador. This is one of the most sensitive and important questions of the Country Director's existence. His first responsibility, it seems to me, is to make sure that the "no-saying" occurs as seldom as possible. He is in a position to be the first to be aware of potential disagreements between Washington and the field. He can ensure that the Ambassador is informed of all the factors involved as well as of the shifting currents and attitudes that affect policy making in Washington. At the same time, he can see to it that the top policy makers are aware of all the elements which have gone into the Ambassador's position—not just those highlighted in the latest cable. When the disagreement persists, he can only do what everyone else does—follow his conscience.

To make a Washington-field tandem work requires a high level of communication. For two and a half years I have exchanged letters with two Ambassadors at least once a week and sometimes three or four times a week. These have covered a wide range and have asked as well as answered questions. The ability to get to the field for a couple of weeks each year has been essential. A series of "twin acts" whereby the Country Directors of INC and PAF have been able to join in on the spot discussions with our Embassies in both Rawalpindi and New Delhi has been particularly helpful.

The only modest spanner in the spokes of the tandem that I have noted grows out of the Country Director's inability to control or even adequately monitor other agencies' cables. People may come and go, impressions be given and taken, between Washington and the field that the Country Director is unaware of. The more he relies on his Country Director, the less an Ambassador is apt to like this. And, after he has been an Ambassador for awhile, it is easy for him to sometimes forget that AID, USIA, or DOD are not always as susceptible to Country Director's complaints at home as are AID Directors, Public Affairs Officers, and Defense Attachés to Ambassadorial lifted eyebrows in the field.

From my vantage point, the Embassy tandem has been one of PAF's most successful and satisfying activi-

ties, and it seems a fair judgment that support for the Embassy has been more effective under the Country Directorate system. I have some grounds for believing that one or two Ambassadors feel the same way.

The Diplomatic Carousel: Harmony of the Spheres

It helps for a Country Director to have a touch of polygamy in his makeup. He must not only maintain a vital relationship with his American Ambassadors abroad but also work in close harmony with the diplomatic missions in Washington of the countries with which he is concerned. As in all good polygamous arrangements the two relationships are complementary, not conflicting.

The Country Director-foreign Ambassador relationship is more affected by personalities than any of the other relationships discussed above. The parties do not fit into an established hierarchy as do Country Director, Assistant Secretary, etc. Nor are they thousands of miles apart as are Country Directors and the American Ambassadors abroad.

I have been fortunate in having two extraordinarily capable Ambassadors in Washington who have chosen to work directly with me on a wide range of activities. This has made my job much easier. The relatively small Country Directorate staffs are not highly specialized, and so the interests of all members are concentrated on one or two countries, while the span of age and experience is roughly the same as that of local Embassy officers. This makes for close and easy relations. The former desk officer who had to try to be all things to all of his diplomatic constituents from Ambassador to Third Secretary just couldn't stretch that far. The Assistant Secretary cannot be a constantly available confidant for twenty or more Ambassadors.

In NEA the relationship got off to a very good start back in July 1966. The then Assistant Secretary, Raymond Hare, wrote all the Ambassadors in Washington from NEA countries urging each to consider the Country Director as the primary focus for his business in Washington. Most of them tried it, and from the beginning seem to have found the Country Directorate a good place to do business. The Ambassadors have been prepared to come in—or to be called in—to the Country Directorate for the pleasant (as well as the occasionally unpleasant) exchanges by which sovereign states conduct their affairs. The Ambassadors have found that many of their problems can be taken care of

directly and immediately, and that if one has to be passed on or up it will be promptly and effectively pursued. In short, an interview with the Country Director can be as satisfying and productive on many matters as one with an Assistant Secretary or an even more lofty official.

Ambassadors, however, represent their sovereigns and are accredited to our President, so they need free access to the highest levels of the US Government. At such times that it is important for an Ambassador to see the Assistant Secretary, the Secretary or even the President, no Country Director, however effective or well informed, is an adequate substitute. Even in this case, one of the greatest benefits of the Country Directorate system is that the Country Director is usually a welcome corner of any triangular discussion, however exalted the apex may be. Desk officers were seldom expected to do more than take notes and answer an occasional factual question when Ambassadors meet an official at the Assistant Secretary level or above. A great deal more seems to be expected from the Country Director, and I have used only moderate caution in playing a role in high level discussions. No one has yet told me to shut up.

All in all, my experience has been that the diplomatic carousel has gone round more smoothly, merrily, and effectively than previously because of the Country Director. It seems to me that the upper echelon of the Department and the Ambassadors themselves feel this way too.

The Horizontal Jungle: Dark and Bloody Ground

The quotations with which this article began stressed the government-wide coordination and leadership function of the Country Director.

There have been accomplishments in this area. It is generally accepted throughout the government that the Country Director not only has a right to be interested in anything that concerns his country but that he is the only one who is normally interested in everything. It is beginning to be acknowledged that he and his staff usually know more about their country than anyone else.

The Country Director's ability to go quickly to the top of the department is important to this leadership role. So also is the custom of the National Security Council staff in relying on the Country Director for reports on how a given matter is proceeding and of passing on to him current White House views on it.

The Country Director's right to call

a meeting to try to settle an inter-agency issue is usually—if sometimes grudgingly—recognized. So too is his authority to hold people in other agencies to their desks after normal working hours, or to bring them in on Saturday or Sunday, if a matter is urgent. (It is surprising how many deadlocks can be resolved on Friday afternoon by threat of a Saturday meeting.)

The Country Director's ability to instruct or authorize his Embassy on many matters is restricted by the need for a variety of clearances. However, his right unilaterally to ask his Ambassador for field views is generally acknowledged, and Country Directors, like defense attorneys, soon learn how useful a cooperative witness can be when supplied with the right questions. Finally, when immediate action is required, the Country Director is the one man who on his own authority can take responsibility for at least tentative decisions and interim actions.

There come times, however, when the "tricks of the trade" are exhausted and basic "constitutional" factors leave the Country Director leading no one but himself. NSAM 341 which set up and explained the SIG-IRG system in March 1966 did not recognize the existence of the Country Director. (This deficiency, incidentally, has not as of this writing been remedied in the recent reorganization of the coordination system by the new administration.) All of the exhortations to the Country Director quoted above are from State Department sources. There are a good many people in the government concerned with foreign affairs who feel little obligation to give State Department pronouncements priority over what they conceive to be their own responsibilities and their agencies' objectives.

The Secretary of State has sometimes chosen to pass his authority off at a high level rather than down to his regional assistant secretaries and country directors. The responsibility for coordination of military aid, for example, was vested in the Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs and for coordination of economic aid in the Director of AID. From both, it descended to functional officials in GPM and lower echelons of AID who, understandably, were not always prepared to recognize the Country Director's leadership role.

Again, the machinery that was devised for reaching decisions on questions involving the Symington and Conte/Long Amendments did not make life easy for the Country Di-

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1869: (from left to right) William Hogan, clerk, 4th class, Robert S. Chilton, 3rd class, Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, R. S. Chew, Chief Clerk, William H. Seward, Secretary of State, E. Peshine Smith, Solicitor of Department, William Hunter, Second Assistant Secretary of State, George E. Baker, clerk, 4th class, Thomas C. Cox, clerk, 4th class. Mr. Cox was the great-grandfather of FSO Hume Horan, who supplied the JOURNAL with this photograph.

Service Glimpses

≈ **1869·1969** ≈



1948: The US Embassy Staff in Prague, in foreground Ambassador Laurence E. Steinhardt and then DCM James K. Penfield.



1915: Newly appointed FSOs and instructors on the steps of Old State, William A. Pierce, Edwin A. Dow, Frank C. Lee, Albert C. Chapin, H. T. Goodier, Morgan A. Tylor, John B. Nicholson, Joseph E. Jacobs, Morton F. Moos, Ely Eliot Palmer, W. E. Chapman and Robert N. McNeely.



1969: Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson speaks to members of the American Foreign Service Association at the January 30th luncheon.



AFSA By-Law Amendments

An AFSA General Business Meeting, the second in two months, was held on February 18 to consider several amendments to the Association by-laws. A number of amendments had been passed at an earlier meeting on January 19, but considerable difference of opinion had developed on several proposals, which were remanded for further consideration. An *ad hoc* committee under Pierce Bullen's chairmanship was appointed to rework the amendments taking into account the problems raised during the meeting. The committee, which included Everett E. Briggs, Theresa Healy, and George Kelly, drafted several fresh amendments, in some cases preparing a number of alternate proposals. These were considered at the February 18 session.

The most hard-fought battle at this second meeting focused on two alternate amendments regarding membership qualification (Article VIII). A draft amendment which would have broadened eligibility for active membership to include those serving in officer positions in State, Aid, and USIA narrowly failed to win the two-thirds vote needed for passage. An alternate draft providing for a more restricted active membership was then adopted. Complete texts of the amendments passed at the two sessions appear below.

Proposed amendment to ARTICLE III, Paragraph 1 PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES

[It is proposed that the new Paragraph 1 approved at the last meeting be replaced by:]

1. To further the interests and well-being of the members of the Association.

Proposed ARTICLE V, Section B, paragraphs 1 & 2 POWERS OF OFFICERS

1. The President shall preside at all general meetings of the Association. In his absence, the First Vice President, the Second Vice President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors, in that order, shall preside. The President shall be a non-voting member of the Board of Directors. He may call upon the Board of Directors for information relating to the affairs of the Association. He shall have

such other powers and duties as may be delegated to him, subject to his acceptance, by the Board of Directors of the Association.

2. The First Vice President shall be vested with all of the powers and shall perform all the duties of the President during the absence of the latter, and in case of a vacancy arising in the office of the President, he shall succeed to that office for the remainder of the President's unexpired term and, in turn, the Second Vice President shall become the First Vice President for the remainder of the First Vice President's unexpired term. The First Vice President and the Second Vice President shall be non-voting members of the Board of Directors.

Proposed ARTICLE VI ELECTIONS

1. On or before August 1 of each election year, i.e., every even-numbered fiscal year (July 1-June 30), the Board of Directors of the Association shall appoint an Elections Committee of at least five individuals from among Active Members of the Association residing in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. Members of the Board of Directors or Officers of the Association shall not be members of the Elections Committee.

2. On or before September 1 of the election year, the Elections Committee shall issue an election call by general mailing to all Active Members. The election call shall solicit candidates for election to the eleven positions constituting the Board of Directors of the Association. Nominations must be received by the Elections Committee on or before October 15 of each election year. Candidates may be presented either individually or as members of slates.

3. The Elections Committee shall ascertain whether each candidate on October 15 fulfills eligibility requirements, i.e., current residence in the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C., Active Membership, current in dues payment. Members of the Elections Committee shall not themselves be eligible as candidates nor may they accept appointment as Officers of the Association or Members of the Board of Directors at any time during the election year. Incumbent Officers of the Association or Members of the Board of Directors, if otherwise qualified, may be candidates.

4. After eligibility of all candidates has been determined, the Elections Committee shall ascertain whether there are at least 22 candidates. If fewer than 22 candidates have qualified, the Elections

Committee shall select qualified candidates, with their consent, in sufficient number to assure at least 22 candidates. In selecting such additional candidates, the Elections Committee should bear in mind the desirability of reflecting the structure of the Active Membership of the Association.

5. The official ballot bearing the names of all qualified individuals and slates shall be mailed to the Active Membership not later than November 15 of the election year. In order to facilitate informed voting by the Membership, the Elections Committee shall encourage and accept brief platform statements in support of candidacies, both individual and slate, and shall include a copy of each such statement with each ballot. The Association shall also address envelopes provided by candidates who wish to send additional platform material to the Membership at their own expense.

6. The Elections Committee shall instruct the Active Members to vote for not more than eleven candidates as Members of the Board of Directors. These eleven names may be voted from among those appearing as individuals or as members of any slate. Slates may be voted as units, in which case each person on the slate will be recorded as having received one vote. Votes may be cast for write-in candidates, provided they fulfill the eligibility requirements on December 31 of the election year. Votes must be received by the Elections Committee no later than December 31 of the election year.

7. Within five working days from January 1 in the election year, the Elections Committee shall tally the election results. The eleven candidates receiving the greatest number of votes shall be declared as elected to the Board of Directors; the Elections Committee, by majority vote, shall decide ties.

8. The new Board of Directors shall take office on January 15 and shall itself elect the President, the First Vice President, and the Second Vice President of the Association. The Board of Directors shall elect from its number a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer.

Proposed ARTICLE VIII (Alternate A) MEMBERSHIP

1. The Association shall be composed of Active Members, Associate Members, Honorary Members, and Fellows in Diplomacy.

2. Persons eligible for Active Membership are those American citizens serving under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, or

Ambassador Johnson Addresses AFSA Luncheon

Public Law 90-494, and any amendments thereto, or who have retired from service under these laws. Those eligible shall be admitted to Active Membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues. Only Active Members shall have voting rights in the conduct of the affairs of the Association. Any Active Member or person eligible for Active Membership shall be admitted to Active Membership for life upon request, acceptance and payment of the prescribed dues.

3. Persons eligible for Associate Membership are those American citizens who are: (a) employees of the Department of State, AID, or USIA who hold officer level positions; (b) employees of other Departments and Agencies of the Government who hold career status and who are serving or have served abroad in connection therewith; (c) in the opinion of the Board of Directors, closely associated with or actively interested in the foreign affairs of the United States. Associate Members shall be admitted to membership without any formality other than application, acceptance, and the payment of annual dues.

4. The Board of Directors may invite to become Honorary Members for specified periods such representative American citizens as they deem proper. Honorary Officers of the Association shall be Honorary Members during the time they hold office. Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

5. The Board of Directors is authorized to elect each year not more than five distinguished American citizens as Fellows in Diplomacy. Those elected should have made outstanding contributions to the field of international relations and at the time of their election should not be officials of the Government of the United States. Fellows in Diplomacy shall be exempt from the payment of dues, and election shall be for life.

6. The Board of Directors may expel a member from the Association for cause after notice to and due hearing of the member concerned.

Proposed ARTICLE X MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. A general business meeting of the Active Members of the Association shall be held in Washington, D.C., in the spring of each fiscal year and shall also be held whenever requested by 50 or more of the Active Members of the Association who are within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C. General business meetings also may be held at the request of the President or the Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall have a notice of the hour and place of any general business meeting sent to each Active Member who is within the metropolitan area of Washington, D.C.

2. A majority of Active Members present and voting is required for the transaction of business at a general business meeting, except in the case of amendments of the Certificate of Incorporation or of these By-Laws, where Article XI applies. Procedure in meetings shall be in accordance with *Robert's*

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, newly-appointed Under Secretary for Political Affairs, was guest speaker at the Association's Luncheon on January 30. The luncheon, the first held since the new Administration took office, drew a capacity crowd.

After introductory remarks, Ambassador Johnson went on to say in part:

"In thinking about appearing before you today, I went back to and looked over the remarks that I had made in my last appearance before this Association which was on October 27, 1966, and thanks to our estimable organ, THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, those remarks were transcribed at that time and published in the JOURNAL. Thus, I was able to refresh my mind a little bit on what I'd said at that time. I talked about a number of subjects, one of which was my interest in seeing what the association could do about entering into a more meaningful relationship with our public and with establishing the constituency to the degree that it is possible for us to do so.

"I've been very pleased to note in the two years that have passed the great progress that I feel has been made in this. I was very pleased to see that Foreign Service Day went off apparently very well here in the Department, and that we were able to make the beginnings of associating ourselves with our public a little more and establishing our constituency a little bit more, and I want to congratulate those in the Association who have given the leadership to that effort.

"I noticed that the next thing I said was that I was disappointed that the younger officers in the Service were not participating more actively in the Association. I'm glad to see that that also seems to have been corrected—some would say with a little interest,

Rules of Order, except for quorum requirements, and provided also that these By-Laws shall take precedence over *Robert's Rules of Order* in event of conflict.

The February 18 meeting did not pass proposed changes to Article XI concerning amendment procedures. The AFSA Board was mandated to appoint a committee to draft two alternative amendments. One to restrict participation in the amendment procedure to members in the Washington area (the present arrangement), and a second providing for ratification of proposed amendments to the by-laws by the entire active membership.

perhaps, but I feel that the leadership that has been taken by our younger officers, the active interest of all the members of the Association and its problems, and the problems of the Service, I feel on the whole has been much of a plus, and I'm very glad to see the constructive role that our younger officers are now taking in the Association. I'm sure that all of us older officers welcome this very much.

"I also talked at that time about my own feelings with respect to the almost geometric progression that was taking place in the breadth of the interests of the Foreign Service, in the demands that were being made upon us, in the tools that were being made available to us in carrying out foreign affairs, and the necessity for us Foreign Affairs officers broadening our knowledge, broadening our professionalism, and becoming an even more professional service than we had in the past, better able to meet the geometrically progressive needs of our country as far as its foreign relations were concerned. I believe that much progress has been made in this also.

"I do feel that the JOURNAL has become more and more what we discussed—a professional organ dedicated to raising the professional standards of our Service, and I feel that the report of the Association on the Foreign Service that was chaired by Graham Martin, "Toward A More Modern Diplomacy", was a great contribution to the thinking on this subject. . . .

"Pardon the few entirely personal notes. I have been asked to come back to assume this position in the Department. I was not seeking any transfer, but when I was asked to take on this position, I felt that I had no choice but to do so. I had known the President somewhat during the time that he was Vice President and subsequently, but we were not close friends. I had never met Mr. Rogers or Mr. Richardson previously until I was asked to come back just before New Year's to discuss this position. I want to say just a few things on my experience during the time I was back here at that time and during the week that I've been here and during this period.

"First, I'm enormously impressed with the orderly and the systematic way in which the new Administration is going about organizing itself. As he's not here, I would like to say that in Mr. Rogers the United States is going to again have, undoubtedly, one

of its great Secretaries of State. I have no question about that in my mind, and I found it a pleasure to work with him and I'm sure that those of you here in the Department as you have the opportunity to become acquainted with him and see his work are going to feel the same way. I think we in the Department and the Foreign Service can have great confidence in him.

"As far as the President is concerned, most of you yesterday heard the remarks that he made here in the Department. Those of you who were not here should know that the President came over especially to the Department yesterday, spoke in the auditorium to the senior officers and a group of the junior officers of the Department and at that time you heard the President's own expression of esteem for the Foreign Service, the professional Foreign Service, his interest in its development, and his feeling of association with the Department. Any president, of course, given his special role in foreign affairs, always feels that he has a special relationship to the Department of State. Mr. Nixon is no exception to this, and what he said yesterday in public to the Department, I've also heard him say in private, and I know that this is the way that he does feel about the Department and the Foreign Service. I think we have a great president for whom to work.

"There have been various rumors circulating here in the Department with regard to the relationship of the Department to the White House and the White House staff to the President, the position that the Secretary of State is going to have in the administration and the position that the Department is going to have. May I say just a few words on this? I want to say I feel the concerns that have been expressed by some with regard to the organization are not well-founded. I do feel that the organization is being worked out, can and will work, and I want to say that in a very special and peculiar sense, the Department of State and the Foreign Service is very much the servant of the President. I don't think, we have any claim to any special wisdom, special knowledge—we have our expertise—but I think it's up to us, to a degree, to establish ourselves and prove ourselves to each new president, and the President is going to look for his advice and for his information to those areas in which he feels he finds the greatest confidence. When it comes to this, I have no questions whatsoever about the Department or the Foreign Service. I repeat what I've said previously—that we've always got to bear in mind that we're the Foreign Service

of the United States; we are the Foreign Service of the entire Executive Department of the government, and to the degree that we can look upon our jobs, to the degree that we can look upon our advice and our suggestions through the eyes of the President who must look upon the interests of the country as a whole, who must look upon the Executive Departments as a whole, I think we're going to be able to do our jobs.

"As far as details of organization, as far as the Foreign Service is concerned itself in this organization, I read when it came to me in Tokyo the report of the association on 'Toward a Modern Diplomacy.' I know that this was read by many in the new administration and whereas each individual involved will have his views with regard to details or specific aspects of it, I will not attempt to comment in detail on it. I do feel that it was a very substantial contribution to thinking in this subject.

"If I may say so, the nature of the position it is contemplated that I will occupy was to a very considerable degree influenced in my own thinking and those with whom I discussed the matter by the report of the association. Some of the thoughts and the aspects of what was called the permanent Under Secretary in the report went into the thinking with regard to the position that I'm going to occupy. I might say that the thought is that in addition to carrying out the functions previously carried out by the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, I am also absorbing the functions that were formerly attached to the Office of the Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs, "G", and I'm combining the functions of the two offices, so that the position will be in line in the Department to a degree that perhaps the position was formerly not.

"I know that some have placed considerable expectation on this new organization. I appreciate the confidence and the responsibility—the confidence that has been shown in asking me to take on this position. I feel inadequate to the tasks that lie ahead. I feel humility at the jobs that have to be done, but I feel a great inspiration and a great confidence from my association with each of you. Thank you very much."

Books Needed

AFSA's library needs books, especially books written by foreign service people and/or about the foreign service. If duplicates are received, they will be donated to the AAFSW Book Fair.

New Board Members

Edward S. Walker, Jr. is 28 years old. He received his AB in Philosophy from Hamilton College in 1962. He joined the United States Army and served as an Intelligence Specialist in Heidelberg, Germany for three years. While there, he completed the requirements for his Masters Degree at nights. His AM in International Relations was awarded in 1965 by Boston University.

Upon his honorable discharge from the Army in 1965 Mr. Walker joined the Agency for International Development as a Management Intern. He served in the Department as a desk officer and loan officer and spent three months in Saigon, Vietnam acting as a liaison with local importers. He joined the Foreign Service through the examination procedure in 1967 and was assigned to the Visa Office in Washington to render security advisory opinions. In the fall of 1968 he was transferred to the Policy Planning Council as the first Associate Member. He is also currently acting as the Executive Secretary of the Open Forum Panel and the President of the Junior Foreign Service Officers organization.



The newest member of the Board, who replaces Ted Curran, has several distinctions in her record. Jodie Lewinsohn is the oldest surviving female in USIA's Junior Officer program. She was the first American to live in a Burmese woman's dormitory and has the dubious distinction of departing one USIS post a few months before it was forced to close to move along to another to preside over its demise.

A native of the great state of Oklahoma, she was educated West, East and Far East: Stanford, SAIS of the Johns Hopkins, University of Rangoon and the University of the Philippines on a Fulbright scholarship. Before joining USIA in 1959, she worked for

a year as a local employee with the Cambodian Embassy in Washington and at their UN Mission.

Jodie has served twice in Phnom Penh, in Djakarta and Manila. She is presently Desk Officer for Indonesia, the Philippines and Cambodia, Office of the Assistant Director, East Asia/Pacific.

Jodie likes to cook and to eat and therefore has to play tennis.



Award to Honor Stephen H. Miller

The political science department of Haverford College has established an award honoring the memory of Stephen H. Miller, USIA.

Miller, a 1962 graduate of Haverford, was killed in Hué, South Vietnam, during the Tet offensive in early 1968. At the time, Miller was engaged in village redevelopment work with the USIA.

In December, 1968, Miller was named a posthumous recipient of the Secretary's Award by the State Department.

According to associate professor Harvey Glickman, chairman of Haverford's political science department, the new award honoring Miller will be presented annually to a graduating political science major "who best exemplifies the ideals of political involvement and social service expressed in the tragically brief life and career of Steve Miller." The first award will be made in May, 1969.

"At the outset, the award will consist of books on political action," said Glickman. "When we find sufficient funds, we hope to set up a scholarship fund at Haverford."

Professor Glickman noted that interested persons may send their contributions to him at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 19041; checks should be payable to "Haverford College," he added.

She Balances AFSA's Books

There's a kind of hush in a room when Irene Taylor Hinczewicz speaks, for not only does she have one of the most engaging voices; but her hazel eyes reflect her warmth and friendliness. But in performing her duties at the AFSA headquarters, Irene creates a kind of perpetual motion, for she not only is keeper of the exchequer but also "jill of all trades."

Irene was born in Middlesex County, London, England, was graduated from Tottenham High School, completed courses at the Pitman Business School and then entered nurses training. She spent one year in Children's Residential Nursery and two years at the Royal Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital at Kings Cross.

In 1948, Irene met Major Chester B. Hinczewicz and a few months later she joined him at the chapel of Hunter Air Force Base, Savannah, Ga., to be married. Michael, a 6'2", 17-year-old student at W. T. Woodson High School and Cathy a liling 16-year-old with the charm of a Watteau shepherdess complete the demands on Irene's abounding energy.



While the family was stationed in Yokota, Japan, Irene was President of the Squadron Wives Club as well as Treasurer of the Officers' Wives Club in that City and later held the same position in Tampa, Fla. For 12 years she served as a Red Cross volunteer, working at base community hospitals wherever needed. She is quite proficient in the Japanese art of Ikeban and the focal interest of Cathy's bedroom is a Japanese bride doll, whose costume Irene hand sewed and embroidered.

Irene joined the staff of AFSA headquarters in May 1968 and when not keeping the accounts in the black, she is a bridge enthusiast, enjoys dancing, theatre, outdoor sports and as she says, "mostly, though, I enjoy people!"

Community Action Lecture Series

Thomas Appleby, Executive Director of the District of Columbia's Re-development Land Agency and an expert on urban and ghetto housing, spoke at the Department on December 5 at the third session of the series on problems facing metropolitan Washington. Mr. Appleby noted that the goal of large, tax-supported urban development should be economic and racial integration of the improved area. These are not always achieved, even in undertakings which enjoy a high degree of success. He stated that the large Southwest Development effort in Washington succeeded in eliminating a festering slum, added substantially to tax roles, provided space for 90,000 offices, and created something like 6,000 dwelling units. It has also been characterized by a harmonious racial integration, but, since the housing is almost exclusively expensive, it has failed to attain significant economic integration among rich and poor.

The "Northwest One" project in the Shaw area is just the reverse. Inhabited almost totally by Negroes, the area does include a sizable number of both rich and poor. The goal was to rehabilitate about 100 acres, or 25 square blocks, in which 875 families were directly affected. The method differed from Southwest where widespread demolition of virtually all structures in the area was accomplished. In Northwest One, many homes and buildings were repaired and rehabilitated while only those in the worst condition were destroyed.

Latest and most ambitious of Washington's housing efforts will be the large Fort Lincoln where a "new city" will be built within the city limits of the District. Appleby said that instructions from President Johnson were clear that the goal was to achieve both economic and racial integration into the new project which will be put up on the site of the old National Training Labs.

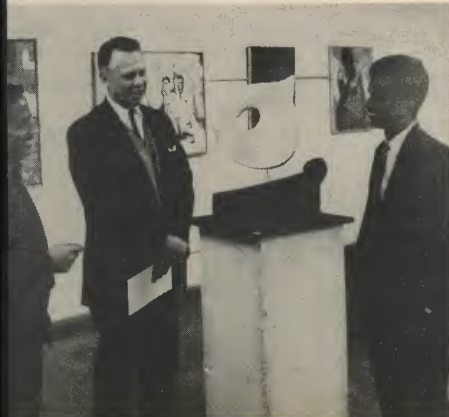
Appleby's talk was part of a series extending over a ten-month period and designed to acquaint foreign service personnel with the urban and racial situation in metropolitan Washington. Sponsored by AFSA's Community Action Committee, the series will include sessions on employment and race relations, the impact of the churches on the social developments, and other topics. Joseph N. Greene, Jr., Deputy Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, is chairman of the Committee.

Service Glimpses



Izeh. Second Secretary Michael Michaud (Tehran) and Vice Consul Arnold Raphael (Isfahan) with the pouch in Khuzistan after a week migrating on horseback with the Bakhtiari tribe across the Zagros mountains. Messrs. Michaud and Raphael have assured the Embassy Security Officer that the pouch contained no classified material.

Calcutta. Amitabha Banerjee and Shankar P. Ghosh, USIS Calcutta staff members, along with five other artists, recently held an exhibition of their works at the local Academy of Fine Arts. Consul General R. T. Davies inaugurated the exhibition and is shown admiring one of the sculpture compositions of Mr. Ghosh, right.



Lahore. Ambassador Benjamin H. Oehlert visited the residence of Pakistan's leading artist, Principal Shakir Ali, of the National College of Arts, during his recent visit to the West Pakistan capital. The Ambassador is shown in front of a big panel painted by the artist in his private studio.



Bogota. Ambassador Reynold E. Carlson reads the letter which entitles "Club Michin," a rehabilitation center for boys, to receive a check for 4,250 pesos as a donation from US employees in Bogota. From left, Mrs. Carlson, Mrs. Mercedes Cardenas de Palacio, head of the center, two members of the board of directors and two youngsters from the institution.

Paliometochi. Ambassador Taylor G. Belcher enjoys a glass of wine with the village Muktar, right, and the village priest, after the presentation of household appliances to the Home Economics Center in the village. Ambassador Belcher received the Distinguished Honor Award for "exceptional contributions to international peace and to strengthening United States relations with Cyprus" at the Residence in Nicosia in December.



WASHINGTON LETTER

by TED OLSON

AND here we are—the JOURNAL, of course—50 years old, and spryer and spunkier than ever. Not a gray hair. Not a single arthritic tinge. No audible murmurs yet about accelerated retirement. A few wrinkles, naturally, the chevrons of experience and wisdom, we trust, not the claw-tracks of worry and petulance.

Any big round anniversary conduces to both reminiscence and vaticination. Where are we? How did we get here? Where do we go now? In this semicentennial issue some of the best minds ponder these questions. When this department, ordinarily concerned with more topical matters, begged for a piece of the action, the editor had a bright idea: Sit down with the bound volumes, like little Jack Horner, and see what plums you can pull out.

So here goes.

Vol. 1, No. 8, October, 1919. "Why We Must Reform Our Diplomatic Service." Sounds familiar, doesn't it? We put it more succinctly now, of course: "Toward a Modern Diplomacy." The article was by Maurice Francis Egan, former Minister to Denmark; it had been lifted, by permission, from McCURE's magazine. "Our whole system is poisoned by political partisanship," Mr. Egan wrote. Our diplomats, he lamented, frequently were the laughing-stock of their colleagues in foreign capitals. He cited the Consular Service's career system as a model for giving status and professional competence to the diplomatic corps, then separate.

Five years later the Rogers Act was adopted.

Yet, eleven years after *that*, when the JOURNAL announced an essay contest, one of the assigned subjects was "The Utility of a Trained and Permanent Foreign Service." (The other was "The Causes and Effects of Governmental Control of Foreign Exchange.") Apparently, as late as 1936, it still seemed necessary to argue the need for a career service. The winning essay was submitted by a young vice-consul in Patras, Greece. His name was George Venable Allen. (The other \$1,500, for a paper on foreign exchange control—another seemingly timeless topic—went to James W. Gautenbein, Third Secretary, Santo Domingo.)

Ambassador-to-be Allen emphasized that the Foreign Service, because of its modest salary scale, was "still hand-

icapped when competing with more lucrative careers in the annual contest to draw outstanding recruits." Things are a good deal better now. But still . . . The JOURNAL reprinted George Allen's essay in March, 1954, when it announced a contest on "The Organization of American Representation Abroad." Lincoln Gordon, then a Harvard professor, won the grand prize of \$1000. The next time FSJ posts prize money, better get your bid in. It may be a leg up the ladder.

Vice-Consul Allen noted a further handicap that was soon to be overcome. "Situated apart as we are," he wrote, "occupied as a nation with our own problems and lacking overfrequent opportunity for foreign intercourse," the United States lacks a reservoir of people familiar with the outside world. "Lacking opportunity for foreign intercourse?" The thought is hauntingly familiar, but the echo is from the long past. De Tocqueville, a century earlier, had remarked that ". . . the United States are a nation without neighbors. Separated from the rest of the world by the ocean . . . their interests rarely come into contact with those of any other nation of the globe."

The good old days?

The JOURNAL's first contest, in 1922, when it was still the CONSULAR BULLETIN, offered \$100 for "the best article, sketch or story of not over 2000 words based on some phase of life and work in the American Consular Service." The response was disheartening; the editors complained that "out of maybe 2000 potential authors . . . hardly a corporal's guard kicked in." Who got the \$100 remains a mystery; at least his name eluded this researcher. The BULLETIN printed three of the offerings, without rank order, and then dropped the subject.

Our overseas corps' immunity to *cacoëthes scribendi* continued to grieve the editors. When the parent publication signed off in September 1924 its "Morituri" lamented: "If the 'BULL' has been dull it is because the men in the field would not contribute." Next month, the newborn JOURNAL's "Nascituri" emphasized that "the future of this magazine lies entirely with its readers, who are at the same time its owners, managers and contributors."

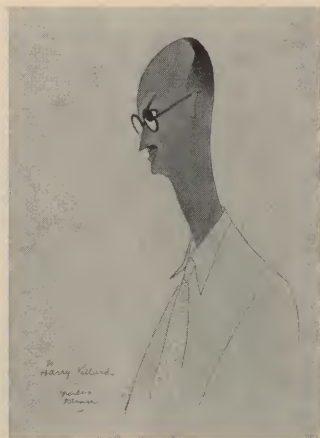
The tone of the BULLETIN and the early JOURNAL was folksy. The corps was small; if everybody didn't know

quite everybody else he knew something about all of them. Promotions, transfers and other personalia were reported faithfully. "News From the Field" became a regular feature. Every post was supposed to send in items and pictures from time to time. Some of you doubtless contributed; it was not until 1957 that the department was dropped. By then, perhaps, there were just too many posts to cover with any regularity. "News to the Field," which had started as "News From Washington," was retitled "Washington Letter," and has continued, with a few interruptions, until now.

Down the years the masthead has carried many distinguished names—so many that any sampling would work injustice on those omitted for lack of space. Inevitably the makeup of the Editorial Board changed frequently, as officers on stateside assignments moved overseas again. It still does.

One man, though, managed to escape that revolving-door routine for nearly a decade. Henry S. Villard became Chairman of the Editorial Board in March 1939 and stayed on the job until 1948. Thus his tenure spanned the six years of World War II and the three years in which the glow of victory faded into the twilight of the Cold War.

Of that eventful period Ambassador Villard remembers with particular satisfaction the North African landings in November 1942. The December issue of the JOURNAL led off with an article, "Action in North Africa,"



which disclosed the role of Foreign Service officers in winning the cooperation of the French authorities in Africa. Now at last it could be told. And nobody could have been better qualified to tell it than Harry Villard; he was Bob Murphy's opposite number in Washington. Several newspapers that had criticized our coddling of the Vichy regime picked up the story and reprinted the editorial, in the February 1943 issue, saying in effect: "Now that you know what we were up to all the time, aren't you sorry you heckled us?"

Then as now the JOURNAL was sensitive to any reflections on the competence or integrity of the Foreign Service corps, and eloquent in rebuttal. In the grim years when too many people in high places were groveling before an evil man from Wisconsin the JOURNAL spoke up stoutly for John Paton Davies and the other China experts being persecuted. It could not save them from exile, but the editors of that time must have read with special satisfaction, a couple of months ago, that Mr. Davies had at long last gotten back his security clearance.

In the early days the chairman of the editorial board was usually the working editor too. Not full time; he had a full-time job in the Department. Somehow he managed to fit his editorial chores into a schedule probably as crowded then as now with paper-pushing and marathon conferences. It was not until the 30s that AFSA and the JOURNAL began to acquire their own staff. Jane Wilson (Mrs. John C.) Pool recalls that for quite a while she and Barbara Chalmers did everything, with some help from FS wives. They also ran the Foreign Service lounge, until Congress decided that AFSA, as an independent organization, shouldn't use facilities provided by the taxpayers.

Then began a succession of migrations. In its 50 years the JOURNAL has roosted successively at Old State (then State, War and Navy Building), 1778 (now 1776) Pennsylvania, 1809 G Street, 1908 G Street, 1742 G Street (the YMCA building), 815-17th Street, and finally 2101 E Street, where, after the dust settles, it looks forward to a long and happy tenancy. That odyssey sounds rather like an officer's travels between 0-7 and 0-2.

The next time you're in the neighborhood, with time to kill, you might drop in and do a little browsing yourself. But be warned: once you start it's hard to stop. You keep pulling out plums, such as:

"A Consul's Wife—An Efficiency Report by One Who Knows"—

CONSULAR BULLETIN, January 1923. Unsigned, it's the portrait of a paragon. Sample quote: "On an income of about \$4000 she has kept her end up with acquaintances spending from three to ten times that much and has saved some money."

"Marihuanas—Hashish in Modern Dress." by Frederick T. Merrill—JOURNAL, May 1939. Prophetic, possibly, though there's no mention of "pot," "grass" or the quest for identity.

The good old days? In 1935 the Baltimore Mail Line advertised passage to London or Hamburg for \$90 one way, \$171 round trip. A room with bath cost \$2.50 at the Hotel Powhatan, with a 15 per cent discount to diplomats. The Willard quoted no rates but gave Foreign Service guests 25 per cent off. If "Powhatan" rings no bells, look closely at the picture: it's the Roger Smith now.

In 1925 the F. H. Smith Co. paid seven per cent interest on its first mortgage bonds, two per cent better than those savings certificates the banks are pushing now. But wait a moment. Remember what happened in 1929? We still have a few of those bonds stowed away somewhere. After liquidation the few cents on the dollar remaining didn't seem worth bothering about.

The Arts, Lively or Otherwise

Two views of the Corcoran's 31st Biennial (through March 30): Frank Getlein in the STAR: "When we were very young we found out that by staring for a long time at practically anything we could make the object assume mystical overtones . . . that conveyed an exhilarating sense of cosmic significance . . . You can relive your childhood . . . at the Biennial." Paul Richard in the POST: ". . . one of the most courageous shows this city's ever seen . . . an organized Odyssey whose separate adventures, merging in the memory, map the farthest reaches of the nonrepresentational painting of our day."

Current or upcoming: March 2, Israel Chamber Orchestra; March 3, Rostropovich; March 15, Ballet Folklorico of Mexico; March 16, Rudolf Serkin; March 23, Moscow State Symphony; also Jose Greco; April 13, John Williams. At the National Theatre: "1776," a new musical comedy, music by Sherman Edwards, book and lyrics by Peter Stone (until March 8); "Here Lies Jeremy Troy," pre-Broadway tryout, March 11-22; March 31, Harkness Ballet. At the Arena: "King Lear," "Six Characters in Search of an Author," "The Three Penny Opera"—repertory. At Ford's: O'Neill's "A Moon for the Misbegot-

ten," through March 9; James Weldon Johnson's "Trumpets of the Lord," March 11-April 20.

Reader's Guide

SATURDAY EVENING POST, Feb. 8—"Vietnam: Where Do We Go From Here?" by Senator Fulbright. ". . . my primary recommendation for American foreign policy, after Vietnam, is that we have very much less of it . . . to give us a chance to replenish our depleted resources, renew our neglected society and restore our endangered democracy." This sadly-emaciated issue nowhere mentions that it is the last-for-all-time appearance of a 241-year-old American institution.

ATLANTIC, February—"The War Against the Democratic Process," by Sidney Hook; "Notes From the Journal of a Gentle Revolutionary," by James S. Kuncen. Two views of rebellion on the campus—an elderly professor's and an articulate young participant's.

HARPER'S, February—"America: Three Foreign Comments." A British, a German and a French correspondent look us over, and do not quite despair.

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, February (Vol. 1, No. 1)—"The White House Staff vs. the Cabinet: Hugh Sidey Interviews Bill Moyers," "Legislate? Who, Me?" What Happens to a Senator's Day," by James Boyd. Doing chores for constituents leaves the poor fellow little time for statesmanship. New magazine's first issue is concerned mostly with domestic problems.

GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE bows in officially this month, but it rushed out an inaugural issue, Vol. 1, No. 0, just in time to greet President Nixon with an editorial calling for a Deputy President for Domestic Affairs to shoulder some of the load. Aimed apparently at the upper echelons, it shouldn't be in any immediate danger of suffering the same fate as the SEP. It's a subsidiary of Litton Industries.

Oddments

Speaking of the Nixon style, as we were a couple of months ago, it's white-tie again at the White House. The news sent quite a few males to the closet to see whether that long-mothballed regalia was still wearable. Young FSOs are wondering whether the trend will spread and entail visits to Brooks Bros. and the Credit Union.

From our Denver correspondent, JBS:

All firms have anniversaries. If they didn't there would be no sales. (Hey, Jim, what about those post-Christmas clearances?)

Doctors and piano tuners should not use the same kind of bags.


MCMXIX



MCMLXIX


SALVE REGINA SEMICENTENARIA!

blancus consul

Blow the skintight tympanum and bang the trump of brass!
Hail the mouthiest mouthpiece since old Balaam strode his ass! 
Fountain of outpourings both infernal and supernal,
Our queen quinquagenarian, the Foreign Service Journal.

'Twas on the bloody Ides of March, A.D. 1919,
That certain consuls went to press where erst no press had been,
But Topside took a view of this both dim and, well, sententious,
And made it, a priori, clear there'd be no talk tendentious.


Although the organ waxed apace—"American Consular Bulletin"—
If you'd a mankey trick in mind, this was no place to pull it in,
Its goal was whole, to play a role 'twixt U.S. biz and consuls,
With spots of wit, and lots obits, and news of birth and tonsils.


For tips an how to drum up trade the mag was quite a gem,
A consular trade manual—what the Army calls "T.M."
Then came the Rogers Act and all, and dreams of better things,
The name was changed to You-Know-What  and worms had
hopes of wings.

Propaganda and articles of a tendentious nature, especially such as might be aimed to influence legislators, executive or administrative action with respect to the Foreign Service, or the Department of State, are rigidly excluded from its columns.

But fine print 'neath the masthead still said no to fun and games,
One para stated going rates, another stated aims,
A third made clear that freedom of the press was hope deluded:
From its columns all tendentiousness was "rigidly excluded."

This rendered youthful yearnings after controversy null,
And with the input limited, the output—natch—was dull.
The graphics weren't much better: the epitome pictorial
Was black on yellow, pink or blue, back page Waldorfatorial.

 *Book of Numbers Game, 22-23.*

 It was in fact "The American Foreign Service Journal" until 1951, when *The Vanishing American* did his act.
¢ \$580.25 in 1924 was, inflatis inflandis, the approximate equivalent of 24 cts. wampum in *Minuit's Market* of 1624.

Meanwhile, financial ills beset our organ. For a starter
It got a loan, five hundred-eighty dollars and a quarter, (¢)
But when Exec Committeemen spake hopefully of profit,
The gents who handled ways and means said witheringly "Come
off it!"

And cold considerations of a character commercial
Gave added weight to those who frowned on items controversial,
"We must get lots and lots more advertising!" screamed the
bosses,
"So get the hell to Gotham and let's try to cut our losses!"

The manager of biz got off his diplomatic butt,
But not before he'd conned them inta giving him a cut,
With more ads, cheaper newsprint, and a Class Two mailing charter,
The Journal could support itself, though strictly like from Sparta.

Meanwhile, Black 1934 inspired a pome from staff:
"Gold's tumbled, that's a laugh, and now our salaries are in half."
Our overseas types moonlighted, all frills and ruffles quashing,
While Foreign Service wives made over hats and took in washing.

But still one managed to survive, outlast the Great Depression,
And this without entirely curbing freedom of expression,
Withal, the Service criticized its Journal as uncritical,
For stirring no polemics up through action catalytical.

The fault was less attributed to Board pusillanimity
Than to the stern insistence on Depstatal unanimity,
But what the hell, one made out well with necro news and weddings,
Plus news of twins and other (wedlock only) bedding headings.



Why Not Give Diplomacy Back to the Diplomats?

ELLIS BRIGGS

No one dealing with the operational aspects of foreign affairs can be unaware of the problem of personnel proliferation—the dismal and frustrating drag on performance resulting from too many people. It is therefore disappointing to find that the organization which purports to represent those engaged in American diplomacy—the American Foreign Service Association, control of which was recently captured in Washington by its junior State Department echelon—fails to cope with this major problem of excess staff and superfluous people. On the contrary, the drift of the Association's activities, which they have brought to the attention of President Nixon and his principal advisers, is that "modern diplomacy" will need even more people than there are on the payroll at present.

The facts of diplomatic life support no such conclusion.

The American Foreign Service, at upwards of thirty-six hundred commissioned officers, is already at least one thousand men and women too large. At every Embassy with which

the writer is familiar—as Ambassador to seven countries on three continents, plus continuing study of our operations abroad—the business of the United States could have been transacted more effectively by one half, or less, of the personnel assigned to each mission.

Outside the Foreign Service, overstaffing abroad by other agencies is even more serious. These Peripheral Performers—the dispensers of foreign aid, of development, of prescriptions for "emerging societies," of magic and martial music, of propaganda, and of the Crusading Spirit—are all more proliferated than the diplomats, and their ranks are in correspondingly greater need of fumigation and retrenchment. (Former President Johnson's 1968 reduction-in-force program, albeit in the right direction, turned out to be mostly hocus-pocus: the reductions were minimal, and the repatriates remained on the payroll.)

Just as during the so-called missile crisis in Washington in 1962, only a handful of persons were involved in decisions, so in even the most important of Embassies, confronting the gravest of situations, the Ambassador needs few aides to assist him. An Ambassador is supported by his Deputy, a seasoned and senior official, and between them they do what requires to be done with the Chief of State, the Prime Minister, or the members of the Cabinet of the country to which

the Ambassador is accredited. In addition the Ambassador may be advised by the Political Counselor (or by the Counselor for Economic Affairs, depending on the subject matter) and perhaps by one or two subordinate Embassy officers who possess special training or experience in the area in question. Including secretaries, stenographers and clerks, an Ambassador uses a maximum of ten people to confront a critical or emergency situation; less, of course, for normal operations.

The rest of the Embassy cast contribute little except confusion, delay, cross-purposes and unread "position papers." In short, there is not enough substantive, useful, challenging or interesting work for an American Embassy of hundreds upon hundreds of people. The consequent featherbedding is as unprofitable to the taxpayers as it is stultifying to the individuals concerned.

The presence of these gigantic staffs in foreign capitals has an ill effect in another direction. It is a source of derision and disrespect on the part of the very foreigners whose good will the United States is theoretically cultivating. They manifest their attitude by destroying with monotonous and humiliating regularity such well-meaning tokens of the conspicuous American establishment as libraries and cultural centers, and even by attacking the Embassy premises. No other country

■ Ellis O. Briggs, writer and ambassador to seven countries, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts. He is the recipient of the Medal of Freedom for meritorious service as Ambassador to Korea in 1955. His prolific pen has produced numerous magazine articles and he is the author of two books, "Shots Heard Round the World" in 1957 and "Farewell to Foggy Bottom" in 1964.



in the world maintains outside its borders a fraction of the personnel camped in successive "Little Americas," where teeming administrators seek to reproduce the suburban way of life, but often merely succeed in reducing the natives to popeyed resentment. (Evacuating these communities before a threatened political upheaval costs the United States millions of dollars—for instance in the Near East in 1967.)

In searching for reasons why these truths, which are self-evident to so many professional practitioners, seem to have escaped successive administrations since World War II, it is clear that what is lacking is agreement as to the nature of foreign affairs, and above that, an understanding of the purpose of diplomacy.

The object of diplomacy is to influence the *policy* of another country, in ways favorable to the first country. It is as uncomplicated as that. That is the same object diplomacy has sought since cavemen inhabited adjacent cliffs, and pastoral societies coveted contiguous grazing areas. It is the same purpose that diplomacy will always have; the label "modern diplomacy" is therefore a misnomer, denigrating to the past and unhelpful to the future.

This definition of diplomacy as inseparable from *policy*, can be expanded to render it more specific. Take the statement: "the object of American diplomacy is to influence in ways favorable to the United States the policy of governments important to the United States." Such a declaration is both accurate and intelligible. It encourages the establishment of the priorities essential to the orderly transaction of business, without which American resources are in danger of being frittered away. It implies that the demands of Abidjan, Tegucigalpa and Reykjavik, although not necessarily unworthy, may nevertheless be less important to the American people than the problems emanating from Moscow, Rio de Janeiro or Tokyo.

Within this true definition of diplomacy, the foreign business of the United States is not ideological warfare, nor evangelism, nor huffing and puffing to accelerate alien development, nor the preservation of a balance of power or any rigid *status quo*. The business of American diplomacy is the promotion of the national interests of the United States, and the protection of those interests, in a changing and turbulent world, from whatever menace that is capable of producing an intolerable explosion.

Diplomacy as influencing the *policy* of other governments is hardly the

definition that has prevailed in recent Potomac councils. For instance, the young soothsayers of the Foreign Service Association, writing in collaboration with assorted Peripheral Performers (who perhaps cannot be expected to advocate measures tending to thin their ranks or curb their activities), appear to view diplomacy, and especially what they characterize as "modern diplomacy," as something far more gaudy and uninhibited than influencing policy. Not content with that, they desire to *transform institutions*.

Now *transforming institutions* is a different proposition altogether from *influencing policy*, and it is at that point that the paths of diplomats and reformers most frequently diverge. Influencing policy involves discipline, analysis, understanding of facts and possibilities, and comprehension of their bearing on the national interests, seen in realistic perspective. It involves attention to detail, and patience, and "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations."

Transforming institutions, in contrast, would seek for diplomacy—"modern diplomacy," to be sure—a worldwide hunting license of infinite scope and unlimited validity, encouraging the participants to thrash about in hemisphere briar patches, brandishing megaphones and bazookas.

Under that definition of diplomacy, a case can of course be made for the retention of almost limitless performers, all allegedly assisting the hunters; for an army of beaters, making the forests echo and startling the game from habitat to Helsinki; for guides tying goats to *ceiba* trees, scattering cracked corn on the ponds, and locating saltlicks; for researchers and biologists to plot the flyways and locate the spawning areas; and even for missionaries to explain to the penguins that they would really be happier if they laid their eggs along the Amazon River, where the water is comfortably warm, instead of along the shores of McMurdo Sound, where the water is uncommonly cold.

Under that definition of diplomacy, there is no end to the legions that can be recruited. Battalions of image-makers, flashing their mirrors; gaggles of wreckers-of-good, waving lofty in-

tentions; regiments of attaches, measuring culverts and bridges; prides of welfare workers, one foot on the accelerator and one eye on the cookie jar.

That, in fact, is precisely what has been happening.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace how this came about, gradually, in the wake of World War II, sometimes over the protests of an ineffectual State Department, sometimes with its blessings. But come about it did, with results that now confront us.

The American Government has been in the transforming institutions business for nearly a quarter century. To show for it, the United States has a balance of payments problem, and microscopic return on an incalculable investment.

It is time for the American people to dedicate themselves not to "modern diplomacy" but to *effective* diplomacy, with less free-loading of international freight, and no free-wheeling by crusaders.

That does not mean abandoning compassion as a legitimate ingredient in the foreign affairs equation. It does imply that a decent regard for self-interest ought no longer to be considered discreditable, and that a *quid pro quo* in the diplomatic marketplace should once again have value.

That does not mean the extermination of the Peripheral Performers, whose operations, nevertheless, should henceforth be understood as *adjuncts* of diplomacy, and no longer as controlling components. Projects to foster cultural osmosis, public relations planning (labeled propaganda when someone else does it), aid of one sort or another to selected developing lands, military assistance, credits, sharing of scientific knowledge and the paraphernalia of technology—each of those things, in given circumstances to be decided upon one country at a time—can sometimes provide fruitful though usually limited assistance in the functioning of diplomacy and in the conduct of international relations.

Thus, while peripheral activities should not all be abandoned, past experience with them, their cost and their limitations, ought to be brought into focus. And future operations should be both closely scrutinized and sharply patrolled by the Department of State. Moreover, most of the personnel concerned are not diplomats, and those who are not should be detached from the diplomatic establishment.

Tools needed to bring these things about are already at hand—two tools, forged during this decade. The first is

(Continued on page 68)

UNDERSECRETARY FOR FUNCTIONAL AFFAIRS

JOHN KEPPEL

ONE of the Marx brothers movies Groucho at one point remarked: "It is my belief that the missing painting is hidden in the house next door." "But there isn't any house next door," one of the other brothers objected. "Then let's build one," Groucho replied.

It is the thesis of this article that some of the criticism of the Department for lack of foresight and for lack of leadership within the Executive is justified and that an important cause, is the, to the author's mind, still excessively geographic organization of the Department. It is his belief that "the missing painting" may be hidden in the house next door. In this instance, and in contrast to the case of which Groucho was speaking, "the house next door" does not have to be built from the ground up. Most of what is needed already exists and is operating on the functional side of the Department. What remains to be added is high-level leadership and some small, in terms of staff, integrative machinery.

Until recently, certainly until World War II and probably later, the almost exclusive power in the Department of the country desks and later the geographic bureaus was appropriate. When a development took place in another country, the rise of Nazism in Germany for example, the most important factor in sensing and assessing events lay in an understanding of conditions in Germany for collaterally affected countries. The involvement of other branches of the Federal Executive was not great in the early stages and repercussions worldwide were not immediate. What is now EUR had within it nearly all the functions necessary for weighing the problem. What was crucial in the first instance was area expertise.

From a long range point of view, however, the Nazi case was a transitional one. The socio-economic and political conditions that permitted the rise of Hitler represented merely an episode in a series of developments in which the main engine of change was not specifically European, not at least in its origins. Nor was this change long containable within the confines of the culture of that favored continent.

The force which on an accelerating basis was, and is, changing the face of the world and putting man and his institutions under strain, is the growth of technology. It goes back in its beginnings many thousands of years. It took time

to gather momentum.

By now, as Herman Pollack said in a recent address at the University of Illinois, "we are in the midst of a technological revolution without precedent in its combination of scale, pace, and impact on the affairs of men. The crucial element in that combination is pace, for the rate of development from the first demonstration of a new technological concept to its widespread commercial and social use tends to be incredibly brief. Let me illustrate by taking you back 10 years—one brief decade—to 1957, in many ways a landmark year. That was the year of the first full-scale nuclear power reactor, the prototype plant in Shippingport, Pennsylvania. Sputnik, let us recall, was deaf and blind and, save for a radio beep, dumb. Yet in less than 10 years satellites have made possible revolutionary contributions to world communications, meteorology, and astronomy. Direct-broadcast TV, natural resources sensing, and other far-reaching applications are offstage. Ten years after the Shippingport power reactor went on the line, nuclear power is no longer a thing of the future. It has arrived, and over 50 percent of the new power plants now being contracted for in the United States are nuclear."

We should, moreover, be aware of how many aspects of the present are direct or indirect reflections of technological change. The recent and very drastic rise in the rate of natural increase of population in the less-developed countries, with all its implications, is largely due to innovations in technology. Technology will be crucial in bringing food and population into balance. Important aspects of the relationships between the United States, the UK, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the USSR depend upon their respective positions in the technological race.

It is the pace of technological change which, at root, is responsible for the fact that it is so difficult these days to catch up with events. And it is the disproportion between man's mastery over nature and his often atavistic personal reactions which make the world such a dangerous place.

The officer in an Embassy or in one of the geographic bureaus who is concentrating on what is happening in a given country or a given region, whether or not he is an "area specialist" in the career development sense of the term, is

functioning as one. A major part of his job is to inform the Secretary and the President, who have the whole world to deal with, what is different about his area: That is, what is there about it which will make its leaders and its public act or react differently from Americans. This is a highly important and, indeed, essential function.

There are, however, several aspects of the geographical approach to the world which imply that this approach should be balanced by a simultaneous approach of another type. In the first place, the area man must deal with the problems which arise in his area; and so many arise these days that almost of necessity he tends to deal on a "squeakiest wheel" basis. This is not entirely unreasonable. The problems exist and must be taken into account. They are important both for now and for later since what happens now conditions what can happen later. Current problems tend, however, at times to push into the background still more important problems which haven't yet reached the critical stage.

Another aspect of the area man's approach is that he tends, again not unreasonably, to see problems in terms of his area. That, after all, is his job. There are, however, a large number of critical problems in the world. At present they get sensed, described and prescribed for primarily by the geographic bureaus. "Packaged," so to speak by these bureaus, they compete for the attention of the senior officers of the Department, and the Executive. The latter often, no doubt, recognize that these problems should be dealt with in a broader context but have little time to define one and formulate policy in its terms.

There is another tendency, or at least another potential danger, in the area man's approach that should be mentioned. Since he is concentrating on what is different about his area, he may overestimate the forces of continuity as against the forces of change. The peculiarities of an area are often matters of culture and geography: i.e., things which change only slowly if at all. The forces of change are in large measure the direct and indirect effects of changes in technology, a vast arena on which most area men are not focusing.

The growing role of technology has involved an increasing number of functional agencies of the US Executive in foreign programs. The Atomic Energy Commission, the Federal Aviation Agency and NASA are merely three of the most obvious from a growing list of functional federal agencies dealing with technological subjects and engaged in highly important activities abroad. It is often hard for the area man to weigh the world-wide importance of what they are doing against his own natural dislike for boat rocking. A country directorate, however, or even a geographic bureau, is often no match for an executive department or independent agency. The functional agency, for its part, may very well not fully understand the geographic areas in which it is operating.

It has been largely in response to the needs implicit in what has been said above that the entities on the functional side of the Department have grown up, starting with the Bureau of Economic Affairs but now including the near bureau of Scientific and Technological Affairs, the offices of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-military Affairs and of the Special Assistant to the Secretary for Population Matters, and the recently-formed Water for Peace Office. Efforts to see problems in broader and less conventional contexts, moreover, have been made by the Policy Planning Council and by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the latter having formed a unit, the Office of Research and Analysis for Strategic and Functional Intelligence, specifically to focus on functional and world-wide problems.

The operational entities on the functional side, however, have lacked the weight of the geographic bureaus, despite the personal interest of a number of the senior officers of the Department in their work. There is a structural reason for the relative lack of weight on these bodies and for the difficulty

that senior officers of the Department have had in making functional considerations an integral part of policy making. These entities lack a specific full-time, high-level spokesman and, under him, integrative machinery so that, for example, policy recommendations with regard to agriculture, food, water, population and related problems may be cut from a single piece of cloth. That AID, incidentally, is increasingly seeking to deal with some of the problems under discussion, notably the food-population problem, on a world-wide basis does not lessen the Department's need to see these problems whole. AID is committed to the execution of specific policies and programs. The Department, while also interested in problem solving, must, in the author's view, maintain a more detached and sceptical attitude if it is to serve effectively as a monitor and integrator of US activities abroad.

The Policy Planning Council and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research have sought to develop a world-wide view of functional problems and of other problems of more than continental significance. Neither the Policy Planning Council nor the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, however, has operational responsibilities and hence they are in the nature of service organizations to those individuals and organizations which do have such responsibilities. If the contention, mentioned above, that the operational entities on the functional side of the Department lack weight relative to the geographic bureaus is valid, in this sense the Policy Planning Council and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research lack authoritative "customers" for their findings on functional and world-wide problems.

What is suggested here, that an Undersecretary and a small integrative staff be placed over the functional side of the Department, is merely a further step in a trend apparent in the Department for some years. Beyond what has been said above in favor of such a step, there are two other partly substantive, partly tactical considerations. First, the methods of qualification, the making of goals explicit, and cost-benefit analysis, which have been developed in the business and defense communities in the United States, have made a deep impression in the country and more and more people are coming to regard them as the natural way of addressing oneself to problems.

Second, the world we live in is a peculiar place and likely to be frustrating in the extreme to the US, public and leaders alike, over the next two or so decades. Taken together, these two factors mean that there is a danger that some future Secretary or future President, in exasperation, may impose methods on the Department which are of limited application to a substantial part of its work. If this were to happen, it would be the area function and the geographic bureaus that would suffer the most. Quantification, explicit goals, cost-benefit analysis, etc. probably are applicable on a greater scale and in more integral fashion on the functional side of the Department than that with which they are currently used. A battle between the advocates of a primarily implicit, intuitive approach and those of an explicit, rationalistic approach would be destructive, particularly if it were fought between the Department on the one hand and everybody else on the other. The two methods, one used by each side of the Department, might lead to some friction; but the author at least is inclined to believe that this would be of a constructive rather than a destructive sort.

One concluding footnote about the "house next door": The author believes that such advisory services or services of common concern as the Legal Advisor's office, and the Bureaus of Congressional Relations and Public Affairs should not be included. The Bureau of International Organization has functions analogous to those of the geographic bureaus and others analogous to those of the functional entities. It should be left in an independent position, both in its own right and as a service of common concern. ■

A HOME BASE FOR US POLICY—

"Our church is having a debate on the war in Vietnam. We have a speaker against it and now we need one for it. Can you help us?"

"Our college will have a very prominent Latin American specialist on economic development on our campus through the month of March. Can you arrange for him to speak to some civic groups while he is here?"

"Our sixth graders are making a study of Africa. Do you know how they can meet an African student?"

"Will you please send us some pamphlets giving all sides on the Middle East controversy?"

THESE are some typical questions received at the Minnesota World Affairs Center. While it would be immodest to say they are all answered satisfactorily, they do indicate the kind of lively interest in international relations which exists in the Minnesota community, which was once the heart of American isolationism not so many years ago.

The Minnesota Center is one of several dozen community world affairs councils established after World Wars I and II in most large cities of America. They furnish what might be called home bases for US foreign policy. Their members are drawn from that small proportion of the nation's population which has been called "the attentive world affairs public." But they are people who not only read about what is happening in US foreign affairs, they also try to do something about it. They join associations, go to

conferences, write their senators, and in general, carry on a lively civic activity. If the State Department really has a constituency throughout the country, a substantial proportion of it would be found in the membership of the world affairs councils.

The Minnesota Center does most of the things other world affairs councils do, but it is unique in that it is a department of the University of Minnesota's General Extension Division and its membership consists of associations (NGO's, as they are called in Washington) rather than individuals.

As is indicated by the opening questions in this article, the first major function of the Center is advising other Minnesota community organizations on their world affairs programs. All kinds of voluntary organizations, schools, churches, and educational institutions now carry on programs about world affairs. They often need a good deal of the Center's help in planning interesting programs around subjects which are of genuine importance. Sometimes their immediate aims can be rather vague, as was the case of a women's club which approached the Center for help on "a study of islands." After some negotiation, the Center managed to convince the group that Great Britain was an island, and being more important than most, might well serve as the subject of their deliberations. For much more sophisticated groups, the Center's job is usually to help find the best expertise available in the country within the purse of the organization. Often, the Center acts as a "match-maker" between speakers and audiences. Much of the alienation of intellectuals with the middle class community may result from such situations as mismatching a full professor with a Sunday afternoon church young people's group consisting of a dozen drowsy couples! The same man, on the other hand, might be delighted to speak to a col-

lege women's group which had been studying his area.

The success of the program advisory service is based mainly on knowing who knows the most about specific countries or subjects. In twenty years of existence, the Center has become a natural repository of such information for the state. It works closely with other world affairs councils through their National Council of Community World Affairs Organizations in identifying good national speakers.

The Center also runs an active Pamphlet Shop. Normally, it receives around 400 different pamphlet titles a year. These are free and inexpensive materials in the English language. Many of them come from the Department of State but there is a big flow from other governments, the United Nations, and some of the 400-plus US non-governmental associations in the field of international relations. Unfortunately, most libraries and book stores don't stock pamphlets. The pamphlet fills a real time and information background gap between the fast moving daily newspapers and magazines and the slower-to-process books. And around Christmas, the Center sells more than 20,000 UNICEF cards and calendars.

As a council of organizations, the Center attempts to do most of its educational work by assisting and cooperating with its membership of 31 voluntary associations and eleven colleges. These include the three founding organizations which approached the University for help in 1949—the Foreign Policy Association, the United Nations Association, and the World Federalists—and such large state organizations as the League of Women Voters, the Parent Teacher Association, the Council of Churches, and the Minnesota Education Association. Through them, the Center has access to thousands of people whom it never could reach alone. The Center

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THE MINNESOTA WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER

WILLIAM C. ROGERS

does, however, put on its own conferences and lecture series on subjects which have not been treated at great depth in the state and which demand the resources of the University to cover well.

The first conference held by the Center was on "The Far East" in 1950. For a better part of three days 300 persons listened and talked about a part of the world which was soon to be the scene of the Korean War. Since then, the Center has held many other intensive residential conferences, and lecture series, on such subjects as foreign aid, the United Nations, Germany, the Middle East, arms control, the Common Market, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Latin America. Because of its University base, it has also been able to treat aspects of foreign policy not usually covered by community councils. Examples are a 1952 conference on "Military Factors in Foreign Policy," "Ethics and Foreign Policy," and the so-called "background of the background of the news" lecture series, such as "The Glory of Byzantium," "The Dark Ages," and "Russia's Golden Age: 1894 to 1914." Presently the Center is cooperating in programs aimed at using the experience of other parts of the world in meeting American urban problems. These included a three day visit of five British urban experts and a lecture series on "Great Cities of the World." Coming up is a program entitled "The Scandinavian City — A Model for Urban America?"

Most world affairs councils work with high school teachers and students with the idea that the coming generation can't help but do a better job of handling American foreign policy than the last or the present one. World affairs have become a much more significant part of the high school curriculum than was the case in the past. For instance, in 1940 only two units of the senior social studies curri-

culum recommended by the State of Minnesota had to do with foreign affairs. One dealt with tariffs and one with the War of 1870. Now half of the units deal with world affairs.

The Center's principal high school activity is in cooperation with the Minneapolis STAR's World Affairs Program, which has been directed by the Center's director since 1952. This year-long program is used in over 900 schools in four upper midwest states and reaches hundreds of thousands of students with its background articles and weekly tests. The Center also holds special seminars and lecture series for academically talented high school students and for the growing number of teachers who are specializing in world affairs teaching.

Various philosophies have been debated about the best way to reach and teach Americans about world affairs. No doubt the mass media takes care of the information needs of 90 percent of the public, most of whom have relatively little interest in foreign affairs. It has been estimated that while around one tenth of the population is "attentive," to public affairs, less than one tenth of one percent has a really deep and consuming interest in world affairs. This group represents the hard core of the membership of world affairs organizations and there is a question about the degree of interest it has in the electronic media. Some world affairs councils spend a good deal of their slender resources on radio and television programs while others feel that the mass media is in good hands and that there is little a world affairs council can add to what is already going on. The Minnesota Center leans toward the latter proposition, but has sponsored and co-sponsored television and radio series and always stands ready to help the local media by arranging interviews with newsworthy persons and suggesting ideas for programs.

A small research and publications activity completes the catalog of Center activities. Research has been devoted mainly to studies of public opinion and foreign policy. Two recent Center research findings may be of interest. The first is the discovery of a wide gap in opinion on selected foreign affairs issues between a panel of world affairs experts and the mass sample in a state-wide poll. This difference, furthermore, is almost as marked between the panel and the college educated portion of the poll as it is with the grade school and high school group. (A college degree is presently no guarantee of foreign policy wisdom!) A second study shows that foreign policy opinion makers within the state tend to be college social science teachers and ministers, with businessmen and women civic leaders playing a poor second.

The Center has three professional employees, who are as much at home moving chairs, closing and opening windows, and taking tickets as they are in giving speeches on American foreign policy. A small ambidextrous clerical staff completes the Center's personnel. However, the Center relies heavily on its sister departments in the General Extension Division: Conferences and Institutes, Radio and Television, Special Classes, and Audio Visual.

While less ambitious and utopian than in its early years when it adopted the slogan "World Affairs Are Your Affairs," the Minnesota World Affairs Center estimates that it has a floating "student body" of several thousand. It can also show increasingly clear evidence that many of these not only influence the opinions of others but some can, from time to time, have a small but discernible influence on policy makers in Washington. And Minnesota certainly is no longer the happy hunting ground of genus *Isolationist Americanus*. ■

Reporters and Diplomats: The Competitive Siblings

JOHN P. LEACACOS

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ONE of my own rationalizations (or delusions) is that I profess somewhat to understand the State Department and its denizens because they are so much like the newspaper business. I say "business" advisedly and not "profession," just as I call myself a reporter, correspondent or newspaperman rather than journalist. I note among the more down-to-earth types in the Department that many similarly prefer to use the "foreign service officer" appellation rather than present themselves as "diplomats." A common affinity for the more mundane classification immediately establishes a rapport between the two occupations. It suggests both groups are interested in facts and/or intelligence primarily, at least to start with. Correspondents and FSOs alike are further concerned with the significance of the facts and their interpretation as relates to the national policy interests of the United States.

In fact, there are several points of comparison between newsmen and diplomatists. For one thing, newspapers have developed just as soggy bureaucracies as the ones in government they attack so caustically. Passing the buck among the interior editors of a newspaper can be even more exasperating than analogous incidents in official echelons. Not uncommon is leaving stories out of the paper because of haste to lock up the production side. Fairly standard the country over is miserable copyreading and bloopers left uncorrected in type. Complaints usually evoke the reply, "You know how the copydesk (or makeup desk) is. . ." And despite critiques of recent years about so-called failures of the State Department personnel system, newspapers themselves have been distinguished in the main by lack of attention to effective evaluation and utilization of manpower resources, a record, which compared to the Department's, is well-nigh paleolithic.

But to get back on the main track, the quickest point of comparison between news operations and Foreign Service officer activities is in reporting and writing. As every State Department intern knows, some of the greatest reputations in the diplomatic trade have been made via brilliant, perceptive and pungent cables. Naturally, I myself have never seen classified cables, except those former President Johnson used to pull out of his pocket and wave at us during occasional background free-for-alls at the White House. But from flies on the wall, I gather that the roster of great cable writers in the last decade virtually duplicates the tally of renowned ambassadors—David Bruce, Chip Bohlen, Tommy Thompson, Alex Johnson, Burke Elbrick, Graham Martin, Wally Barbour, and younger luminaries like Bill Sullivan, Bill Porter, Marshall Green and Bill Handley, not to mention juniors yet unsung. Only history will record how well these stars did in actual operations, in the soundness of their advice and success of execution. It is not unlike the newspaper field: few great correspondents turn out to be great editors. The difference between scintillating prose and quips in newspapers and in official cables is that in the former the brilliance can be

enjoyed for its own sake, in the latter, the astute writer is trying to get something done about policy and operations.

Basically, foreign correspondents and FSOs abroad have the same job: To spot the pertinent facts, interpret them wisely and frame them in accurate context. Both are competitors after the same news. Obviously, the official reporters have built-in advantages. They normally have direct and easier access to primary foreign government sources and thus are more aware of confidential nuances. There is one exception where news reporters get the details, including the fine print, almost as fast as the embassies. That is in Western Europe where official sources are comparatively wide-open. The wealth of public European detail has given rise to the bromide, "There's nothing in the cables that we haven't already read in the newspapers." This is not generally true in other parts of the world. And it is certainly not true at all about military or security information even in Europe where the rules are much more secretive than here.

Also overlooked in the "informative" press dispatches from overseas is the incestuous relationship between correspondents and US embassies. Not an inconsiderable part of the interpretation outlined in the press dispatch had its origin in an embassy official. Where the press clearly outshines all but the fastest "flash" cables is in reporting spot news and "acts of God." Any State Department officer can recall how many times the Associated Press and United Press International news tickers beat the official cables into the Operations Center. Without really knowing, however, I would make a flat bet that the best of the foreign service cable production is better than most foreign correspondence, except the very exceptional and original, where many strands, public and private, are woven together. There is another not too infrequent instance when press cables can outshine the official—in small out-of-the-way countries when a visiting newsman can move around and see for himself whereas the local embassy might be circumscribed in manpower. Usually, it is the other way around. Because few or no correspondents are on the spot, as in some Middle Eastern or African countries, the embassy reporter rises to the challenge of thorough investigation to fill the gap.

Though both press and official reporters have a common field and parallel approaches, there are almost immediate divergences in their work. The official must report news which bears closely on the US foreign policy interest. The correspondent reports a story first of all. In the past, the meaning was almost an afterthought, an excuse for a follow-up story. Today the goal is to stress significance, though it is not always clear what the significance relates to. In official practice, I am told, cables relating to specific events should run to one page, giving the facts and their immediate relevance. Official dispatches or airmgrams run to two pages or more and supposedly give the context, perspective and nuances. The Department lament is that cables are read and airmgrams are not, by and large. Embassies, therefore, concentrate on cables to grab the attention of harried desk officers and country directors. This addiction to speed for its own sake tends to produce intellectual hamburger. In contrast, correspondents' spot cables are at their best in bare-bone description of

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actions and apt quotations. But as soon as the water gets deeper, the press interpretative dispatches run the risk of becoming "angled," and with a tendentious angle. The press story has the built-in hazard of the "lead" or first paragraph. To make the story salable, there is the tendency to jazz up the lead to provide grist for the headline writers, resulting often as not in misleading headlines. Editors and publishers who enter the diplomatic service via political appointment often complain the official cable "leads" are buried in the eighth paragraph. What they mean, of course, is that what they consider the main point is under-emphasized. The temporary diplomat also voices the grievance that it is hard on the eyes to read cables typed in all capital letters.

Both classes of reporters in the end face the same challenge: Editorial selectivity—what to stress, what to leave in or out. Like a columnist they must review all they have learned to decide what not to write. Too many cables and dispatches are simply unnecessary, should never have been sent. The first criterion is relevance, or a painstaking attempt to demonstrate recognizable relevance by valid analysis. In the final show-down, what is wanted is authenticity, which is composed of accuracy, clarity, economy and cogency, and attained by marshaling insights with integrity. The axiom applies equally to correspondents. In both instances, it is a matter of credibility, consistent credibility, which only means confidence in the observer's reliability. In this connection, a great managing editor once said, "There are only two things you do with a foreign correspondent; you fire him or print him."

Embassy cables have restricted, captive audiences of a few thousand at the very most, and official regulations can control reactions up to a point. Newspaper dispatches can be read by millions, but reactions are usually beyond control, and possible damage beyond repair. Correspondents who make wrong predictions or faulty analyses can always fall back on the old saw, "Who remembers yesterday's story?"—and get away with it. Let's face it, it's almost impossible to get the last word in with a newspaper. Like governments, women and the Vatican, the press almost never admits it has been in error. Yet, considering the hectic and uncertain circumstances in which stories from overseas sometimes are written, it is remarkable what a high residue of approximate accuracy remains.

A different set of criticisms apply to embassy cables, State Department friends tell me. There is the safeguard of double-checking first spot reports. But in the interpretative phase, too many cables sound like old-fashioned editorials, "On the one hand . . . and on the other hand." . . . Possibly the writers don't wish to be caught with their opinions showing. One type of writer carefully avoids all plain, positive statements. Another goes literary, even metaphysical. A third, the fluent type, is as prolix in his writing as he is glib in his speech.

Flabby, wordy newspaper dispatches are slated for the "overset." In newspaper lingo, these are stories which were set in type but did not "make" the paper. In the State Department, similar cables can be found at the bottom of the biggest pile—where they stay unread. The Department at any rate has the capability to develop better procedures for improved cable drafting. It can make systematic reviews; it can hold post mortems as to whether the reporting was adequate, by gift of hindsight. Editors hardly ever bother with post mortems; someone might be found guilty—themselves. Modern governments, however, cannot allow erroneous and expensive vices to persist. The formal, often charming discursiveness of the slow old times is gone. In the hurry-up frenzy of today, no regimen is taught that creates the intellectual spaciousness needed to concentrate on the truly germane. It recalls Voltaire's famous words to a friend, "If I had more time, I'd write you a shorter letter."

It seems to be a matter of ambassadors. Just as they take courses in the languages of their area, if need be, ambassadors

ought to receive an intensive course in copyreading at least before they go on station. The lessons ought to start with a harsh scrutiny of their own cables from their last assignment, something like taking a little of the hair of the dog to cure the ailment. Of course, every author is touchy about his own work. Wreaking execution on words is almost as bad as criticizing the food another eats. Yet ambassadors are the arbiters of the cables drafted by their subordinates. Perhaps they can pass on in the field some of the benefits of the discipline received in a stateside "refresher" course.

It is not really a matter of literary proficiency or journalistic fluency, but something much more simple, such as keeping it short. Or if you dote on an adjective, cut it out ruthlessly, though you bleed inside. As George Ball once said, "A simple, declarative sentence is one of man's nobler achievements." It concerns architectonics. Basically, writing is architecture rather than painting. The murals come later. It's something as brass tacks as stating the topic and its main thrust right away. Of its adequate identification with a modicum of description. Of explaining how and why it came about, which begins to establish framework and significance. And lastly, of evaluating it, that is, of uttering a judgment, with the perspicacity to make it and courage to voice it.

Correspondents and FSOs alike sometimes commit the sin of pulling their punches in making reports. Believe it or not, conscientious correspondents do indulge in self-censorship more often than realized. I remember I used to worry about the so-called US national interest when I was working abroad during the cold war, though I was never quite certain what the hell it was. Pulling punches by official writers is more a question of moral discipline in the avoidance of self-deception so as to call the shots as honestly as one can.

This dilemma arises out of still a further contrast between a foreign service officer's job and that of a newsmen. The diplomat has a duty to keep other people's secrets; the reporter's is to tell them, if he can discover them. The danger in the official reports that keep the foreigner's secrets is that unwittingly weaknesses discovered among the aliens are dimmed, underplayed at a time when personality factors may be crucial to a power situation. In effect, the US officer might imperceptibly become the fall guy for a clever foreign politician playing on sympathy, and the bonds between fellow officials that bind across national borders. There is nothing that strokes the ego like having a famous statesman confide his political troubles. The theory is that the politician in question would lose his next election if his confidences were violated, etc. I respectfully suggest that the skins of most politicians are not worth saving. Before my eminent readers shudder to their marrow at such heresy, I hasten to add that this is not a proposal to spill all one knows from others. It is a matter of degree. American officials tend to take such disclosures much too seriously. In my experience, foreign politicians tell more of their conversations with their American counterparts than we do. Most of the so-called "secrets" turn out to be high-level gossip.

In truth, I believe the world is fast approaching a goldfish bowl era when there will be few real secrets, and those mostly technological. TV, the radio and "instant" education have made too many persons suspicious of what appears hidden or just too smart to be taken in by hallowed clichés. In any event, there is absolutely no justification for foreign service officers to be coy and ambiguous with each other in their communications. It just fuzzes up the profile of reality it is their duty to describe. And foreign service officers may be happy to learn that they are not the only adepts at protective self-coloration. The press corps has its own masters of upmanship in preserving the crepuscular image of omniscience, e.g., on being advised of a matter on which they are completely uninformed, they reply, with ambassadorial aplomb, "Oh, yes, I'm glad you reminded me of that. . . ." ■

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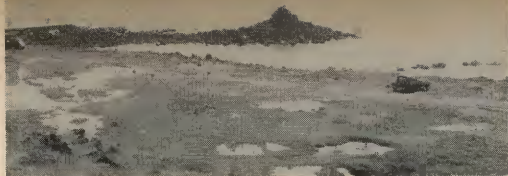
UNTIL World War II put the African colonies on the map, they were a neglected appendage of the State Department's European Division, figuratively tossed into the bottom drawer of the desk officer handling the affairs of the mother country. Only Liberia and Ethiopia were sovereign nations; South Africa was part of the British Commonwealth and Algeria part of metropolitan France. But when the thunderheads of Nazi imperialism began to rise over the "Dark Continent"—Hitler's Grand Design was to take over Africa's resources for the New Order in Europe—the way was paved for long-delayed recognition of that forgotten land mass as an important segment of the globe. It was decided to appoint a "specialist" for African affairs—someone who would set to work from scratch and learn everything he could about the region, concentrating on its problems in relation to American interests. On assignment in Washington at that time, I happened to be the officer tapped for the job.

To prepare for this radical venture in diplomacy, I was given the opportunity to investigate a portion of the area at first hand by joining the shakedown trip of a 10,000 ton cruiser, the *U.S.S. Boise*, scheduled to make courtesy calls in Liberia and South Africa during the course of a six weeks' voyage. It proved to be a real voyage of discovery. On the basis of the studies and recommendations which I made before, during, and after that journey, the Department agreed to open a number of strategically placed consulates on both the East and West coasts of Africa. One of these, and without doubt the most vital, was to be at Dakar, then the administrative center of the sprawling French West African colonial empire as well as an active naval base.

Years before, for trade and shipping purposes, there had been an American Consulate at what used to be the unhealthy seaport of Dakar. In one of the periodic waves of government economy, the existence of this fever-ridden post had been difficult to justify in comparison with some of those nearer home, and in 1931 the Dakar office was closed down. But now, with the outbreak of the Second World War, its significance was obvious. Dakar's lines of communication radiated to all of the French possessions in West Africa. Its harbor was the best along thousands of miles of coastline. It lay athwart the north-south steamship lanes, the third largest port in French territory. It was useful militarily as a staging area and refueling point for warships and submarines. And its geographical location on the bulge of Africa—only 1800 miles from Brazil—made it a natural jumping-off place for planes flying between Europe and South America. In hostile hands, it would be the logical springboard for aerial incursions into the Western Hemisphere—and thus a vaguely overhanging threat to the security of the United States. The rampaging Nazi army in its victory over France in the summer of 1940 made an invasion attempt seem more than a mere hypothesis, and it was not long before rumors multiplied that Dakar, loyal to the collaborationist regime of Marshal Pétain, was actually serving as a base for German naval operations.

Tales of the wildest sort began circulating about the use to which Dakar was being put by the new masters of France. Wolf packs of Nazi U-boats were making the place their lair,

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LAST BOAT FOR

DAKAR

HENRY S. VILLARD

lying in wait for Allied merchantmen plying the South Atlantic. Oil refined from the inexhaustible local crop of peanuts by a special process provided fuel for the prowling submarines. Nearby Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands were covertly supplying aid and comfort to the crews. The Washington columnist Drew Pearson wrote that according to Free Frenchmen escaping from North Africa "about 3,500 Nazi technicians were busy in Dakar and other parts of French Northwest Africa installing coast artillery and building air bases." Nightmares conjured up in the press were reflected in the State Department's planning: an outpost in that sensitive part of the globe was indispensable for obtaining the true facts and keeping Washington abreast of the situation. Accordingly, Dakar was given top priority on the list of proposed new African offices, and Thomas C. Wasson, Consul at Vigo, Spain, was selected to reopen the dormant post at the earliest possible moment.

Wasson was a career officer of sterling calibre and a man of considerable experience before entering the service. Born at Great Falls, Montana, in 1896, he had been educated at Cornell and by private tutors in Athens and Paris. For two years during World War I and one year afterwards, he had represented an American manufacturing company in France, and in the last two years of that war had served there with the US Army. He thus spoke the French language fluently—a primary qualification. Subsequently, he had gone into plantation management in Australia, had attended Melbourne University, and had become a clerk and vice consul in the Consulate General at Melbourne. After passing the examinations for Foreign Service officer of career in 1927, he had served successively at Puerto Cortes (Honduras), at Naples, and—by way of indoctrination in the mysteries of Africa—at Lagos. He had been at Vigo less than a year when his record as an utterly self-possessed, completely dependable officer of enormous integrity and excellent judgment called him back to a continent that was rapidly emerging into the wartime limelight. Another consideration—he was unmarried and therefore could be moved without notice and without the necessity of tearing up family roots.

The telegram informing Wasson of his assignment to Dakar instructed him to proceed immediately, by whatever means were available, and by whatever route would get him to his post in the shortest elapsed time. German control of the French colonial possessions was tenuous and uncertain, and German intentions toward these potential prizes were far from clear. Thus time seemed to be of the essence if Vichy French permission to fly the American flag—permission granted by a government still dazed by defeat—was to be valid very

long. Nobody knew what political or military future the Germans might have in mind for the key city of Dakar. Nobody knew what cards Governor General Pierre Boisson, a stout adherent of the Pétain government, might choose to play vis-à-vis the Americans. But of such overwhelming consequence did the place appear to Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle that even then they were plotting to steal the city by sea and thereby forestall what seemed to them the imminent possibility of Nazi occupation and use.

In obedience to Washington's instructions, Tom Wasson searched the schedules, in consultation with the African "specialist" by cable. To reach French West Africa from Vigo without interminable delays in trans-shipment, the only practical method was to proceed from Lisbon by Pan American Clipper to New York, there connect with a cargo vessel of the American-West African (Barber) Line, and backtrack across the Atlantic to Dakar, the vessel's first port of call. Offering limited passenger accommodations, the Barber Line was the only service to Dakar from the United States. There was just enough time for Wasson to pack his bags, get from Vigo to Lisbon, catch the Clipper, and come to Washington for consultation before making the turnaround on the ship that would take him to his African destination. It would be a tight squeeze; but the plan seemed a neat one and eminently feasible. Passage was engaged for Wasson; and then the Line announced, with a fine sense of the dramatic, that due to the incertitudes of war, the *West Lashaway* would be the last of its fleet to visit French West Africa for the duration.

No trouble was experienced in journeying from Spain to Portugal. But bad luck was to dog the flight of the Clipper. For nearly a week the ship was held at Lisbon because of heavy ground swells in the Azores harbor of Horta, where refueling was to take place. Twice the *Yankee Clipper*, Pan American's flagship on the Atlantic run, had to turn back to Lisbon when it became apparent that a half-way landing would be too dangerous. On her second return to Portugal, the Clipper received a consignment of 3,820 additional pounds of mail which, under the company's contract with the government, necessitated cancellation of the bookings of twenty-two of the thirty-one passengers. Frantic intercession by the long arm of diplomacy was required to save Wasson's seat, for the plane was full of VIPs—including Count René de Chambrun, assistant military attaché of the French Embassy in Washington, and the Countess de Chambrun, the former José Laval, only child of Premier Pierre Laval.

Finally clearing the Azores and headed for New York, Captain Haakon Gulbransen was forced to bring his ship down at Bermuda owing to adverse weather conditions. There, British censors confiscated 3,330 pounds of his record mail load; but even a plane so substantially lightened could not overcome the handicap of a heavy fog which now descended and detained the passengers still further. Resumption of the flight depended entirely on the weather.

The day before the *West Lashaway's* scheduled departure, an anxious Department learned to its consternation that the Clipper was still fog-bound in its Bermuda berth, that a tropical storm was raging between the British isle and the American mainland, and that it was impossible for Wasson to proceed on the final stage of his journey to New York. This was something no one had foreseen. It eliminated the carefully laid-on conferences, the detailed discussions we had planned with our newly-appointed Consul about the problems posed by the fall of France, by the conflict then developing between the Vichy French and the patriots rallying behind de Gaulle. Even if the Clipper should resume its trip within the next twenty-four hours, there would not be enough time for Wasson to come to Washington for a briefing. Our best bet would be to intercept him at New York and consult with him there before he boarded the ship for Dakar. Since it seemed that Mohammed would not be able to come to the mountain,

the mountain resolved to meet Mohammed half way.

Praying that fog and storm would abate and allow the Clipper to continue, I took the midnight train to New York, carrying with me such items as an 85-pound safe containing confidential code books, a regulation government-issued American flag, and a supply of forms, for delivery at first hand to our breathlessly awaited passenger. Classified instructions as to his attitude toward French officials, and an outline of our policy—such as it then was—following the collapse of the French armies, would have to be compressed into an oral interview. Official America was, of course, still strictly neutral; but there was little doubt where its heart lay, or of the private conviction among its top policy makers that sooner or later we would be at war too. It would be up to the American Consul to interpret, as diplomatically as possible, the exact state of mind in the United States, both public and personal.

At eight o'clock in the morning I was at the lower Broadway office of Howard Fyfe, the US Dispatch Agent of legendary fame, whose tireless devotion to the varied demands of his job was exceeded only by his uncanny ability to unravel the worst snarls of bureaucracy's endless red tape. Uneasily and unhappily we studied the weather reports. Bermuda was still fogged in, the tropical disturbance was still a threat. With sinking heart, I realized that the *West Lashaway* was due to sail promptly at noon—and all our plans depended on that connection. Fyfe called the agent of the Barber Line and with characteristic tact and authority pleaded for a delay in the vessel's departure: the best interests of the nation were at stake, it was a patriotic duty to postpone the sailing. At first, the agent was reluctant; commercial interests also were at stake, schedules were too tight in this critical eastward voyage into the war zone to permit of any substantial delay, a departure late in the afternoon was not in the company's best interests. At length: "Well, all right. The ship will sail at 5:30—not a minute later."

Even as the debate was proceeding over the phone, there were indications that the weather at Bermuda was improving. Word was relayed from La Guardia Field that the Clipper might be able to take off at any moment. Pan American was fully aware of the urgent need to speed Wasson on his way, and the Consulate at Hamilton had naturally been alerted in regard to the crisis. I never knew to what extent Uncle Sam lent his official shoulder to the wheel to get the plane into the air, but if mental telepathy was of any help he had plenty of encouragement from two palpitating public servants in the city of New York.

Now it was no longer a question of how, when, or where to brief Consul Wasson, but of whether he would catch that last boat for Dakar. Obviously, if he was to make it, he would need all the assistance he could get in making a lightning transfer from La Guardia to the steamship wharf. Howard Fyfe and I drove out to the marine terminal at the air field in one of the Dispatch Agency's black sedans and started an impatient vigil.

It was a near-perfect September day. Scattered clouds overhead, a warm sun, and a gentle breeze seemed to mock the thought of unfavorable conditions out in the Atlantic. We could scarcely visualize a fog bank so forbidding as to prevent the take-off of a giant transoceanic flying boat. As the minutes ticked by, our worry increased. I tried to calculate how long it would take an automobile to reach Pioneer Street, in the wilds of Brooklyn, where the American-West African shipping interests had their pier, and I shuddered to think that the route lay through thickest afternoon truck traffic and streets as unexplored by the average denizen of Manhattan as Africa itself. With each passing half hour, I brooded, the margin of time in our favor grew slimmer and the hope of getting the flag planted in Dakar became less likely of fulfillment.

Then, suddenly, we sprang to electrified attention. A

(Continued on page 65)

STAFFING WASHINGTON JOBS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

GEORGE C. DENNEY, JR.

WHEN the American Foreign Service Association held its mass meeting on September 6, 1968 in the Department of State auditorium to express alarm over the newly enacted provisions of law authored by Rep. Wayne Hays which would make it possible for some Foreign Service Reserve officers (FSR) to be granted "unlimited tenure," the greatest applause was registered when retired Ambassador Riddleberger cried, "There are already too many FSRs!!"

The Ambassador was commenting on a passage, intended to be reassuring to Foreign Service officers (FSO), contained in a statement by Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, Idar Rimestad, which was handed out at the meeting. This passage, which was published on page 20 of the September Department of State NEWS LETTER, read as follows:

"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."

It is the thesis of this article that the foregoing policy is not wise; that it is not in the best interest of the United States Government or the Department of State or the Foreign Service.

The policy in question, previously followed in the Wriston Program era, has been pushed in the Department since the

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fall of 1967. It was formally announced as part of the objectives of the new domestic staffing policy in the May 1968 issue of the Department of State's NEWS LETTER:

"1. To staff through the Foreign Service all of those positions in the United States which can be staffed properly through the world-wide rotational system."

The question as to what "staffing properly" was to mean—that is as to how hard the administrators would push to fill every position in the United States with rotating FSOs—was revealed in the next to the last paragraph of the June announcement in the Department of State NEWS LETTER:

"Recruitment under Civil Service should be discontinued, except when found necessary to fill a position designated as a Civil Service position. The number of positions so designated should be reviewed periodically for the purpose of gradual reduction, the ultimate objective being to staff all positions under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended."

In a nutshell, the new policy is to fill every Washington job with a rotating FSO or FSS if he can conceivably do the job, and, by increased training and specialization within the Foreign Service, to continue this policy until virtually all Washington jobs are staffed by officers committed to world-wide service.

What rationale and necessity have been announced for this policy of squeezing out all domestic service employees? The May, June and September announcements are silent as to the reasons. Could it be BALPA? Could it be the "bulge?" Could it be budget cuts? Could it be simplification of administration? Could it be avoidance of the rigidities of employment under the Civil Service Act? The official announcements quoted above did not say.

A Better Policy

The usual approach to personnel management is to analyze carefully the skills needed and the working conditions and then to devise hiring policies and career systems which will select the best person for each job. It is normally assumed that it is good to be able to choose employees from among *all* qualified Americans.

The serious weakness of the new policy as so far enunciated is that it would aim to recruit as many professionals as possible from a rather special group of Americans; namely, those who desire to spend half or more of their careers abroad and are willing to do so under the rotational assignment system. An inherent difficulty with trying to fill all or most specialist positions from the Foreign Service pool is that the pool is more restricted in quantity and variety of talent than the larger pool which includes all other intelligent Americans. Two determining considerations for the person who thinks of joining the Foreign Service are whether he wishes to spend most of his career abroad and whether he is willing to have his work assigned under the distinctive Foreign Service system. To forego hiring specialists who do *not* like these requirements is a big sacrifice for the Department to make if it wishes to ensure getting the best people for all its positions—a sacrifice damaging to the public interest.

Specialization Is Here To Stay

The needs of the Department of State, both at home and abroad, but especially in Washington, call for more and more men and women with specialized skills: labor economists, monetary and fiscal experts, budget analysts, specialized lawyers, demographers, librarians, historians, intelligence analysts, physical and social scientists, educators, commodity experts, political-military advisers, linguists, security officers and many more. The trend is toward greater specialization and that in turn requires greater continuity in the same field of work. The growing demands for computer experts in the communications field and for management specialists in data

and information handling are only the more dramatic and recent examples of the need for specialization in foreign affairs. When the specialist needs of USIA, AID, ACDA and the Peace Corps are added to those of the Department of State—as they should be for wise personnel system planning—the requirements are indeed formidable.

There was a time when it was thought necessary for the Foreign Service officer serving abroad to be able to do any professional task. Everybody was trained and assigned so that he would learn something about everything that might require attention by the head of a large mission. No one today believes that is possible or wise. Specialization even in jobs abroad is believed necessary. The Congress, dissatisfied with the rate of progress shown by the Foreign Service in rewarding officers who pursued specialist careers, imposed section 626 in the Foreign Service Act upon an unwilling Department. Section 626 reads as follows:

The achievement of the objectives of this act requires increasing numbers of Foreign Service officers to acquire functional and geographic area specializations and to pursue such specializations for a substantial part of their careers. Such specialization shall not in any way inhibit or prejudice the orderly advancement through class 1 of any such officer in the Foreign Service.

The philosophy of section 626 is now accepted. The June announcement in the Department of State NEWS LETTER put it this way:

We believe that the time has come when we must "take the bit" and recognize in practice that Foreign Service officers, like other personnel, cannot be expected to acquire, by mid-career, a real expertise in every aspect of Foreign Service work in today's world. This concept simply does not promise the level of excellence required.

This principle is sound. No quarrel can be made with the concept of dividing Foreign Service officers into distinct functional groups for purposes of recruitment, assignment, training, promotion, and selection out. If this is wise for overseas jobs, how much more important it is to apply the principle at home in Washington, where the larger proportion of specialized positions is found. In Washington the trend toward specialization occurred more quickly and the proportions changed more dramatically.

Can the great variety of professional officer skills needed by the Department be obtained *best* by a system under which recruitment would be made almost entirely from persons willing to obligate themselves to serve most of their careers overseas or by a diversified system which offers a domestic service career as well as a rotating service career?

The answer of the administrators of the Department has been that the Foreign Service Officer Corps can provide a pool of talent that is at once big enough, varied enough, and expert enough.

This is a policy of wishful thinking when it is applied to

domestic staffing. The Department has for years been torn between the theoretical advantage of a single personnel system and the practical fact that it needs personnel of two different kinds. No one denies that it needs a Foreign Service of persons who are prepared for a life of movement spent primarily abroad, under a system and a discipline and reward that permit staffing a certain number of quite undesirable positions. With this need as a starting point, the Department has tried various ways of blending in its other need for personnel with specialized skills. The simple expedient of eliminating any system outside the Foreign Service has, in both logic and practice, shown itself to be no answer to the problem.

Need For Domestic Service Career Opportunities

The Department of State, therefore, needs to be able to offer rewarding careers to officers who serve in Washington specialist positions if it is to obtain and retain recruits from one of the large pools of people best qualified for these jobs. We are competing, of course, for the bright college and graduate students whose services are sought by both private organizations and other government agencies. We have to offer young people at least 10 or 15 years of interesting work. Most college graduates are not thinking of the pros and cons of a full 30 years career, but they do need to have an idea where their first job may lead them for the first 10-15 years.

If we are to recruit the best specialists for Washington service, furthermore, there must be an adequate promotion ladder. An adequate ladder can be assured in two ways. One is to have a number of positions of similar kind but different levels, within the organization where the applicant would start. Another is to develop relations with other nearby organizations to which he could shift. Either way, he sees that the path ahead can be upward. Yet the policy aims to narrow down the number of domestic positions, apparently without regard to promotional requirements.

A college graduate looking at the recent personnel atmosphere in the Department and wanting opportunities for domestic service could only be discouraged. He would find out that for the last five years, with very few exceptions, there has been a series of freezes on *any* filling of jobs in Washington from outside the Foreign Service. He would see that some non-FSOs in Washington jobs have been able to win promotions but he would note that the rungs of the ladder below senior and middle grades in jobs customarily filled by domestic service employees are now frequently filled by junior FSOs because of the ban on outside recruitment.

How does the future look to a senior GS employee? He can stay where he is but movement to any other job is difficult. Certainly movement higher is difficult because 63 percent of the supergrade positions which the Department of State used to enjoy have been turned back to the Civil Service Commission as vacancies occurred, in anticipation of the passage of the 1967 Hays Bill. Since hope for that Hays Bill vanished, however, the senior GS has seen no sign of any effort to recover these supergrades, which would be the most obvious proof of an intent to make life and work in the Department adequately rewarding for him. These policies have locked out career domestic civil servants from almost all of the higher paying non-political jobs in the Department; nowadays an FSR appointment must be made or an FSO selected for the job.

The Hays Coup

When the original Hays bill was killed in the Senate the Department was left with unsatisfactory choices which it could, under the Foreign Service Act, offer to the college graduate interested in a *domestic* career in foreign relations. It was technically possible to offer a Foreign Service Staff appointment for work in Washington but the candidate had to



be told of two difficulties. Eight years is the longest time that an FSO, FSR or FSS can work without an overseas assignment under present legislation, and no change in the Foreign Service Act was being contemplated. Even if the time limitations were not present, the applicant had to be told that the ceiling on his Foreign Service Staff salary is well below that of the Civil Service or Foreign Service officer ladders and that, again, no amendment to the existing legislation was being sought. Applicants had to be told that, whereas there was a time recently when specialists were appointed as Foreign Service Reserve officers with the hope that they might receive more permanent status under the original Hays Bill, that prospect seemed dead. Moreover domestic FSRs already on the rolls had to worry about their *status*. They were urged to convert from Civil Service status to Foreign Service Reserve (domestic) status in anticipation of the success of the original Hays Bill. Large numbers did so and, in almost all cases, received a boost in pay upon such conversion. They were now being asked to convert back again or to transfer to the FSS Corps.

It was at this stage, with the "guidelines" well on the way to implementation, with large numbers of additional positions in Washington having been designated for FSO occupancy, and with the only decent domestic professional career route being under the Civil Service Act, that Representative Hays made his move. On his initiative, but with the agreement of USIA and State, amendments were added in the House to the Senate-passed USIA career bill. The added package contained many essential features of the old Hays bill rejected by the Senate, but on the last day before the recess of Congress prior to the political party conventions the Senate concurred in the House amendments. Now there is authority to give FSRs appointments having unlimited tenure. Such a step would be *possible*, under regulations yet to be drawn, but not *required* of anyone. There are many questions to be studied and policy issues to be decided but, at least there is now a *possibility* of offering a college graduate a respectable domestic foreign affairs career under the Foreign Service Act. The eight year limit on assignment in Washington remains a legislative problem. The largest question remaining, however, is the subject of this article: the administrative policy of designating most positions for filling only by world-wide rotating officers.

Highly Qualified Specialists Form Foreign Service Officer Ranks?

The personnel concept paper issued in June says that all but a few specialist jobs in the Department can be filled with overseas career officers. No doubt many of these jobs *can* be filled by FSO and FSS Officers but how *well* will the work be done? How much sacrifice will there be of the objectives of finding and keeping the best possible man for each job?

The foundation of excellence in any professional work is a partnership of high quality men and long continuity. Other things being equal, the man who spends many years working on a given subject will be more highly skilled than one who spends two-four years, which is the typical FSO assignment. It has already been noted that there are fewer specialized positions overseas compared with the number in Washington. One should not be misled by labels. The kind of work done abroad by FSO "economic/commercial" specialists, as that term is used in the new concept paper, is seldom applicable to the way of, say the international monetary payments experts needed in Washington. Suppose you find the FSO who is willing to get additional university training in economics and suppose you keep him on for an extra year or two in a Washington specialist assignment: then where does he go? And how is he replaced in Washington—by another FSO who has spent a year in special training? In short, the result is a three-way waste: the FSO wastes career time in specialized training and activity which are unlikely to serve him fully in

the System's concept of credit for promotion; the System itself wastes valuable officer time in training for a one-shot assignment; the Department wastes talent which, through training and practice, reaches full competence at just about the time it is snatched away to a less relevant assignment. Many difficulties would seem to lie ahead if the attempt is pursued to staff nearly all specialist positions in Washington with rotating FSOs.

Lessons From the Wriston Experience

Many have noted the similarity and analogy between the present period, when as many jobs as possible in Washington are being designated for FSOs, and the period of the so-called Wriston Program around 1954 when the shotgun marriage of the Civil Service and Foreign Service in the Department was carried out. Then, as now, the mold of every professional job was looked at to see whether an FSO could possibly fit into it; then, it may be said, as now, the effort was built upon a basic confusion between jobs for which experience abroad in some form was *helpful* and jobs for which it was *necessary* in the form of Foreign Service assignment.

Some lessons were learned from the Wriston experience, however. We shall apparently escape the embarrassing and even tragic developments of the years following adoption of the Wriston Program when many former highly specialized domestic service officers were "Wristonized," sent abroad and there failed to compete with the more "generalist" regular FSOs.

History may nonetheless repeat itself in other respects. In 1954, the Public Committee on Personnel, as the Wriston Committee was called, proposed that 1464 officer positions in Washington be designated for FSO occupancy. The ratio was about 2 to 1 in favor of FSO designation. By 1959, new surveys initiated in the Department resulted in the designation of 284 of the FSO positions. From 1959 to 1967 the ratio of FSOs in Washington officer positions to non-FSOs has been close to 1 to 1. Pursuant to the new guidelines announced in May-June 1968, the bureaus of the Department have decided to designate about 2000 positions for FSOs and about 900 for non-FSOs. Thus the ratio is back to the 2 to 1 Wriston ratio.

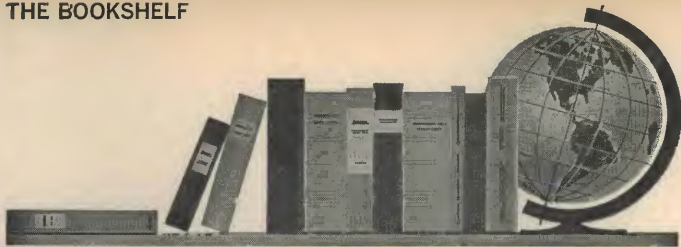
Lessons From the Department of Defense

In the Pentagon and elsewhere in the Department of Defense there are four elite career military services whose officers are bound to serve anywhere in the world and who recruit, examine, assign, appraise, promote, and select out each other. Like the Foreign Service, these groups are largely self-managing and self-critical; they have an esprit de corps and an instinct for self-preservation. Military men have as good a sense of command and control as anyone, and it is useful to see how they cope with the proliferation of knowledge and the increasing specializations of functions which are common to all agencies. They have felt the need to train some of their number as scientists, information handling specialists, and financial experts, but, relatively speaking, only a few. They have not tried to fill all of the professional slots in Washington, just the key, higher jobs. Typically, alongside each of these jobs sits a talented long-time civilian deputy who will be there when the next colonel rotates into the top spot, and the next colonel after him.

Now, of course, this is not the whole story; two other factors come into play. One can be laid aside—the question of civilian control over the military. The balance between career military and other professionals in a given organization in the Department of Defense is closely related to this consideration, but it has no parallel in the Department of State.

The other factor is more subtle—the question of making allowance for a special point of view. A Secretary of Defense

(Continued on page 70)



History of a White South African

THE first part of this book, which tells about the early life of an intelligent, sensitive immigrant English boy in South Africa, is relatively objective. The last half is a relentless and deeply critical chronology of apartheid by a man who became a victim of the system and left the country under one of Dr. Verwoerd's humiliating "exit permits," the Nationalist means of exiling citizens who are troublesome opponents of the government's policies but who have not committed an offense grave enough to warrant banning or imprisonment.

Lew Sowden, whom I knew and respected as an influential editorial writer and dramatic critic for the *RAND DAILY MAIL* in Johannesburg and as a talented playwright and novelist, lived nearly half a century in the South Africa pictured in his latest book, written in Israel. The incident described in Chapter 23, Sowden's impulsive shouting from the press gallery of the United Nations in 1961 during a talk by Eric Louw, then Foreign Minister of the Nationalist Government, "Half-truths! . . . He's telling you half-truths . . . Don't listen to him!" occurred when Sowden was on a Smith-Mundt grant, arranged by the American Embassy in Pretoria. That injudicious statement, whose motivation Sowden makes quite clear, was the result of many years' resentment of racial oppression and injustice which he had intimately observed in his adopted country. There was another reason for Sowden's outburst which he mentions only indirectly in this forceful and fascinating book: the more or less latent anti-semitism which many South African Nationalists feel and which they had in common with the Nazis whom many of them openly supported during the Second World War.

"The Land of Afternoon" (the title refers to Tennyson's lotus-eaters who, like many white South Africans, lived in oblivious ease in a country with a perfect climate where "it seemed always afternoon") tells about a boy who knew and loved non-whites from the time of his arrival in South Africa

in the second decade of this century. He went on to study at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and became a journalist.

For thirty years he worked for the *MAIL*, under several editors who hated apartheid as much as Lew Sowden did, including the courageous present editor, Laurence Gandar, whose devastating attacks on the Nationalist Government's policies have marked him for official persecution. Finally, when he could no longer endure this discrimination against four-fifths of the country's people by the prosperous and heedless fifth, he asked for exile. His passport had been withdrawn in 1961.

But there is actually very little about Lew Sowden in this book. He has made his life in South Africa simply the skeleton background for the events of the half century during which he saw the rise of the African Nationalists until they became dominant in 1948 under a succession of fanatical Prime Ministers until Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd took his country out of the British Commonwealth and it became "the polecat of the world."

Those who think that South Africa might have gone on a different path if Jan Smuts had been domestically wiser in 1948 will be surprised by Sowden's shrewd analysis of that great international figure, who never rejected the idea of apartheid, though its full impact was not felt until after his time.

"The Land of Afternoon" is a revealing study of the progress of racism in South Africa, written in the heat of loathing. The theme tends to overwhelm the personality of the writer, who has written an indictment rather than an autobiography. The gentle, sympathetic tone of the first part gets lost in the pamphleteering emphasis of the second part. What a pity that the people of South Africa will never be allowed to read such a "liberalistic" document, which deserves thoughtful attention!

—ARGUS TRESIDDER

THE LAND OF AFTERNOON, by Lewis Sowden. McGraw-Hill, \$6.95.

May Events in France

ALL of us who had the satisfaction of living in Paris during the "May events" of 1968 must feel an obligation to try to understand what happened. Since "France is always an example," as de Gaulle said about the crisis, those who did not live the May events may also feel the urge to comprehend. I am told that several score books are already out on the crisis, and I do not doubt there will be many more: the situation was complicated enough, and threw up enough moot questions, to challenge the Gallic compulsion to impose pattern upon disorder.

For the flavor of the days as they came, taut and heady, I recommend the account by Mavis Gallant that appeared in two September issues of *THE NEW YORKER*; I hope this will soon be a book. Hers is a diary, having to do with tear gas and tension, not politics; but it is accurate, evocative, and memorable.

I also recommend heartily Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville's "Red Flag/Black Flag," a superior piece of analytic journalism which not only relates what happened but also asks the important "why" questions and even offers answers to some. Patrick Seale (he and Miss McConville write for *THE OBSERVER*) was much in evidence in Paris in May, working very hard and getting closer to the revolutionary students than most journalists were able to do. I talked to Seale several times during the events—everyone was busy explaining the inexplicable to everyone else then—and was impressed at his enterprise in learning about the students and understanding their complicated thinking—including important figures like Alain Krivine who were not making headlines but were maneuvering troops. To my way of thinking, the book does concentrate perhaps too heavily on the student aspect, whereas in my opinion the more important confrontation was elsewhere, once the students lit the fire. But it was the student aspect after all that was novel, and perhaps it casts long enough shadows to merit close study. At any rate this is a highly useful and readable account that would repay anyone's attention—especially since it has the added charm of unpretentiousness.

French works on their own crisis are legion, and one should at least mention Raymond Aron, *HUMANITÉ* editor René Andrieu for the Communist Party position, and the views of the student leaders Sauvegeot, Geismar, and Cohn-Bendit. One book that especially interested me, since I was following the Communist role,

was "Mort d'une révolution" by Jean Ferniot, a highly esteemed French journalist, for it concentrates on the French Left's record during May. I found this book full of useful insights, but also spotted with weaknesses. Perhaps it was because Ferniot, rather than content himself with very competent journalism (as did Seale and McConville), tried—or so it seemed to one Anglo-Saxon reader—to impose Cartesian clarity upon a situation that was actually very muddy. But Ferniot's book spotlights the question-marks in a most useful way—why were the Communists so afraid of the student leftists? Were the strikes wild-cat or concerted? Why did the workers reject the Grenelle accords? Why did the Federation of the Left shy away from the Communists? Was there an "absence of power"? What was the relationship between de Gaulle and Pompidou?—and so on. So the book should be helpful in offering leads to future investigators. There should be plenty of these, for the most intriguing question is still to be answered—not only "what happened?" but "will it happen again, and if so where this time?" Will France be "always an example" once more?

—JACK PERRY

RED FLAG/BLACK FLAG: FRENCH REVOLUTION 1968, by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, Putnam, \$5.95 (hardcover), Ballantine Books, \$95 (paperback).

MORT D'UNE RÉVOLUTION: LA GAUCHE DE MAI, by Jean Ferniot, Denoël, 14 francs.

China Watcher Sees Disintegration

HONG KONG bureau chief for Los Angeles TIMES Robert Elegant has been a student and reporter in China and Asia for some two decades. In "China's Red Masters," he dealt with the lives of Chinese Communist leaders; in "The Dragon's Seed," he told of relations between the overseas Chinese and the Peking regime. In this 1968 revision of "The Center of the World," he discusses Communism and the mind of China.

Beginning his account at roughly the time of the Ch'ing dynasty's establishment in China, he brings it down to the present day, giving special attention to the still-raging "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." Although he is certainly not writing for UP's "milkman in Omaha," his style is in the popular manner: Lively, anecdotal, non-academic. Yet his work is one of substantial scholarship. It is surely one of the most readable and reliable books on the events, personalities, and times he considers over the four past centuries.

His interpretations of the "Cultural

Revolution" are informed, reasoned—and by no means generally held among other qualified "China-watchers." In the aftermath of this incredible paroxysm of violence and deification of Mao Tse-tung and his thoughts, the "Cultural Revolution," Elegant sees Mao's China "disintegrating in much the same manner previous short-lived and radically innovating dynasties like the Chin (221-207 B.C.) and the Sui (A.D. 589-618) had disintegrated." Thus, the Maoist interlude could prove to be but a "thorough catharsis of traditional Chinese civilization"—to be followed by a period of intense disorganization and a return to China's ancient curse: Regionalization. His final viewpoint on the outcome of the "Cultural Revolution" is rather sanguine:

"It would be excessively optimistic to declare definitely that China was coming to the adjustment with the outside world—and her own complex character—she had sought by so many different roads for the past century and a half. It would be excessively cynical not to recognize that she was moving in that direction."

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

THE CENTER OF THE WORLD, by Robert S. Elegant. Funk & Wagnalls, \$6.95.

The Great Air War

UNDER the imperatives of World War I, the innocent sport of flying suddenly came of age. From a toy of the wealthy, a vehicle for the stunt man, the aeroplane developed through the stresses and strains of combat into the prototype of today's commercial transport. When hostilities began, staff officers regarded the frail monoplanes and biplanes at their disposal with the utmost skepticism, save perhaps for reconnaissance; but when the armistice came, aviation was a lethal weapon, an indispensable adjunct to every army.

"The Great Air War" chronicles this revolutionary transitional period in the history of aircraft in lively, if repetitious detail. Through its 558 pages stride the legendary Allied aces such as Guynemer, Nungesser, Fonck, Bishop, Ball, Mannock, Rickenbacker, Luke, and Lufbery—as well as Bodelcke, Immelman, Udet, "Red Baron" von Richtofen, and the bewiskered designer Count von Zepelin on the side of the "Huns." Together with their machines—the Sopwiths, Nieuports, Spads, Voisins, Farmans, Taubes, Fokkers, Aviatiks, and Albatroses, not to mention the monster dirigibles which raided England by night—they present an unprecedented picture of adventure in the struggle for supremacy of the skies.

At first, chivalry flowered as among knights of old, for many of the aerial scouts were friendly rivals from international competitions. But it soon became necessary to shoot on sight to prevent disclosure of information obtained over the battle lines; desultory duels led to multiple dogfights, where no quarter was expected or given. The record overflows with daring deeds of fighter pilots and the disasters which befell most of them.

The tale benefits from the author's attempt to relate the use of aircraft to the ebb and flow of military operations on the European front. With minor exceptions, it is technically well researched (Roland Garros is referred to as winner of the pre-war Paris-Madrid and Paris-Rome contests—actually he was known as the "eternal second"). A total of 65 photos and 54 sideview drawings of the principal war planes, plus an index and bibliography, add to its value as a reference book.

—HENRY S. VILLARD

THE GREAT AIR WAR: *The Men, the Planes, the Saga of Military Aviation: 1914-1918*, by Aaron Norman. Macmillan, \$10.

Pas de caïque, pas de caïque,¹ bécasse,² mâne.³

Bec ami est coquille⁴ à ce vaste Assise ou Cannes⁵

Roulette⁶ et n'épate⁷ éden⁸ marcou⁹ y débit.¹⁰

Aîné petit inédit, oh, vaine!¹¹ fort bébé ennemi.¹²

¹ *Caïque*. A long narrow boat commonly used in the Levant.

² A shore bird, the snipe.

³ *Mâne*. In Roman mythology, the soul after death, i.e., a ghost.

⁴ "The beak is friendly to shells." Birds have been the subject of many poems, and here tribute is paid to a ghostly snipe which does its own wading and swimming and feeds on shellfish.

⁵ Its range is from Cannes on the Riviera to Assisi in Italy, shrine of St. Francis, patron of birds.

⁶ A gambling game made famous by the Casinos of Monte Carlo and the Riviera.

⁷ Comment that such an attraction (roulette) is unnecessary in this astonishing earthly paradise.

⁸ This refers to a man with a magic symbol on his body who is believed to have supernatural powers, but note that

¹⁰ even he suffers losses.

¹¹ From the eldest to the yet unborn—All is Vanity.

¹² I don't know what child psychologists would have to say on this subject, but this bears out a suspicion I have long harbored. Babies hate people! It would be interesting to know at what age this hatred turns to dependence and affection, or whether it persists in the subconscious, subject to reawakening by the pressures and tensions of our age.

—MOTS D'HEURES: COUSSES, RAMES by Luis D'Antin Van Rooten (Grossman Publishers, Inc., \$3.95).

Victory Without Utopia

AFTER reading again the story of Versailles, one can only remind himself that the only thing harder than making war is making peace. At a time when we are confronted with the necessity to do both at once, it is perhaps instructive to remind ourselves that even victory is not necessarily followed by utopia.

While Richard M. Watt does not add a great deal to what we know about the period between the Armistice that ended the Great War and the signature of the peace treaty, he does examine it from an interesting perspective. This is the interaction between the revolution in Germany and the negotiations in Paris. Confronted by implacable victors, the precarious government at Weimar was torn between those who supported an army obsessed with "honor" and others who recognized that the German people had no more stomach for war. We all know that in the end the German delegation signed the repugnant treaty, but we may have forgotten that the Germans caved only under the threat of invasion—and then only within a few hours of an Allied offensive.

Richard Watt is a relatively recent arrival to a growing list of readable historians. His only previous book was "Dare Call It Treason," an account of the 1917 French army mutinies. After reading "The Kings Depart," I can only hope that he keeps at it.

In addition to being instructive, his book is high drama. What a cast of characters! Schoolmaster Wilson, cynic Lloyd George, and Tiger Clemenceau. Von Hindenberg, the ambivalent titan; Ludendorff, the brilliant loser; and Groener, the unfortunate realist. The doomed revolutionaries: Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Bela Kun. Incidents which bent the course of history: the Kiel Mutiny, the Bavarian revolution, and the scuttling of the German fleet at Scapa Flow. Groups of men struggling for the soul of a defeated nation: the Freikorps and the Spartacists. Slogans which began to haunt the world: self-determination, an unfortunate example of the American desire to reduce complicated problems to a few words; *Dolchstoß* (stab-in-the-back), by which the German General Staff sought to escape responsibility for military defeat. How could an author end up with a dull story?

And Mr. Watt doesn't.

—JOHN C. AUSLAND

THE KINGS DEPART, by Richard M. Watt. Simon & Schuster, \$10.00.

Who Saves Us from Man?

BEYOND LEFT AND RIGHT is a collection of "radical thought for our times," edited and with an introduction by Richard Kostelanetz. Among the 26 conspicuously contemporaneous writers and thinkers represented in this book are Buckminster Fuller, Marshall McLuhan, Constantinos Doxiadis, Herman Kahn, Kenneth Boulding, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Surprisingly for a book that advertises itself as representing radical thought, there are no contributions from Marcuse or Mailer. And some of those who are represented can scarcely be described as radical even though they may be assertive and provocative.

This is a book about the future. Here is a sampling of chapter headings: After Civilization, What?; The Computer as an Intellectual Tool; Cybernation and Human Rights; The Electromagnetic Society; Synthetic Food and Tomorrow's Billions; The New Mutants; Uncertain Road to the 21st Century; and Human Potentialities. (This latter chapter, incidentally, outlines an interesting new additional Bill of Rights for the future. The following "rights" are included: leisure; beauty; health; intimacy; truth; study; travel; sexual fulfillment; peace; and finally the right to be unique!!)

This is a troubling and stimulating book which challenges traditional ways of looking at things.

I have thought that it was a commonplace, almost a triviality, to say that technology has outpaced politics. Science and technology are making the world village-like in size and increasingly interdependent. But our global political institutions range only from the non-existent to the most rudimentary.

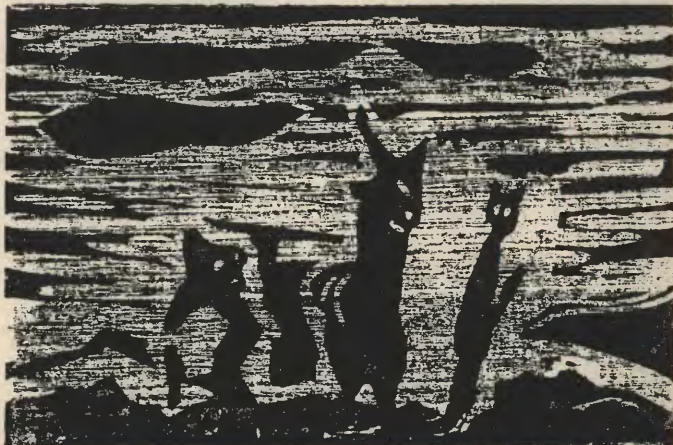
But to Kostelanetz et al this dilemma doesn't even seem to be relevant to today's and tomorrow's problems. The focus of attention is elsewhere. "One presupposition of the themes outlined here is that neither formal nor 'protest' politics are primary initiators of significant social change, nor can they possibly be . . . Since the organization and application of knowledge is the primary source of social power, radical thinking is, in the best sense, largely above and beyond politics." The concern of politics, in his view, is with adjustment rather than initiation. And people skilled in "secondary housekeeping functions" will continue to become the leaders of states. On the other hand, "To the process of technology saving us from technology there seems no end or limit."

The new radical thought is "non-ideological, non-utopian, and non-systematic." It is a style of looking at and thinking about future problems rather than a program for their solution. While ideology and utopia induce "essentially static images of a historical future," radical thought must be "as open-ended as technological advance itself."

But what can be "beyond left and right" and still be "radical"? Inherent in the word radical is a point of view, a value judgment, and an ethical framework. Kostelanetz says that technology will save us from technology. But who saves us from man? After all, even HAL, the brilliant computer of "2001: A Space Odyssey," apparently had feelings and was capable of good and evil.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Beyond Left and Right, edited by Richard Kostelanetz. Morrow, \$7.95.



Untitled

by Marie Skora

Czechoslovak Crisis Reported by Rumor

PERHAPS because, as Colin Chapman (Foreign Editor of the sometimes sensational London *SUNDAY TIMES*) claims in his introduction, his book was the first detailed account of the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia to be published, it is riddled with errors and misinformation. In large part the book is fleshed out with rumors surrounding the larger, well known and reported events which encompassed the Czechoslovak period of liberation and the invasion and its aftermath. This would, of course, be acceptable if Chapman had indicated what was confirmed information and what was not. To report speculation or rumor as fact seems a little much since there are at least two or three contradictory rumors concerning the same behind-the-scene Czechoslovak happening.

When describing events he or others actually witnessed such as the behavior of the citizens of Prague during the Soviet occupation, Chapman's reporting is moving and poignant. His chronological description of the Czechoslovak events as the world watched them unfold would make the book valuable to the reader who wants a broad picture rather than a factual and detailed account.

—HELENE BATJER

AUGUST 21ST, THE RAPE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, by Colin Chapman. J. B. Lippincott Co., \$1.45.

English Social History

IT is an old story superbly told, to be read for the sheer joy of its lucid prose, rare sensibility and contagious exuberance. Sir Arthur Bryant, eminent scholar and lecturer at Oxford, has rightly been called the Scheherazade of historians. Devoid of academic lingo and numbing statistics, this is social history at its best, from James I through Queen Victoria's long reign.

Without suggesting inaccurate parallels, Sir Arthur awakens insights into contemporary issues. Industrialization brought appalling social conditions and "the alarm of the well-to-do classes" impelled the government to call out troops to put down "the urban savagery their own neglect had created." Yet Marx was wrong and the British conscience and character so beloved by Sir Arthur stemmed a revolution by patching up the old system. Inexorably farmers and artisans became the faceless proletariat. But their story is not yet over and he concludes, "They were better off than their parents but they were not satisfied with their lot. For their instincts, as well as the professional

preachers of discontent, told them something was still lacking."

As a prelude to current social ferment, "Set in a Silver Sea" is highly recommended, both for those who know the plot already, and for those with a new concern for social problems.

—LUREE MILLER

SET IN A SILVER SEA by Sir Arthur Bryant. Doubleday, \$5.95

The Greeks Survive

IT is surprising that despite the close and continuous association which has existed between Greece and the United States since the adoption of the Truman Doctrine over twenty years ago there have, up to now, been no contemporary histories of modern Greece written by Americans. This gap is now usefully filled by "The Web of Modern Greek Politics" by Jane and Andrew Carey, two perceptive American scholars and students of the Greek scene. Although their short book is distinctly a light "once over" of modern Greek history, addressed to the non-specialist, it succeeds in providing, in somewhat compressed, but balanced form, the indispensable background for an understanding of the cross-currents of events, personalities and issues which led up to the "Colonels'" coup of April 1967 and the installation of the present military-backed Papadopoulos Government. This pattern of periodic military intervention whenever Greek parliamentary democracy has descended to a certain level of contention and sterility, which it had, by all accounts, in the spring of 1967, is unfortunately not a new one. Notwithstanding these vicissitudes, Greece nevertheless manages—thanks largely to the resiliency and enterprise of its people—to progress slowly, but unmistakably up the scale of social and economic, if not of political development. As Winston Churchill so aptly observed in the passage quoted by the Careys at the beginning of their book: "They [the Greeks] have survived in spite of all the world could do against them and all they could do against themselves."

—ROSS MCCLELLAND

THE WEB OF MODERN GREEK POLITICS, by Jane and Andrew Carey. Columbia University Press, \$6.95.

The Mystique of Finland

"Countries are like people: by their very existence they exalt or deflate the opinions one would like to have of oneself. When I return from Finland, I feel younger and livelier; I make great plans, I like many things in the world and, what is more, I like

myself a little better."

So wrote Georges Duhamel in his "Chant du Nord"; hundreds of American diplomats and businessmen who have been privileged to serve in Finland will echo Duhamel's words.

Perhaps the reader can begin—but only just begin, to understand the attraction of the land of the Kalevala, Sibelius and Nurmi by delving into the latest (and perhaps most complete) survey of Finland in the English language.

Editors Hillar Kallas and Sylvie Nickels have assembled over 30 essays by top authorities; their subjects range from political (there is one on Finnish neutrality and another on communism in Finland) to the arts (music, literature—old and new, architecture, design, painting and sculpture, and the theater). In between are chapters on Finnish foreign trade, education, the church, and the press.

It is sheer delight to immerse oneself in the treatises on the Finnish holidays and customs and that detailing Finnish links with the United States. Supplementing this admirable collection of essays are a fold-out map, 75 plates (some in full color), 20 pages of illustrated statistics, and a list of over 300 useful addresses. Truly, this book is both a commentary and a reference work.

—JAMES O. MAYS

FINLAND: CREATION AND CONSTRUCTION, by Hillar Kallas and Sylvie Nickels. Praeger, \$7.50.

Naval Paddling in Diplomacy's Pond

TO judge by comments and writings of colleagues, there is one area we of the diplomatic calling need to know more about. Curiously enough, it is diplomacy itself. Our notions of it are often vague and unprofessional.

If there is one segment of this area of which our notions are particularly fragmentary, it is the military. As far as the navy is concerned, a good place to begin for clarification has always been Charles O. Paullin's well researched, compact little book, "Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883," but it has long been unavailable except in libraries. We are now indebted to Peter Smith of Gloucester for reprinting it and one can warmly recommend it as worthy of reading by every Foreign Service officer. It should, in fact, be made required reading in the Basic Officers' Course at the Foreign Service Institute.

—SMITH SIMPSON

DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS OF AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICERS, 1778-1883, by Charles O. Paullin. Peter Smith.

WHERE DIPLOMATS DINE

CHEZ FRANCOIS, 818 Connecticut Ave., NW, ME 8-1849. Le Rendezvous des Gourmets où les mets sont bons et les vins de choix. French cuisine at moderate prices. Open daily except Saturday and Sunday for lunch, 12-2:30; open daily except Sunday for dinner, 6:00 till 9:45.

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★ ★ ★

THE SKY ROOM . . . Hotel Washington, Penn. Ave. & 15th . . . A panoramic view of the Washington scene is a breath-taking backdrop to sophisticated atmosphere here . . . International menu, with a French accent, includes flaming sword medallions of beef tenderloin bourguignonne.

★ ★ ★

TOM ROSS' CHARCOAL HEARTH, 2001 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., FE 8-8070, specializing in prime ribs of beef, charcoal-broiled steaks and seafood. Free parking in rear. Open daily for lunch 11:30 to 2:30, dinner 5:30 to 10:30, Saturday dinner 5-11. Closed Sundays. Wide selection of cocktails and liquors.

LAST BOAT,

from page 57

bulletin from the Pan American counter: the *Yankee Clipper* was at that very moment winging its way to New York. The mists had lifted at last, the take-off had taken place without incident, Consul Wasson was on board. The estimated time of arrival would, with luck, give us about an hour to clear immigration and customs and rush our passenger to the *West Lashaway's* distant mooring. Sixty minutes—3600 seconds—were about to determine whether or not the United States would be represented at this crucial juncture in the destiny of French West Africa.

Fyfe, as usual, left no stone unturned. He called the steamship line again, pressing for further delay, but this time the agent was adamant. He buttonholed each uniformed official in turn, enlisted the aid of Pan Am's staff, and drilled them all as if he were the quarterback of a football team. He parked the car next to the curb at the passenger exit. He produced, from his web of contacts with the police department, a burly, red-faced motorcycle cop with goggles and black gauntlets to serve as escort.

As the *Clipper* swooped down to a graceful landing on the water and taxied up to the tarmac, I pressed forward eagerly to identify our Foreign Service officer. I had never met Wasson before, but he was an unmistakable figure—smiling, calm and poised, with Homburg hat and briefcase, a picture of the unflappable diplomat. Precious minutes were expended hustling him through the formalities and extracting his suitcases from the pile of baggage. Gately, he allowed himself to be manhandled through the barriers, shoved into the back of the car; it started with a jerk, Fyfe at the wheel and the siren screaming like a banshee ahead.

Had it not been for that indomitable motorcycle guide through the asphalt jungle of Brooklyn, ours would have been a hopeless mission. As it was, tossed from side to side as we rounded corners or dodged vehicles that failed to scatter at the wail of our escort's horn, it was for me an unforgettable, hair-raising experience. Between gasps for breath, I gave Tom word for word his off-the-record instructions, reciting as best I could the substance of the briefing he would have received if he had come to Washington, and explaining how above all the State Department depended on him to furnish accurate reports on alleged Nazi activity at the Dakar naval base.

The *West Lashaway* had just cast off when we roared onto the dock, the last hawser trailing in the water at the bow. A moment of suspended motion, in which plans and policies seemed to hang in the balance, and then, in answer to our frenzied shouts and signals, the ship was slowly warped back so that the gangway could be lowered once more. Wasson's waiting parents, the Rev. Dr. Edmund A. Wasson and Mrs. Wasson of Newark, New Jersey, and a few other relatives, had a bare moment to wish him godspeed. Tom staggered aboard, arms clasped around the safe with the code books, the forms, and the packaged Stars and Stripes, while I hustled his suitcases into the embrace of a willing seaman.

Again the gangway was raised, the gap between ship and shore again grew; as we wiped the sweat from our collective brow, we waved a thankful farewell to the departing American Consul at Dakar. It was ten minutes past the hour of grace granted by the steamship company; but the day was saved for a man on the spot and a series of intelligence reports that were to prove invaluable in less time than anyone dreamed.

Two weeks after Wasson landed at his post, a combined force of Free French and British warships began the shelling of Dakar in a vain attempt to make that stronghold join the banner of Charles de Gaulle. Wasson distinguished himself throughout the bombardment by bicycling to the telegraph office in order to send a play-by-play account to Washington. An adventurous tour of duty was off to a spectacular start. ■



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COUNTRY DIRECTOR,

from page 37

rector. Although these involve a complex pattern of economic, military, and political considerations which vary from country to country, the actual decision-making process is vested in two inter-agency committees on which neither the Country Director nor the regional assistant secretary is represented directly.

Another major disability of the Country Director is that he does not control a penny of program funds. The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, about the only component of the Department that does, is usually susceptible to program guidance from the Country Director. Outside agencies, however, where resources are much greater, are far less so. AID, USIA, DOD, and Agriculture have their own objectives and their own sets of criteria for programming.

Even on matters of diplomatic strategy and tactics, the Country Director is faced with formidable competition. The Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs in the Department of Defense,

for example, has in the past several years taken on a wide-ranging role in foreign affairs. The natural consequence of an efficient ISA is that it is seldom prepared simply to determine what resources may or may not be available, but often ends up making independent assessments of foreign policy problems which extend far beyond the purely military aspects and promoting particular strategies and tactics to implement them.

The Country Director's leadership and coordination role is not made easier by the fact that he lacks an "opposite number" in other agencies. In all cases, the other agency country officers are lower in rank, have substantially less authority, and cannot act with the same independence as the Country Director. Often even a relatively minor international problem has to go to the highest echelons. Rank seeks its own level, so an Assistant Secretary in another agency, should he have a question, goes back to the appropriate Assistant Secretary in the Department (who then has to call the Country Director to inquire "What's this all about?")

Speaking of rank, our own Protocol Office in the Department has apparent-

ly found the Country Director a difficult beast to classify. At official functions on the eighth floor he may be seated with either third Secretaries or with Ambassadors. The military approach varies. Sometimes Country Directors are handled as brigadier or major generals and sometimes as lieutenants and captains.

The White House, for the past few years at least, has been more predictable. A Country Director may or may not have been allowed in to a business session between President Johnson and a visiting dignitary, but he could count on being excluded from any "sit-down" social functions. I have a vivid (and in retrospect amusing) memory of a day two years ago when I had to disengage as inconspicuously as possible from the rest of the official party going with the President from the Cabinet Room to lunch to run over to a G Street delicatessen to pick up a meat ball sandwich, the gravy from which was still on my face when the visiting Prime Minister came back across Pennsylvania Avenue to Blair House.

More seriously, however, the sharp criticism that can be made of the current style of interagency coordina-



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tion is that it wastes a great deal of time. Involving a wide variety of people with specialized responsibilities in the process of decision-making on overall interests surfaces a variety of views, but it also seems to make for interminable delays and watered-down decisions.

At the turn of the year, this process seemed to have been getting worse rather than better. Ten or more clearances had become common on cables of any substance. I sometimes found myself going along with changes that made a message nearly incoherent in order to get something, anything, out that would authorize an Embassy to act.

Part of the problem may well be with us Country Directors ourselves. There are almost fifty of us and the degree to which each took seriously Secretary Rusk's "You are me!" inevitably varied. One may be satisfied when he has "staffed-out" a problem for his Assistant Secretary to resolve. Another may feel that he has failed unless he has solved it.

Also, good DCMs and Ambassadors are not necessarily good Washington bureaucrats. In the field, a senior FSO almost automatically—and not unwarrantably—expects to

inspire confidence and trust. In Washington, skill and experience comes in a variety of packages: civil servants, uniformed officers, businessmen, lawyers, and academics doing a temporary stint in Government. Leadership has to be won rather than assumed.

"Well, what do you expect? Who do you think you are, anyway? Coordination machinery has been set up to take care of these problems. Why don't you use it?" These seem reasonable enough responses to some of the above complaints. I wonder if they are. Most of the problems discussed above do not grow out of basic policy disagreements but out of differences of approach. They involve method not substance. To submit them all to high level coordinating committees would smother the system. The attraction of any coordination machinery from a Country Director's point of view is its potential for settling basic disagreements promptly and decisively. In IRG and SIG delay and compromise were as evident as in any other committee proceedings. If a new system is to be effective, it will need to devise a better approach—but that is more than enough of a subject for a separate article.

The End of the Rainbow: Gold But Rivers Still to Cross

To summarize, then. The Country Director has found an important role within the Department, with the Ambassador in the field, and with the Diplomatic Missions in Washington. In the inter-agency world, he is still something of a Johnny Appleseed sowing widely and harvesting randomly. He has come a long way, but he has a long way to go—and he can use some help. ■

Alien

*Birds in this country
Speak a foreign tongue.
All birds were English
When I was young.*

*Trees have changed their leaves,
Children their colour,
All in translation
Altered for ever.*

*My birds are dead, and no
Ancient song sticks;
I hear mocking birds,
Never a phoenix.*

BARBARA ENNIS

We are all familiar with *Life in the Foreign Service*, and are cognizant of *Love in the Foreign Service*, BUT . . . when you secure the happy formula that combines the comedic approach to both, then's when you have arrived! Over the past decade Si Nadler and Bob Rinden have held themselves and us as well, at a distance just right to focus in on the humorous and oftentimes hilarious facets of the Service.

It is well perhaps that we can stand apart, or have two such "stand ins" do it for us, and see the Janus side of the tragedy. It has been said "tragedy plus time equals comedy." With this equation the Life and Love cartoons though tragic in concept have been given the test of time and for ten years now they have been the light touch in the JOURNAL. Light only in that they inevitably bring a smile, light by no means when weighing their pull of interest.

The JOURNAL has compiled a selection of the best in show and a 64-page book is now available at Dept. L, AFSA headquarters, 2101 E St. N.W. for the paltry sum of \$1.00.

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GIVE DIPLOMACY BACK,

from page 49

the Presidential letter of May 29, 1961, outlining the responsibility and authority of the American Ambassador. Thus equipped, there is no reason why the voice of a determined representative abroad should be inaudible through the hum of Virginia Avenue traffic, or contradicted by the bleats of bureaucratic sheep folded in Foggy Bottom. The other is the charter of March 4, 1966, from the President to the Secretary of State. This, known as National Security Action Memorandum 341, returns to the State Department the "overall direction, coordination, and supervision" of American Government activities overseas. NSAM 341 is a delegation of power of formidable proportions, but in the ensuing three years the State Department, its leadership mired in Asian dilemmas, failed to take advantage of this grant of White House authority.

These two existing directives constitute ample ammunition for a fresh President and Secretary of State to mount an overdue campaign against the entrenched agencies and organizations that for years have been chipping away at the State Department,

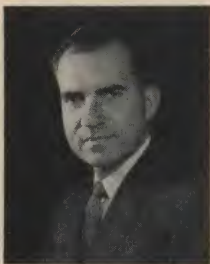
invading its field, and seeking to substitute the activism of the eager beaver for the voice of experience. Today, shrinking the American diplomatic service to manageable dimensions and then returning to it the necessary attributes for achievement may not prove an easy task, but it is a job to be undertaken if diplomacy is to be of maximum value to the American people. It is a job for a new Secretary of State, unmortgaged by the mistakes of the 1950s and 60s.

There is no arca of the federal government that has been the object of more solicitude on the part of uninformed kibitzers and aggressive reformers than the American Foreign Service. Most of them have operated under the banner of "modern diplomacy," discredited though that emblem may be as a result of costly, futile and interminable experiments. It may be that in the nature of his work, a diplomat finds himself unable to cultivate the kind of grassroots constituency that supports other government operations. He can boast of no lobby comparable to those beating drums for the Departments of Defense or Agriculture, for example. That does not mean that the Foreign Service must cultivate a supple spine,

or that diplomats should hesitate to stand up and be counted. In fact if they do not stand up, they are likely to be counted out, and at no distant date in the future.

It is high time that diplomats do speak up, for improvements generated from within testify to the vitality of the organization, and moreover among the assets possessed by professionalism is an aroused awareness on the part of the American people of the importance of foreign affairs, properly conducted. That awareness should include simultaneous acceptance of the proposition that if an American householder has a broken-down furnace, he does not call in an astrologer, a paperhanger, or a professor-who-says-he-knows-all-the-answers. Nor does the home owner invite to his cellar a traveling circus. He summons a plumber who knows about furnaces.

It is perhaps reassuring to the general public that diplomats and plumbers have that much in common. At any rate, having tried without success practically everything else since World War II ended, it might be a good idea to try giving diplomacy back to the diplomats. There would be a saving in fuel oil, and they might even repair the furnace. ■



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A Strange and Wonderful Variety

ADDRESSED to Mrs. Theodore Schumacher, 1148 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and bearing a Department of State letterhead, the communication reads in its entirety:

Madam:

Confirming the telephone conversation you had with Mr. Havens on March 9th, the American Consulate at Glasgow was informed by telegram of that date of your desire to have someone from that office represent you and Mr. Schumacher at the funeral on March 12th of Lord Aberdeen; that if no one in that office is available, you wish some one selected; that the one attending the funeral should inform Lady Aberdeen he is there representing you and Mr. Schumacher; and that an expenditure of not to exceed \$25 is authorized for expenses.

The cost of the telegram will be billed to you by the Department in due course.

Your check for \$25 has just been received and should the total amount not be expended, the balance will be returned to you."

The letter is signed by Herbert C. Hengstler for the Secretary of State.

A clipping from THE GLASGOW HERALD, of March 13, is headed: FUNERAL OF LORD ABERDEEN. Sub-heads read: *Company of 800 Mourners/Pipers Lead Procession to Graveside/Impressive Last Tributes.* The final section of the article is entitled *Distinguished Mourners.* Among those listed are "the Hon. Margaret Forbes-Sempil, Lady Henschel, representing the National Executive of the League of Nations Union, Lady Adam Smith, Rear Admiral Hutchinson, Mr. J. B. Hosie, commissioner, Fife Estates, representing Prince and Princess Arthur of Connaught." Between "Mr. W. Hendrey, W. S. Edinburgh, representing the Marquis of Huntley" and "Colonel A. H. Farquharson, of Ivercauld," appears "Mr. J. Forrest Ingle, U.S. Vice-Consul, London, representing Mr. and Mrs. Schumacher, New York."

Completing the file is a sheaf of documents with a covering memorandum, dated March 14, from the American Consulate General, Glasgow, to the Secretary of State, the subject of which is "Representation of Mr. and Mrs. Schumacher at the Funeral of Lord Aberdeen." There are four paragraphs, the second of which reads: "Vice Consul J. Forrest Ingle attended the funeral, and there is enclosed a separate account covering his expenses." Thirteen (13) enclosures are listed. A few, involving Ingle's expenditures, are of special interest.

Enclosure 9, for example, is Sub-voucher No. 2. It covers four expenditures: lunch on train, March 11, and, on March 12, breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The total comes to the equivalent of US \$2.86.

Enclosure 10 is Sub-voucher No. 3, concerning "hotel at Aberdeen, including tea and dinner." This amounts to the equivalent of US \$3.80.

Vice Consul Ingle's total expenditures for representing the Schumachers at Lord Aberdeen's funeral are certified as US \$24.80.

The year was 1934.

John Slocum, whose most recent foreign assignment was as Cultural Attaché in Cairo and who is currently Cultural Affairs Advisor in USIA's Office of Policy and Research, was given the above-cited file of correspondence recently by his brother-in-law, Alan T. Schumacher.

While the file is believed complete, there is no indication as to whether or not the Department did, indeed, bill Mrs. Schumacher for the cost of that telegram or, if it so did, whether it deducted from the cost the twenty cents due Mrs. Schumacher as the portion of her \$25 unexpended by Vice Consul Ingle. ■

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or a Secretary of State wants to insure that he gets a variety of viewpoints on any problem. Is there a "military mind?" Is there a "Foreign Service attitude?" Do elite, self-disciplined, peer-judged personnel systems based on mutual, detailed annual efficiency reports, tend to breed a predictable approach to problems? It is not necessary to say yes to these somewhat loaded questions to make the point that any Secretary of State should be on guard when he sees a plan to staff all positions in the Department with rotating FSOs and FSSs.

INR Staffing as an Illustration of the General Policy Question

It is appropriate to consider the experience and needs of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) with respect to officer personnel as an illustration of the principles involved in proper staffing of the Department of State in Washington.

Most officers in INR are engaged in analysis of political, economic and social trends in foreign countries and in making forecasts of relevance to US policies. This function is clearly one for which Foreign Service officers have important qualifications. These research functions can also be performed by domestic foreign area specialists, who have in fact constituted about 50 percent of INR's regional research offices in recent years. Since November 1967, when the campaign began to designate as many Washington jobs as possible for FSO occupancy, INR has successfully fought off proposals to work toward staffing INR research offices fully with world-wide rotating FSOs, FSRs and FSSs. INR has resisted encroachment on the principle that a 50-50 ratio of FSOs to domestic service career specialists is ideal.

As an organization with both basic research as well as current intelligence responsibilities, INR must rely not only upon personnel generally acquainted with foreign service and international affairs but also upon a parallel group of officers who characteristically accumulate wide knowledge in a limited area of field. The professional analyst and the FSO tend not to be the same person. A senior career FSO has expressed the differing qualities of the two in the following way:

"Every FSO has some of the qualities of an analyst, and good analysts very often make effective FSOs. The honest-to-God analyst, however, has something more:

"The ability to deal day in and day out with paper—stacks upon stacks of ephemera and buckram-bound tomes, or speeches, newsprint, reports at first and third hand, and comments on comments—without losing touch with the reality behind it all. He must live with his head in a cloud of paper, yet keep his feet on the ground. He must have self-discipline the way an FSO must have a good liver.

"The ability to spot the truly novel and significant in a mass of the familiar and irrelevant. . . . The nugget of information that makes the whole story fall in place gleams for him where others see only sand. . . . The accumulation of facts and experience takes years that the FSO cannot supply.

"The ability to communicate the pattern he finds without taking the reader through the long trail of search and discovery that led him to it. The FSO, trained to report from abroad, is encouraged to tell in detail what he sees and hears so that it can be mined for information serving a variety of purposes. The researcher rarely does a favor in recounting his intellectual odysseys. He must keep a sharp pencil despite the dulling pressure of detail.

"The ability to expose reality without being influenced by what should be done about it. The good FSO begins to prepare specific policy recommendations early in his career. He soon finds it difficult to dedicate himself to what is without being haunted by what *should be*. He has

found that recommendations without advocacy lose battles that could be won. The analyst must train himself to hold the future, like all else unproven, a bit in contempt. His pride is in creating order from a congeries of facts and inferences, changing or neglecting none of them. The FSO's pride is in having a hand in shaping the future; his is an actionist's kick rather than the researcher's faith that the truth shall set men—on the right path."

In a memo written in December 1967 to defend the principle of having a mix of professional analysts and FSOs in INR research offices, the question was argued in the following way:

"The reasons why we think the 50/50 mixture is ideal are these:

"1. The essence of INR's function is that it has an independent viewpoint. . . . How could a staff of exactly the same kind of people found in other areas—indeed, through the force of rotation, identical people—produce results different in character?

"2. . . . Somewhere in the Department there should be at least a core of officers who are able to accumulate wide knowledge in a limited field, who have opportunity for comprehensive analysis and the long view, who acquire, together with practice in applying their skills to policy problems, the habit of depth research. Individuals of this sort grow by continuity, not rotation, and by work in the Department, not in the academic environment.

"3. . . . Long-continued research is not one of the things people join a Foreign Service for—and it is a serious question whether they should. The scheme of loyalties involved in executing policy directives, the attitudes required for operating, the emphasis on rapid decision, among other features of FS life, run actually counter to the requirements of research. FSOs have much to offer—and receive—in a mix, but manifestly to staff INR with FSOs would in time dilute out of sight its research character.

"4. For the Foreign Service itself, service in INR gains its distinctive value from exposure to the research tradition embodied in the permanent staff. Otherwise INR would simply be another Mission or policy Bureau and would offer no new experience.

"5. The relationships which INR maintains on behalf of the Department, on the one hand with other intelligence agencies and on the other with private research groups all over the country, require continuity quite different from that which, in foreign capitals, is consistent with rotation of personnel. . . . In particular, INR's representation of the Department in the complex processes of producing National Intelligence Estimates would suffer seriously if it did not involve a good proportion of seasoned and familiar research officers.

"6. The fact that CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency have settled for staffing their headquarters with both rotating and permanent personnel means two things:

a. It serves as testimony to the Department that our associates in other agencies have perceived the need for specialization and continuity in the business which INR is supposed to carry on for the Department.

b. It would put INR at a serious disadvantage in representing the Department's interests if it could not match these agencies' experts in depth with similar experts of its own."

Origin of the New Personnel Guidelines

What are the sources and inspiration for the current policy of halting Civil Service recruitment except when inescapably necessary to fill a position designated for Civil Service, reviewing such positions periodically to try to reduce them, with the ultimate objective of staffing all domestic positions

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through the Foreign Service Act? Did the policy come out of a high-level public-Government committee like the Wriston Committee or the Herter Committee? No. Did the policy stem from Congressional initiatives or legislative requirements? No. Did the policy result from the deliberations of an interagency committee representing AID, USIA, and other parts of the foreign affairs community? No. Did the policy arise from a departmental committee representing the geographic and functional bureaus of the Department of State? No.

The new guidelines were fixed in the general Departmental memorandum of November 13, 1967. They were amplified by an ad hoc "Committee on Strengthening the Personnel System" composed, 9 to 1, of FSOs. It was their report which was announced in the June NEWS LETTER quoted at the beginning of this article. As far as is known, the ad hoc committee held no hearings, not even to receive advice from Civil Service or Foreign Service employee organizations.

What Happens Now?

The June announcement said that working groups were being organized to examine in depth each aspect of the concept developed by the "Committee on Strengthening the Personnel System," but nothing has been heard from them. Meanwhile, however, the policy of easing out the Civil Service and pushing in the Foreign Service in Washington jobs is being steadily implemented by an administrative hierarchy, controlling all assignments, composed from the top well down toward the working level entirely of Foreign Service officers.

It is to be hoped that the surprise enactment of the mini-Hays bill, giving a prospect of administering a domestic career foreign affairs specialist corps through FSR appointments of unlimited tenure, will be the occasion for rethinking the premises of the staffing patterns and position designations now being implemented.

Recapitulation

If a process of rethinking the present policy "guidelines" does take place it might usefully take into account these points:

1. The need for professional employees in Washington having specialized skills and long continuity of expertise is going to grow.
2. The Department should seek the *best* people for jobs requiring such qualities, wherever they may be found.
3. The nature of the job *functions* should determine whether it is to be filled by a rotating FSO or a domestic service officer.
4. The guiding approach should *not* be to see how many rotating FSOs can be assigned to Washington jobs but, through objective job content and organization analysis, to find that proper mixture of stay-at-home career officers and overseas career officers which will most creatively and efficiently do the Department's work.
5. The Department of State needs two career systems for its foreign affairs officers: the Foreign Service and a domestic service separately recruited at the bottom and at other levels and separately managed and promoted. The variety of means under Civil Service authority, or the new Hays FSR approach, or both, should make it possible to achieve a flexible domestic career system which will attract a steady influx of bright young foreign affairs graduates for domestic service as well as the mature scarce specialists needed from time to time.

25 YEARS AGO

FEBRUARY 1944 IN THE JOURNAL

NOW having completed a quarter of a century, the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL merits felicitation on this anniversary as well as our praise on its progress. In order to better appreciate that progress, a review of the first years of its career is timely.

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL's first number appeared in March, 1919, as the AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN, it having established itself as a more or less monthly publication under that title.

Whereas the Foreign Service Association developed from the enthusiasm of a few of the youthful consular officers on duty in the Department of State during the first World War, the JOURNAL (as the AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN) can be said to be the outcome of the optimism of two of those officers, almost as an answer to their prayers. The mere fact that these two officers already had more than they could handle in their Departmental duties and as officers of the newly organized Association did not seem to deter them in their conviction that what the Service really required was a Service publication and that they were going to busy themselves with trying to create one. At the time it never occurred to me that it was quite possible that neither of us knew the slightest thing about starting a publication of any sort. I do not know what Wesley Frost knew about launching and running a printed periodical but to me he looked as though he ought to and I had enough confidence in his intelligence and in my own resourcefulness to give the idea serious and frequent thought. Although I had come from a family of journalists, that did not influence me much in my determination to do something about the publication idea. What influenced me more than anything else was the fact that we had started an Association among the officers of the Service and were taking their money as dues and had almost nothing to offer them in return except we were organized and had their interests at heart and a lot of good intentions and some few plans. These plans, however, were all in various stages of incipency, most of which appeared to have abortive prospects. Even as low as the annual dues were, the agenda of the plans for services to the officer members appeared even lower, so far as I could see. Wesley Frost and I wanted to use the modest funds of the Association to the best purpose.

The possibility or impossibility of prosecution of the Service organ plan never loomed large in my mind, as I had so little time to devote to it even if our plan became successful. It is possible that Wesley felt about the same way, as he was also devoid of spare time. In spite of this, he and I muddled over the publication idea and invariably arrived at a stalemate due to lack of time to devote to it and also due to the lack of facilities. There were no precedents, not a great amount of funds for the purpose, no dependable person experienced in such matters who might devote the necessary time to the project, if it were started.

There were quite a few skeptics around the Department of State who had not even approved of our having started the Association in the first place and who looked askance on almost everything connected with it. Almost the entire Department would have been shocked at the idea of a publication of any sort. The mere mention of printed matter, statements issuing from the Department into print, made them wince as though they were gun-shy. That they would frown upon the product of our plan was evident to Wesley

From "The Origin of the American Foreign Service Journal," by James Barclay Young, March, 1944.



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Frost and to me. This disapprobation did not bother us as we had confidence in our own sense of propriety as to what should or should not emanate from the official halls of the Department of State. Unfortunately, this confidence was not reciprocal. It was rank heresy, even presumption rife with danger of untold complications and inevitable embarrassment to the Department for your consular officers to think that they could publish a printed periodical which, under any circumstances would be diffused to the public and the press and all that it contained would be laid on the doorstep of the Department, leaving the Department holding the bag of responsibility for the indiscreet printed articles of indecorous young men.

Eventually, I worked up some material for publication and together with some supplied by Wesley Frost, this was sent to a printer in Washington to be put into type. The dummy was returned to the printer and his finished proof was received by us with disappointment. The format was bad, the paper was poor and the meager little thing was pathetically undignified for an emanation from an organization in the Department of State. The sample had no good features except that it provided a rehearsal for putting plans into effect. I showed the sample publication to Wesley without much comment except that of disappointment and he showed it to Mr. Wilbur Carr with some trepidation. The sample was unanimously rejected as disapproved on general lines, mostly on account of lack of dignity of format and size.

Although this first practical venture into print was somewhat of a frustration, it did not dishearten sufficiently to cause the abandonment of the idea, but it did bring it to another stalemate. Frost and Coffin and I mulled over the idea some more and discussed it in committee meetings and whenever time permitted, but outside of much optimism and complete lack of time and facilities and an almost total absence of the slightest prospect of putting this pet obsession into operation, we were getting practically nowhere, except that we did not despair.

This is about where the answer to our prayers came in. One good day George Young walked into my office in the Department of State with a sample publication, a fairly well conceived proof on good paper and of about the same dimensions as the JOURNAL of today. The technical features of the sample presented favorable points. All in all, it had the earmarks of just what we were looking for. George Young had formerly been a consular officer and had served mostly in the Near East. His brother, Mr. J. W. Young, was a printer with a printing house in New York and between them they had prepared this sample publication. I was enthusiastic about it at the outset as it had generally favorable features, a good appearance and presented promising prospects. I immediately took it up to Wesley Frost and William Coffin and they likewise showed some enthusiasm over it. They approved of it in principle and at the next committee meeting we discussed it and decided to communicate with Mr. J. W. Young and his publishing house in New York. The result was he offered to print the periodical monthly for a certain price which I cannot now remember and he was to furnish the paper, cliches, etc., including illustrations (such as they were) and he had advertisement rights. The Association was to supply him with a certain amount of manuscript material for publication each month and he was to supply the rest of each publication. His ideas as to what constituted appropriate matter for interesting reading in a monthly periodical did not exactly enhance its qualities as a literary effort but after all the main thing was to get the BULLETIN going (as that was the name chosen for it).

I cannot remember all of the details of the system adopted for the getting out of the publication but as I recall, proof was sent to me each month by the printer and I arranged to have the proof read by one of the several consular officers on duty

in the Department and then to send it to Wesley Frost. This all sounds quite simple so far, except that there was one important feature with which each proof had to comply. This was the fact that each proof or dummy had to be sent to Mr. Wilbur Carr's office for his approval before it was accepted for publication. Now that I look back on this whole matter, I am surprised that the monthly BULLETIN ever got into print. Although this shunting of the proof around the Department to several overworked officials who had little or no time to glance at it was a purely superfluous proceeding, it was in keeping with the desired procedure of those in the Department of State who were hesitant to put anything into print and to whom all type was bold and who did not place much confidence in what the officers of the Association might publish. Several years later this added requirement of the personal perusal of the Assistant Secretary of State was eliminated, resulting in expediting publication.

While it lasted, this requirement of submitting each proof for the approval of the Assistant Secretary of State came nearer than anything else to upsetting all of the publication plans. Mr. Carr, as everyone knows, was an extremely busy man doing a fine job and his desk was overworked and overburdened as he was. It was unfortunate that some more subordinate officer of the Department could not have undertaken his task. As it was, each month the proof of the BULLETIN rested somewhere on the Assistant Secretary's desk and days went by until it lay there well beyond the date when it should have been in print. Wesley Frost and I used to go to Mr. Carr's desk now and then after the proof had been on it for a week or more and lift the proof out from under a pile of papers and place it on top of the pile, but even at that our issues were usually about a month late.

The upshot of this extra control was that in the hurry to get the publication out after each delay the haste invariably produced mistakes which had not appeared in the proof, proof-reading was hurried and with the confusion the results began to show in the BULLETIN, which made little or no progress toward improvement in its merits as a publication. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether much progress could have been made in any case, as no one had much time to devote to the BULLETIN in its first year.

Among the misprints which appeared in the finished issue of the BULLETIN even after proofs had been read, the worst were always those which occurred too late for correction. I believe one of the first issues of the BULLETIN went out dated 1918 instead of 1919. One issue printed a picture of the port of Istanbul and the next issue printed the same picture with the title of some other port. This probably resulted from switching cuts in the printing office at the last minute.

These shortcomings were all regretted but there was not much that could be done about them. Paramount was the fact that the Association had a Service organ, a monthly publication which, although it left much to be desired as to contents and general make-up and contained a considerable amount of what was nothing more nor less than rubbish, was nevertheless a printed periodical devoted to the interests of the Service and of the officers. Moreover, it was issued by the Association, of which they were members and to which they had contributed their dues.

At last the ambitious plan which had obsessed the authors of the publication idea had been put into practice. Although it appeared to be a going concern, it really could not be considered as such until several years later when the Association itself assumed the direct publication of its own periodical and terminated its contract with the printing firm in New York. That was a forward stride which made for the progress which has marked each year of the JOURNAL'S career.

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

The Diplomat as Superman

JOHN BOWLING's letter published in the December JOURNAL under the above rubric raises an appropriate—if admittedly loaded—question which properly concerns Foreign Service officers of today. But it does so with a loading which in my opinion does injustice to the memory of the late Ambassador Grew.

True, by 1932 (not 1930), when he became the first professional diplomat to be appointed Ambassador to Japan, he had his own mature conception of the role of a diplomat. True, also, his concept included the importance of accurate communication, the avoidance of pettiness, and the establishment of close and, if possible, sympathetic relations with the government to which he was accredited. These are, in fact, fundamentals in the conduct of diplomacy in any age.

It would, however, not be correct to imply that this represents Mr. Grew's full definition of "the diplomat's job." Perhaps this is not intended by Mr. Trani, the commentator quoted by Mr. Bowling. However, he goes on to relate to Grew's "misunderstanding of the role of an American diplomat" four "characteristics" of Grew's service in Tokyo, namely: (1) a belief that US-Japanese difficulties were negotiable; (2) constantly increasing hope, despite growing fanaticism that reason would prevail in Japanese decision making; (3) overestimation of the power of Japanese moderates; and (4) failure to appreciate the limits of possible Japanese concessions.

As one who was on the scene from 1932 to 1936 as his staff assistant, I regret that so limited a view of Mr. Grew's concept of diplomacy, or of his ability as a reporter, is made the springboard for a yet more limited and one-sided indictment of his mission in Japan. To my knowledge, Mr. Grew did not fail to warn his government repeatedly of the development of the Japanese war machine, of the ambitions of its leaders, of the danger, even, of attack at Pearl Harbor. Nor did he fail to communicate publicly and privately to the Japanese the dangers of confrontation. Certainly he constantly weighed the trends and realities but, knowing the alternative, he

never gave up the quest for peace.

Had Ambassador Grew been listened to more, both at home and in Japan, his dogged search for a peaceful settlement of Japanese-American differences might have succeeded. Other factors, including miscalculations, in Tokyo and Washington had far more to do with the tragic outcome than the role or characteristics attributed to Mr. Grew.

In his inaugural address, President Nixon placed great stress on the search for peace. I believe that Mr. Grew's concept of the role of diplomacy in the circumstances he found, and on which he reported meticulously, should be regarded in this broader light. Surely Mr. Grew's refusal to accept the inevitability of war, his effort right through the ultimate crisis to avert it, his appreciation of the fearful costs which war would visit on both peoples, as well as his standards of integrity, precision, thoroughness, and decency should continue to be honored in his own country as well as in Japan. His dogged—and I suspect knowingly forlorn—efforts to avert war should not now be overlooked or misinterpreted as a quest for mere rapport with a regime "in some degree fanatical" holding objectives "not congenial with those of the United States."

Finally, is Mr. Bowling's problem on the role of the diplomat a real one? Superman or not, the diplomat's job is to earn the respect of the government to which he is accredited so that he can deal with it with the maximum effectiveness that circumstances permit. But then his job is also to report accurately, to analyze and to put forward, "not birdseye recommendations" for his is but one angle of vision, but recommendations from his angle for the benefit of his chiefs in Washington on whom the ultimate decisions rest.

J. GRAHAM PARSONS

Washington

Open Letter to FSO Class of March 1951

Now that the first member of our class has been selected for promotion to 0-1 (Ted Eliot, who is also the youngest of our group), you might be interested to know how our careers have fared.

Since nearly all of us were serving abroad on FSS appointments when our FSO commissions came through on March 13, 1951, we did not enter the Service nor attend FSI as a group. Hence, we have little consciousness of belonging to a FSO "class." In fact, I have found from some personal contact that many of you are probably

unaware who entered the career ladder with you. In other respects I assume the group is typical of those who entered via the examination process in the pre-Wriston days. Therefore, there may be general interest in how the group looks today.

Judging by the 1968 "Biographic Register," the original class of 47 officers has dwindled to 28 in the ensuing 18 years (my, they've gone fast). To my knowledge, of the 19 who have left the ranks, only one—Joe Starkey—died in office.

Taking account of the 1969 promotion list, the remaining 28 are distributed over the rank structure as follows: 0-1 one, 0-2 nine, 0-3 15, 0-4 three. The class has been up against the big hurdle of promotion to 0-2 for six years; the first man made it on the 1964 list, followed by one or two each year.

Good luck to you all!

JACK SULSER

Rome

How to Succeed . . .

CONGRATULATIONS to Charles Maechling, Jr., for writing "Our Overseas Internal Defense Policy—A Re-Appraisal," and to the JOURNAL for publishing it in the January issue. It is time for a delicate hint that this particular imperial garment is somewhat transparent, if it exists at all.

I only wish that Charley had been so outspoken back in 1961 and 1962, when we both watched the gradual spawning of the counter-insurgency doctrine at meetings of the Special Group. The deformities of this particular Rosemary's Baby were as glaringly evident then as they are now.

My only criticism of the "Re-Appraisal" is that by its length it implies that the doctrine is more reasonable than it is. Two basic underpinnings of the doctrine (one of which Charley discusses in detail) are so unrealistic that once they are pointed out, the rest of the structure falls into small pieces of its own weight.

First is the double fallacy of (a) assuming that an ordinary group of American civilian and military bureaucrats, whether on the Country Team or in Washington, knows better than a mortally threatened governing elite what that elite should do in its own country to defend itself; and (b) that even if it did have such Olympian knowledge, it could by some mechanism resembling the discredited British imperial device of "Indirect Rule" persuade a local elite to keep only the trappings of sovereignty while handing over its substance to the Country Team in all its majesty.

The second fallacy lies at the root of (a) above. It lies in taking Mao

Tse-tung and other successful guerrillas at their word when they brag in their books and speeches that their success was due to their winning the hearts and minds of this or that mass of Third World peasantry. The degree of credulity here involved can best be illustrated by a hypothetical example—that of the man who believes Al Capone got to the top of his profession by hard work and winning the confidence of small businessmen in Chicago. Actually, guerrilla-type wars in the Third World throughout history have been won by that elite, governing or challenging, which succeeded in being more cruel and ruthless than its opponents in terrorizing, not winning the hearts and minds of, the eternally exploited and eternally enduring peasantry.

This is one game the United States has not been, is not, and will not be capable of playing. It implies that US involvement on other than a formal ally basis in any guerrilla or counter-guerrilla conflict will practically guarantee the eventual triumph of the Gentlemen of the Opposition.

JOHN W. BOWLING

Washington

The Groves of Academe

As a current beneficiary of an academic detail, I read with interest the article by Frederick Gerlach and Mark Beach. "Academic Details," in your January issue.

The authors propose a program to counter academic misinformation and prejudice about the foreign service and vice versa by placing FSOs on the faculties of colleges where they will come into regular contact with the faculty and students, and thereby engender increased understanding and benefit to all parties. This is quite different in purpose from the greater number of present day academic assignments which are designed simply to further the education of the assignee.

There are, however, a few programs which are similar in purpose, if not in form or detail, to the one proposed in the article. I, an AID employee, am now assigned, along with another AID officer, two FSOs, one officer from the US Navy and nine government employees from foreign countries, as a Fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. The Center Fellowship program, now in its eleventh year, was established to provide a year of study for government employees and in addition to effect a "confrontation" between the "egg-heads" and the "bureaucrats," for the enlightenment and benefit of both. We are accorded faculty privileges and participate in fre-

quent seminars led by the faculty, members of our group or persons drawn from the outside. Though few of us have extensive contacts with the undergraduates, we do have many opportunities to meet with the faculty members formally and informally and to learn of their contributions to the field of international affairs and of their views, their insights and their prejudices. They in turn get to know us and our views and prejudices, as they have known those of our predecessors in the program.

Though the Center program does not meet all of the criteria set forth in the article, its purposes are close enough to permit a glance at the apparent results before launching programs with similar purposes. It is too soon for me to make my own hard judgments about what we Fellows have done to the faculty or it to us, but I have discussed this with my colleagues and feel reasonably certain that the American contingent will return to government with an expanded understanding of the academic community, its special problems and frus-

trations, its benefits and limitations, and its motivations and purposes (in addition to whatever each of us has gained from our academic programs). I think it very doubtful, however, that we will measurably enlarge that community's understanding of the methods, motivations, purposes and problems of our professional worlds, (though we have certainly been able to give them valuable information about specific topics).

The problem, to simplify it, is that while it is relatively easy for us to re-enter the academic world, after a few weeks of freedom from Washington and field pressures, one cannot enter the world of foreign policy decision-making without actually entering it and having a specific area of responsibility, no matter how limited the area in which you have to make the decisions, draft the cables or make recommendations to your superiors. Academicians are just as qualified as we are to enter that world, but they don't do it through our presence on the campus. The confrontation is always played on the opponent's home

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field—in an academic atmosphere, where the attitude of the Congress or public opinion may be an abstraction to be dealt with intelligently in a later chapter, but not at tomorrow morning's press briefing. Harvard has made many contributions to our foreign policy, both in the form of ideas and men. Those few men who have actually served a tour in a responsible government position are well aware of the gulf that separates consultation, membership in advisory committees, and writing about the decision-making process from the process "like it is."

Though we should welcome qualified educators into government at the appropriate times and places, I am not suggesting that we open up a few hundred senior and middle-level jobs for the academic community to acquaint its members with the "real" world. What I am suggesting is that we not delude ourselves that a one-way exchange program will create a great deal more understanding and approval on the college campuses of our special role or our foreign policy. On the contrary, I believe the academic community as a whole can be of far greater service to us and to the nation by keeping its distance and its objectivity, which so very often suffers when one becomes in part responsible for a policy and thus loyal to it.

I trust no one will infer that I am against academic details. (On seeing the current long list of such assignments, one of my colleagues here remarked, "It's the greatest thing since the G.I. Bill.") While we all know of the professor who makes uninformed and damaging pronouncements, we have much to learn from those who have the time, the resources and the inclination to examine our foreign policy, its assumptions and its possible consequences to a depth precluded to us by the necessity of answering that cable "right now."

Willis Armstrong, in a letter in the same issue, laid the disinterest or antipathy of college students to the Foreign Service not to any confusion about the life and work of the FSO but to current American attitudes toward the role of the US in world affairs. We will not change that through stationing FSOs at colleges, but we might learn more about it as temporary members of those communities.

KENNETH M. RABIN

Cambridge

A Tribute to a Distinguished Officer

As one of the closest friends of the late Carl W. Strom, who died on January 27 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, at the age of 69, I should like

to pay tribute to this distinguished officer whose accomplishments so richly deserve to be remembered.

By coincidence, I was in Florida at the time of his death, and visited him in his hospital the last two days of his life. I helped his wife Camilla lift him from his bed into a wheelchair, and roll him out into the sunshine. We had no intimation then that he might leave us so suddenly.

What we talked about on the final day was the Foreign Service Act of 1946, for which Carl was the principal drafting officer, heading a team on which the other members were Lionel M. Summers, Edmund A. Gullion, Edward T. Lampson, and Marian Neustadt. During the long, hot summer of 1946, before Washington became air-conditioned, Carl and his colleagues sweated over the wording of the legislation, exploring the implications of every concept, every sentence, every word and phrase, trying to make assurance doubly sure. Carl was particularly important in the tedious task of working out the details of the retirement system, a job for which his mathematical training and precise mind admirably fitted him. Every retired officer has much for which to thank him.

In that last day at Fort Lauderdale, it was difficult for Carl to talk, afflicted as he was in the advanced stages of his disease. But he followed my report with the closest attention as I told him of the "Young Turk" movement in the Foreign Service Association, and of the efforts now being made to restore the concepts of the Act of 1946 to their rightful place in the administration of the Service. I think that it was meaningful to him to know at the very end of his life that his work had so well stood the test of time and experience. For the act is a monument to him and his team as well as to his superiors, the late Selden Chapin and Andrew Foster, and to the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee who took a personal interest in putting the postwar Service on a sound basis.

As the biographic record shows, Carl Strom was an officer who started late in the Service, at the age of 35, and who spent many unglamorous and underpaid years slogging away in consular and administrative assignments. He got his great opportunity at last in Korea in the middle 1950s, when a DCM assignment turned into a long period as Chargé d'Affaires and he handled difficult problems with distinction. From this he went on to Ambassadorships in Cambodia and Bolivia and a terminal assignment in Washington as Director of the For-

eign Service Institute. Ill-health led to his retirement in 1962.

For me, the most meaningful memories of Carl are those of his remarkably many-sided personality. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, a Ph.D. in mathematics, a classical scholar who traveled with a copy of the Greek New Testament in his pocket and read it at odd moments, a linguist speaking five languages, a Shakespeare enthusiast who knew the great plays and sonnets virtually by heart and could recite long passages by the hour—and withal, an expert at contract bridge, a funster who loved games of all kinds and had a delightful sense of humor, and an ardent baseball fan who loved nothing more than to sit in Griffith Stadium on opening day and cheer for the Washington Senators.

There were giants in the Service in those days. It would be nice to think that we could still attract men of such versatile talents and such sterling qualities as this son of a Lutheran minister, who gloried both in his Midwest Americanism and his Norwegian heritage, and who was so highly principled and so steadfast in his loyalty and devotion to his friends and to everything he believed in. If impatient young officers of today could study such careers, they might not feel quite so frustrated at lack of rapid advancement. For the race is not always to the swift, nor are all the battles won by tactical "operators"; there are recognitions and rewards also for character and for solid merit.

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS

Washington



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CONSULAR FUNCTION,
from page 34

of supervisory slots they should fill and the number of slots required for training purposes.

The Department should demonstrate that consular service, with all it offers in training and accomplishment, is a part of a Foreign Service officer's ascending career; that two or even three assignments in consular establishments are a normal part of such a career.

Up to the present the assignment of a Class 2 officer, and particularly of a Class 1 officer, to a consular post has, in most cases, been regarded correctly as an indication that the officer is not considered to be chief of mission material. I suggest that this be changed.

Patently all persons who reach the position of consul general will not reach chief of mission rank any more than all who are named deputy chief of mission now reach chief of mission rank. But an assignment as consul general, rather than constituting a deterrent to reaching chief of mission rank, should be a positive help in attaining that goal, provided the person has the other background and qualities required.

The position of consul general will in practice be the end of the road for some officers, just as the position of deputy chief of mission is today, but whether it is or is not should depend on the officer, his age, his other background, his performance, his potential, and not on the circumstance that he has been "projected" into consular work by career planners or that he has been "available" to fill the post. If he is young enough the consul general should be eligible to be named deputy chief of an important mission and later chief of mission. Indeed an outstanding consul general, with an excellent Foreign Service record, should be eligible to be named chief of mission without having gone through the deputy stage. An appointment of that kind from time to time would quickly cause consular service to be sought after rather than avoided.

There is little magic in the post of deputy chief of mission. There have been excellent ambassadors who never served as deputy chief of mission; the post didn't exist a few years ago. In fact there are excellent ambassadors who have never served in any subordinate position in the Service. Conversely any of us can name deputy chiefs of mission who have not developed the

qualities needed to become satisfactory chiefs of mission.

That is not to say that service as deputy chief of mission is not excellent preparation for an ambassadorship. It is. It doubtless will continue to be the normal prelude to an ambassadorship. But being consul general at an important post also can be excellent preparation. Under the kind of career development program envisaged in this study no officer can be in the Service long enough to be named consul general without having become a generalist to a considerable degree and without knowing how an embassy is conducted. And experience as consul general, and perhaps earlier experience as consul, will help develop and demonstrate the abilities a chief of mission requires.

When consular work is treated as part of diplomatic work, which it is, rather than as something separate as it is now regarded, then the inequities and other uneven results deriving from the existence of a separate consular career will have considerably diminished and the consular function will be in a position to make its full contribution to the carrying out of our nation's purposes in the international field.

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TOTAL (A)	\$ _____	Typewriter	_____	Bicycles	_____
		Washer and/or dryer	_____	Tools	_____
		Sewing machine	_____	Sports equip.	_____
		Tape recorder	_____		
		Other	_____		
		TOTAL (C)	\$ _____	TOTAL (D)	\$ _____
(B) HOUSEWARES:		(E) TOTAL CLOTHING:		(F) TOTAL JEWELRY & FURS	
Silverware	\$ _____	Medical supplies	\$ _____	TOTAL (E)	\$ _____
Glassware	_____	Photographic equipment	_____	TOTAL (F)	\$ _____
Linen (bed & table)	_____				
Kitchen utensils	_____				
Chinaware	_____				
TOTAL (B)	\$ _____				

TOTAL PERSONAL EFFECTS

TOTAL A \$ _____
TOTAL B \$ _____
TOTAL C \$ _____
TOTAL D \$ _____
TOTAL E \$ _____
TOTAL F \$ _____
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\$ 3,300	\$ 54.20	\$ 1,100	\$ 4.00
\$ 3,500	\$ 57.00	\$ 1,300	\$ 5.00
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\$ 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		
\$ 9,300	\$138.20		
\$ 9,500	\$141.00		
\$ 9,700	\$143.80		
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