Foreign Service Journal

MAY 1969 / 60 CENTS



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Editorials

AFSA Award Winners

Our congratulations go to this year's winners of the three Association awards. The awards are intended to recognize outstanding intellectual courage, creativity, and personal integrity in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

The 1969 recipients are John Paul Vann of AID, Saigon, who won the Christian A. Herter Award given to senior officers; Jacob M. Myerson of the Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State, who was given the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-career officers; and Donald M. Sladkin of AID, Tay Ninh, Vietnam, winner of the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers.

Speaking at the presentation ceremony, Under Secretary Elliot Richardson declared that the kind of officers who will win these awards will not only have the ability to see new opportunities and chart new courses, they must also win favor for what they believe and thus must have enough daring to risk the scorn of those more timid or conventional.

The three officers honored this year have proved to be such men. We are proud to have them in foreign service. ■

Still Much to be Done

In December we received a circular letter from Ralph McGill on behalf of the President's Commission for the Observance of Human Rights Year. Mr. McGill's letter in effect asked the Journal to write an editorial which would "call attention to civilization's need for insistence on human rights at local, national and international levels." We, of course, would be glad to do that, but at first we didn't find anything less soupy to write than "We are indeed for human rights." But then two matters came to mind. First, Idris Rossell's recent article on Negroes in the Foreign Service reminds us that while the Department, AID and USIA are in various ways trying to attract a greater number of minority personnel to their ranks, still our past record has been weak, and much still remains to be done right within our own organizations. Next, we recalled attending Tom Appleby's talk on housing in Washington, part of the series sponsored by AFSA's Community Action Committee, where we gained a better idea of the thorny problems related to decent public and private housing when considerations of race and economics enter. In fact, the Community Action Committee, which is trying to interest members of the foreign affairs agencies in creative work to help the less fortunate, has many openings for service but not so many volunteers this year. So instead of treating Mr. McGill's letter in such cavalier fashion, we took another look and decided that there was indeed much more that the writers and readers of this Journal could do to further the simple concept stated in Article I of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." ■

About this issue . . .

The June issue marks the separation of the Association News from the Journal. We hope our readers will like the new format of the Association News which will be arriving separately but at about the same time as the Journal and believe this will give much more scope for news of Association activities on a timely basis.

Contributors to this issue delve deeply into foreign affairs and its practitioners, their social origins and characteristics and a comparison of present-day foreign affairs officers with those of an earlier era, together with a glance at the future and recommendations for same. And for the lighter moments of diplomatic assignments, there's a Foreign Service officer's involvement with *testudo radiata.*

In the realm of recent history, dealing with decisions still discussed, the Journal features Part I of "The H-Bomb Decision." Part II will appear in the June issue.

About the cover . . .

Agnes Granberry Chalker, mother of Hallijeanne Chalker, ARA Placement Officer, studied and taught art at Florida State University. Mrs. Chalker has visited her daughter at Martinique and in South Africa and lived with her in Prague, Rome and Tegucigalpa.

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Marriages

CORRINGHAM-SMITH. Denise Ellisa Corringham was married to FSSO David Warner Smith, son of FSO-retired Donald W. Smith, on March 15, in Auckland, N. Z.

WENDELL-KINGSBURY. Melinda Ann Wendell, FSIO, was married to FSO William Frank Kingsbury, on February 15, at the Seoul Union Church, Seoul. Mr. and Mrs. Kingsbury will continue to reside in Seoul.

Births

FANDINO. A daughter, Laura Bartlow, born to Mr. and Mrs. Joseph G. Fandino, on March 16, in Madrid.

FLATIN. A son, Paul Erik, born to Mr. and Mrs. Bruce A. Flatin, on February 8, in Berlin.

Deaths

CROMWELL. Frederick N. Cromwell, USIA, died on February 5, in Paris. Mr. Cromwell joined USIA in 1952 and served in Seville, Bogota, and Tokyo before his assignment as Director of the USIS Benjamin Franklin Library in Paris. He is survived by his wife and three daughters.

FERRETTI. James J. Ferretti, FSO, died on March 26, in Washington. Mr. Ferretti entered the Foreign Service in 1954, served as civil air officer at Mexico City and participated in air transport talks with Czechoslovakia, Colombia and Panama. In 1968 he headed the American delegation in air transport negotiations with the Greek government. He is survived by his wife of 3717 Woodley Road, N.W., and three daughters.

HACKETT. John A. Hackett, AID-retired, died on December 22, in Santa Cruz. Mr. Hackett joined AID in 1954 and served at Saigon, Hue, Vientian and Monrovia before retirement in 1967. He is survived by his wife of 333 Soquel Avenue, Santa Cruz, California.

HARPER. R. L. "Joe" Harper, father of FSO Elizabeth J. Harper, died on February 28, in Silver Spring.

DREW. Muriel M. Drew, wife of FSO Walter H. Drew, died on February 26, at National Institutes of Health, Bethesda. Before her marriage Mrs. Drew was an employee of USIA in Korea and Washington and then accompanied her husband on assignments to Casablanca, Lagos, and Conakry. She is survived by her husband of 7405 Venice Street, Falls Church, Virginia, a son and a daughter.

MULLER. Carsten D. Muller, FSO, died on April 5, in Washington. Mr. Muller entered the Foreign Service in 1954 and served at Salzburg, Dhahran and Paris. He is survived by his wife of 1110 South Oakcrest Road, Arlington, Virginia.

SCOTT. Ann Collins Scott, wife of Joseph Welch Scott, director of the Office of Canadian Affairs, died on March 27, in Washington. Mrs. Scott is survived by her husband of 600 S. Fairfax Street, Alexandria, Virginia, her mother and one daughter.

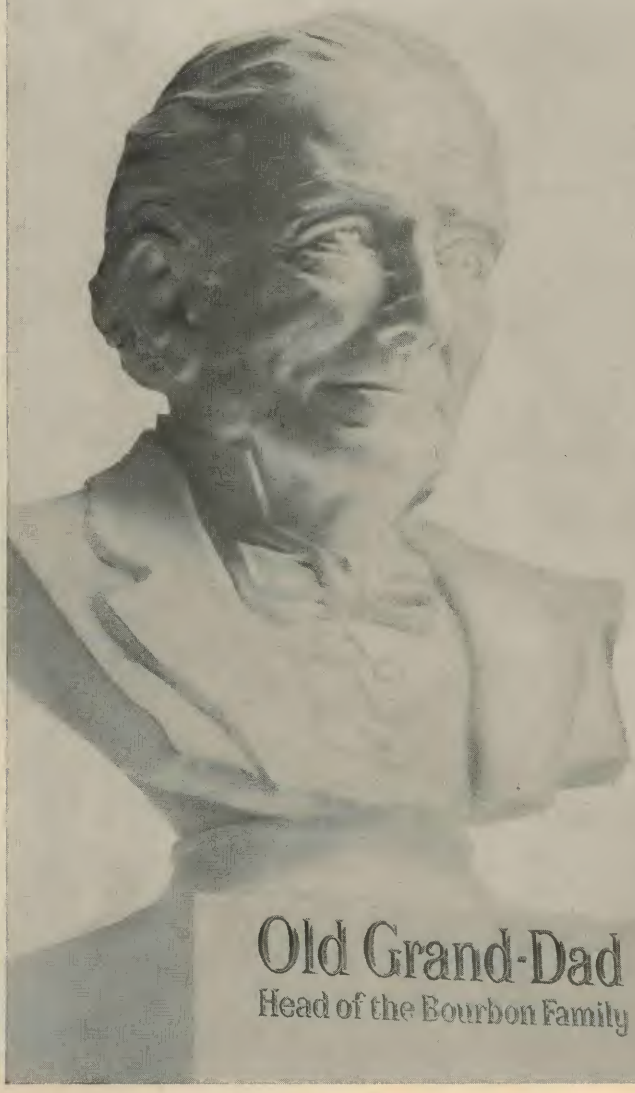
SHARP. Colonel Frederick Dent Sharp, retired US Army intelligence officer, died on April 6, in Washington. Colonel Sharp served as military attache in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Spain, and on General MacArthur's intelligence staff in the Far East. He was recalled for duty in the Korean conflict. He is survived by his wife, two sons, FSO Frederick Dent Sharp, III of Washington, and Charles L. Sharp.

SZABO. Thomas Szabo, USIA, died on March 19, in Washington. Mr. Szabo, a former Hungarian diplomat, came to the United States 22 years ago. He joined the State Department in 1949 and served with his wife at Addis Ababa and Saigon. Mrs. Szabo resides at 1803 N. Edgewood Street, Arlington, Virginia. He is also survived by three sons and a stepson.

WOOL. Dorothea Wool, FSO, died on April 12, in Bethesda. Miss Wool joined the State Department in 1948 and served at London, Paris and Palermo. There are no immediate survivors.

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Attrition of Foreign Service Officers: Then and Now

CARROLL R. McKIBBIN

An article by Elizabeth A. Bean and Herbert J. Horowitz which appeared in the February, 1968, issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL described junior Foreign Service officer resignees of recent years. Based on a survey of former junior officers who entered the Foreign Service between January 1, 1960, and December 31, 1964, and subsequently resigned prior to January 1, 1967, the typical junior officer resignee during that period was described as follows: he entered the Foreign Service as an FSO-8 at age 25, after completing his military service and acquiring a master's degree or its equivalent. He was more likely than not to have had a full-time job prior to entering the Service. After remaining in the Foreign Service for about three years, he resigned and returned to the academic life, either to teach or continue his graduate studies. But more importantly, this typical junior officer resignee was better educated and a superior officer to the average junior officer who remained in the Foreign Service. Consequently, the answer to the question used as the title to the Bean and Horowitz article, "Is the Foreign Service Losing Its Best Young Officers," was, on the average, "yes."

If the Foreign Service has been losing many excellent junior officers in recent years, the next logical question to be answered is whether the present situation represents a change from the past. Perhaps there have always been distinct differences between officers who leave the Foreign Service and those who remain. If such differences have also existed in the past, it is important that they be identified and that trends are recognized. It was with this thought in mind that the brief study reported in this article was undertaken.

The population of Foreign Service officers selected for comparison with those included in the Bean-Horowitz study is composed of all officers who entered the Foreign Service during the period between the Rogers Act of 1924 and the Foreign Service Act of 1946 at the lowest rank of that time, FSO-Unclassified. The officers of this population who remained in the Foreign Service for less than 15 years (designated the Attrition Group) were compared with those who remained for 15 years or longer (designated the Career Group). The sources of data were the Foreign Service Lists and State Department Biographic Registers of the 1924-1946 era.

Among the 682 Foreign Service officers who entered the Service at the rank of FSO-Unclassified during the 1924-1946 period, biographic characteristics are not greatly different between the 204 officers who left the Service prior to serving 15 years (the Attrition Group) and those 478 officers who remained longer (the Career Group). Both groups have a median entry age of 26. Those who left the Foreign Service were more likely to have attended a private secondary school (58.4%) than those who remained (51.3%), but the diff-

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LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS APPOINTED AS FSO-UNCLASSIFIED, 1924–1946

	Attrition Group		*Career Group*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
High School	3	1.5	10	2.1
Some College	27	13.2	46	9.6
B.A.	123	60.3	297	62.1
M.A. or LL.B.	46	22.5	108	22.6
Ph.D.	5	2.5	17	3.6
Totals	204	100.0	478	100.0

erence is not great. The level of education is strikingly similar between the two groups. Among the Attrition Group, 1.5 per cent had only a high school education, 13.2 per cent attended college without receiving a degree, 60.3 per cent earned a bachelor's degree, 22.5 per cent had a master's degree or its equivalent, and 2.5 per cent were Ph.D.'s. The equivalent percentages for the career group were 2.1%, 9.6%, 62.1%, 22.6%, and 3.6% respectively. The greatest difference between these two groups for any level of education is only 3.6 percentage points, and the percentage at most levels is nearly identical.

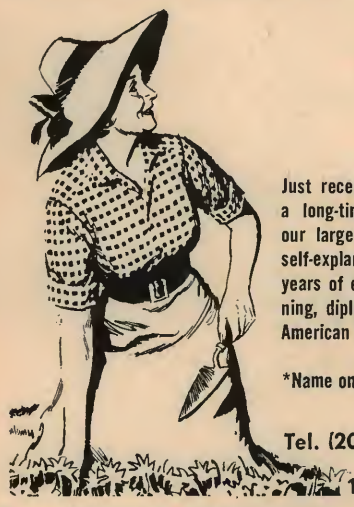
College identification between the Attrition Group and the Career Group is also quite similar. Among officers of the former group, the last American college attended prior to entering the Foreign Service was Harvard, Princeton, Georgetown, Yale, or Columbia in 45 per cent of the cases. In the latter group the rank order is slightly changed, but these same schools are the most highly represented, and to about the same degree, 42 per cent.

The most common types of preservice occupational experience for officers of the Attrition Group were military service (19.6%), business and commerce (18.1%), college teaching (13.2%), journalism (10.8%), high school teaching (10.8%), professional (6.9%), and banking and finance (7.4%). In the Career Group there was not much variation from this pattern. Occupational experience was nearly identical on a percentage basis for high school teaching (10.9%), banking and

PRE-SERVICE OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS APPOINTED AS FSO-UNCLASSIFIED, 1924–1946

	Attrition Group		*Career Group*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
Military Service	40	19.6	87	18.2
Business & Commerce	37	18.1	104	21.8
College Teaching	27	13.2	41	8.6
Journalism	22	10.8	29	6.1
High School Teaching	22	10.8	52	10.9
Professional	14	6.9	31	6.5
Banking and Finance	15	7.4	31	6.5

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finance (6.5%), and professional work, (6.5%), and was very similar for military service (18.2%) and business and commerce (21.8%). Differences were greater for college teaching (8.6%) and journalism (6.1%).

Contrary to the findings of the Bean and Horowitz study that recent junior officer resignees differ in their pre-service biographic characteristics by being better educated and more likely to have had previous business or professional experience, the Attrition and Career Groups of the 1924-1946 era hardly differ in these areas. The 1924-1946 Attrition Group is, in fact, a remarkably accurate sample of the Career Group of that period, as far as the pre-service biographic variables examined in this study are concerned.

The pre-service similarities of the groups included in this study and the Bean-Horowitz study do not extend to the career stage. The gross attrition rate, for example, is considerably higher among junior officers of recent years than was the case between 1924 and 1946. The Bean-Horowitz study reported a gross attrition of 20 per cent by December 31, 1966, for junior officers who entered the Foreign Service between the beginning of 1960 and the end of 1964. Since the maximum length of service during that period could only be seven years and the minimum two years, it means that the Foreign Service has been losing about 20 per cent of its new officers within four to five years subsequent to their appointment. This rate is nearly double what it was from 1924 to 1946. During that period, 90 per cent of the new junior officers were still on duty after four years. The 20 per cent gross attrition figure of recent years was not reached until the ninth year by the 1924-1946 population. Even after fourteen years slightly more than 70 per cent of the 1924-1946 population were still on duty in the Foreign Service. With a gross attrition rate of nearly twice what it was a few decades ago and the number of Foreign Service officers nearly five times greater than it was at that time, there has been a rather drastic increase in the loss of junior Foreign Service officers.

The 1924-1946 and 1960-1964 Attrition Groups also differ in relative ability when compared with the Career Groups of those two periods. The Bean-Horowitz study concluded that the average level of ability was higher in the 1960-1964 Attrition Group than in the Career Group of the same period. The opposite appears to be true for the 1924-1946 era. During that time, 35 per cent of the

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Career Group succeeded in reaching the rank of FSO-3 within thirteen years. Among officers of the Attrition Group who remained in the Foreign Service the same length of time, only 21 per cent reached FSO-3 within thirteen years. The conclusion is obvious. Whereas the Attrition Group of 1924-1946 represented a lesser average ability than the Career Group of the same era, the Attrition Group of 1960-1964 represented a greater average ability than the Career Group of that time.

By combining the results of this study with those of the Bean-Horowitz study it is possible to compare the quality of attrition among Junior Foreign Service officers of the 1924-1946 and 1960-1964 periods. This comparison indicates: (1) the 1960-1964 Attrition Group is better educated and more likely to have had pre-service business or professional experience than the Career Group of that period. The 1924-1946 Attrition Group is neither better educated nor more likely to have had pre-service business or professional experience than the 1924-1946 Career Group. (2) The 1924-1946 Attrition Group does not differ greatly in pre-service background from the 1924-1946 Career Group. The 1960-1964 population does differ in this respect, as previously indicated in (1) above. The 1924-1946 Attrition Group, therefore, represents an approximate cross-section of officers of that time, as far as pre-service background is concerned. The 1960-1964 Attrition Group does not represent such a cross-section. (3) Attrition was markedly higher, both in percentages and numbers, in the 1960-1964 period than it was during the earlier period. (4) The Attrition Group of 1960-1964 had a greater average ability than the Career Group of the same period. Conversely, the Attrition Group of the 1924-1946 period had less average ability than the Career Group of that era. Therefore, the major conclusion can be drawn that the loss of many above-average junior officers in recent years, as reported in the Bean-Horowitz study, represents a change from the 1924-1946 era when the tendency was for below-average officers to leave the Foreign Service prematurely. ■

ATTRITION OF FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS
APPOINTED AS FSO-UNCLASSIFIED, 1924-1946

Length of Service (in years)	*Attrition Group*		*Cumulative Attrition*	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
1	5	.7	5	.7
2	24	3.5	29	4.3
3	18	2.6	47	6.9
4	23	3.4	70	10.3
5	21	3.1	91	13.3
6	18	2.6	109	16.0
7	12	1.8	121	17.7
8	9	1.3	130	19.1
9	11	1.6	141	20.7
10	11	1.6	152	22.3
11	10	1.5	162	23.8
12	14	2.1	176	25.8
13	16	2.3	192	28.2
14	12	1.8	204	29.9

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Social
Origins and Characteristics

JOHN E. HARR

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PROBABLY no other professional group in the United States has as strong and persistent an image of being closely tied to particular social and regional origins as the FSO corps.

The idea that diplomatic careers are the preserve of the sons of the upper classes in the northeastern United States, mostly graduates of the Ivy League colleges, has its root, of course, in historical fact. Warren Ilchman states that before the Rogers Act of 1924 combined the Diplomatic and Consular Services, the diplomats had very definite feelings of "social superiority" over the consuls. "The man who entered the Diplomatic Service, with very few exceptions, had private means of support. Flowing from this were a host of social prejudices."[1]

Since the wage scale was inadequate, private means were necessary. Doubtless an important attraction for men of private means to enter the Diplomatic Service was the cultural affinity of upper class Americans, particularly those on the eastern seaboard, for Europe. The profession of diplomacy had been developed and established in Europe, and Europe was the world center of diplomacy. American diplomats were inclined to feel that the world of the consul was "pedestrian." "While the diplomat did not avoid routine, he lived in a much more prestigious and exciting world. He met the 'best people' in each capital and was part of the social life of the *Corps Diplomatique*. Even in dreary Central American posts, he was still an honored part of the European colony."[2] Of the men who entered the Diplomatic Service between 1914 and 1922, Ilchman reports, more than half were born in the nine northeastern states. More than 70 percent attended residential private secondary schools, compared to almost the same percentage of consuls who attended public schools. A greater percentage of the diplomats had college degrees (85 percent to 69), and there was a "vast difference" in the colleges attended: "Harvard, Yale, and Princeton provided 63.8 percent of all diplomats, 32.4 percent attending the first alone."[3]

The process that Ilchman has called the "democratization" of the Foreign Service definitely began with the merger brought about by the Rogers Act, and the beginnings of salaries and allowances that made it possible for men without private income to contemplate diplomatic careers.

The reality has changed substantially, but the image of the diplomat as the effete easterner has persisted, for several probable reasons. Certainly one is social distance. The doctor and the lawyer are familiar figures to virtually every American, but the diplomat is not. The widespread antipathy for many decades in the America heartland toward foreign involvements undoubtedly has helped perpetuate the striped pants stereotype.

The elitist ideology of the FSO corps contributes to the perpetuation of the upper class image of the Service. Even though the goal since the Rogers Act has been an aristocracy of talent instead of birth, this has not entirely gotten through to the public, since the nature of the talent is not easily demonstrable as with the doctor and the lawyer; thereby credence has been given to the image of a privileged caste. And, even though the reality behind the image has changed, the issue of the "representativeness" of the FSO corps is alive today.

My purpose in this chapter is to examine the reality of the social origins and characteristics of FSOs (as determined in the 1966 "Survey of the Diplomatic Profession"—SDP) in comparison, where comparable data is available, to other groups—graduating college seniors, military leaders, civilian federal executives, business leaders, and the total US population.[4]

Place of Birth

Table 19 shows that despite the changes brought about by the Rogers Act and subsequent measures, the FSO corps is not nearly as representative of the regional breakdown of American population as civilian federal executives. Although the percentage born in the northeast declined from 53 percent before the Rogers Act to 43 or 44 percent in later periods, this is still far above the actual population. The FSO corps is underrepresented in the midwest, southwest, and the south, with the largest gap in the south. The military has a similar pattern, except that its concentration is in the south. Using Janowitz' 1950 sample of military leaders, it can be seen that only about half the proportion of military officers as compared to FSOs come from the northeast in contrast to considerably more than double the proportion from the south.[5]

[1] Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy in the United States, 1779-1939* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961), p. 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 170-71.

[4] Data on military leaders in this chapter is drawn from Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), data on civilian federal executives and career Civil Service executives is taken from W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *The American Federal Executive* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). The material on business leaders is cited here as it appears in *The American Federal Executive* and *The Professional Soldier;* it actually originated in earlier studies by Warner and Abegglen, about 1952. The data on graduating college seniors comes from major surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 1961 and 1962. At the request of the Herter Committee, NORC obtained data on interest in foreign affairs careers in its 1962 follow-up survey of graduating college seniors. The "NORC Foreign Service" group used in this chapter consists of 327 graduating college seniors who expressed definite interest in foreign affairs careers. The "NORC Total Sample" group consists of a representative sub-sample of 3,397 cases created by NORC for purposes of comparison. See National Opinion Research Center, "College Graduates and Foreign Affairs," Survey No. 452, The University of Chicago, May 1962 (mimeog.) and Frances Fielder and Godfrey Harris. *The Quest for Foreign Affairs Officers— Their Recruitment and Selection,* Foreign Affairs Personnel Study No. 6 (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1966). The last named source makes extensive presentations of NORC survey results.
[5] Janowitz, *Professional Soldier*, p. 88.

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TABLE 19

Comparison of Region of Birth of FSOs and Civilian Federal Executives, to Total U.S. Population, Selected Points in Time

Region	*U.S. population (U.S. Census Data) (percent) Average* 1910	1930–40	1960	*Percent of 1959 civilian federal executives*[6]	*Percent of 1925–46 Foreign Service Officers*[7]	*Percent of 1961–64 Foreign Service Officers*[7]
Northeast	28	30	27	30	43	44
Midwest	33	31	29	35	25	23
South	22	23	21	19	13	12
Southwest	9	7	8	6	3	4
Mountain	3	2	3	5	3	3
Pacific	5	7	12	5	8	11
Overseas	—	—	—	—	5	3
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 20

Comparison of Urban and Rural Backgrounds, Percentages of Selected Groups[8]

	1966 FSOs	*1959 Govt. Exec.*	*Military Leaders—1950* Army	Navy	Air Force	*1950 U.S. Census*
Urban	82	66	34	44	30	64
Farm and rural	12	34	66	56	70	36
Frequent change	6	—	—	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 20 compares the urban and rural backgrounds of FSOs, as reported in the SDP, with those of military, government, and business leaders. The comparisons should be taken only as rough indications, not only because of the widely varying times of the surveys, but also because the SDP question was phrased differently than for the other groups. Rather than place of birth, it asked for a designation of the subject's hometown during pre-high school years (thus allowing for a response of "changed too frequently to say"). However, some corroboration of the marked difference of the FSO pattern compared to all the others is obtained from the 1961-62 survey of graduating college seniors, by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). The urban-rural breakdown of seniors interested in foreign service careers is almost identical to that of the FSOs as reported in the SDP. Of course, the strongly urban background of FSOs is not surprising, given the high percentage born in the northeast and the image of urbanity and worldliness associated with a diplomatic career.

Father's Occupation and Income

The backgrounds of FSOs may still be largely concentrated in urban northeastern settings, but entrance is certainly not restricted to the sons of the affluent or even of the middle class. Perhaps the most telling proof of "democratization" is the striking pattern of family income, shown in Table 21 in comparison to the foreign service group in the NORC survey.

[6] Data from Warner, *American Federal Executive*, p. 43.

[7] Data developed by C. R. McKibbin, Department of Political Science, Drake University. Percentages are taken of total numbers of officers entering the Service during the periods indicated.

[8] Source of data on government executives is Warner, *American Federal Executive*, p. 333; on military leaders from Janowitz, *Professional Soldier*, p. 87.

TABLE 21

Family Income (percent)[9]

	NORC Foreign Service	*SDP lateral entrants*	*SDP exam. entrants*	*Total SDP*
Less than $5,000	17.0	45.7	29.5	35.4
5,000 to 7,499	23.5	24.1	22.1	22.8
7,500 to 9,999	12.7	12.7	12.2	12.5
10,000 to 14,999	13.6	8.5	17.6	14.3
15,000 to 19,000	8.6	3.8	2.9	3.2
20,000 and over	13.3	2.4	12.2	8.7
Not sure	11.4	2.8	3.8	3.1
Totals	100	100	100	100
Number	(327)	(212)	(375)	(587)

TABLE 22

Army Officers, 1910–50: Trends in Social Origin (percent)[10]

	1910–20	*1935*	*1950*
Upper	26	8	3
Upper middle	66	68	47
Lower middle	8	23	45
Upper lower	0	1	4
Lower lower	0	0	1
Totals	100	100	100
Number	(38)	(49)	(140)

The heavy concentration of the SDP respondants in the lower end of the income spectrum shows how decisive the shift has been since the pre-Rogers Act days when a man had to have some wealth to undertake a diplomatic career. Clearly the diplomatic profession, like other professions, has become an avenue of upward mobility for those from lower socio-economic strata, particularly in the case of lateral entrants. Using different categories, Janowitz shows a similar trend for Army officers.

Despite the definite trend toward opening up the military and Foreign Service elites to all social strata, neither appears to be as open as business leadership, as shown in Table 23. The Warner and Abegglen Survey of business leaders shows greater percentages of sons from two lower income groups—white collar and workingmen—than either the military or the Foreign Service. The latter, however, shows 11 percent from a workingclass background, compared to only 5 percent of the military officers. In keeping with the heavily urban background of FSOs, only 4 percent list their father's occupation as farmer. Lateral entrants show a much greater percentage than examination entrants from the "small business" background, and a slightly greater percentage from a working class background. To account for the very large percentages of lateral entrants at the low end of the income spectrum, "small business" for the most part must have been very small.

[9] The FSOs were asked in the SDP to estimate "family income" during the years of their later upbringing, i.e., the high school years. On the average, the FSOs are nearly a generation older than the NORC college seniors; for many of them the years of "later upbringing" would have been the Depression years. It was not possible to adjust the FSO "family income" estimates to 1962 dollars. For all these reasons, the data on the two groups obviously are not directly comparable. However, at least roughly the figures suggest similarity, and in any event support the major point, that neither the bulk of FSOs nor of aspirants to foreign affairs careers come from the more affluent levels of society.

[10] Adapted from Janowitz, *Professional Soldier*, Table 13, p. 90.

TABLE 23

Military, Business, and Foreign Service: Father's Occupation (percent)[11]

	Military leaders, 1950	*Business leaders, 1952*	*Foreign Service, SDP, 1966*
Small business	—	18	23
Large business	—	8	6
Total Business	30	26	29
Professional and managerial	44	29	39
Farmer	10	9	4
White collar	11	19	11
Worker	5	15	11
Other	—	2	6
Totals	100	100	100
Number	(362)	(8,300)	(587)

In part, the large percentage of military officers whose fathers' occupations were in the "professional and managerial" category is accounted for by self-recruitment—many of the fathers were professional soldiers. Janowitz shows that the percentage of military leaders whose fathers were professional soldiers has been fairly high, although not nearly so pronounced as in the case of the German army, for instance. The proportion has varied over time, as follows: 1910, 7 percent; 1920, 10 percent; 1935, 23 percent; 1950, 11 percent; West Point graduating class of 1960, 25 percent.[12] The dip in the 1950 sample is "a consequence of rapid growth and the wartime recruitment of officer personnel from civilian society." Indicative of a future trend toward increasing self-recruitment is the high percentage of the West Point class whose fathers were professional soldiers.

Occupational inheritance is much lower in the diplomatic profession than in the military or medical professions, where it has been estimated that 20 percent of medical students are sons of doctors.[13] Only 2 percent of SDP respondants listed their father's occupation as diplomat. The fact that examination entrants are more than twice as likely as lateral entrants to have fathers who were professional diplomats suggests the likelihood that, as in the case of the military, recent expansion of the diplomatic corps has caused the degree of occupational inheritance to decline. Strong support among SDP respondants for the idea of a son entering a diplomatic career (discussed in the next chapter) indicates that occupational inheritance may increase in the future. Among SDP respondants who indicated their fathers were professional men, the breakdown among professions was as follows:

Profession	*Percent*
Diplomat	5
Military officer	7
Doctor	10
Lawyer	12
Clergyman	7
Missionary	2
Engineer	16
College professor	8
School teacher	7
Other	26
Total	100

[11] Data on military and business leaders taken from *ibid.*, p. 93.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.
[13] Natalie Rogoff, "The Decision to Study Medicine," in *The Student Physician* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 112.

Parent's Education

Table 24 compares the SDP sample and the NORC college seniors by level of education of fathers and mothers. The distribution is remarkably close in the two samples, whether the educational level of fathers or of mothers is compared. The most striking result is the extraordinarily high educational level of mothers, higher than fathers in both groups if professional education is excluded.

FSO Education

The northeast has remained even more disproportionate as a place of education for FSOs than as a birthplace. Although the proportion of FSOs attending college in the northeast has declined over the years, it is still more than twice the proportion of population in the northeast.

TABLE 24

Parent's Education, NORC and SDP Samples (percent)

	Father		*Mother*	
	NORC Foreign Service	*SDP FSOs*	*NORC Foreign Service*	*SDP FSOs*
8th grade or less	15.5	19.0	9.3	12.6
Some high school	12.3	10.6	14.9	11.6
High school graduate plus some college	33.2	28.9	43.7	48.3
College graduate	19.6	20.7	27.6	23.6
Graduate or professional school	19.3	20.8	4.7	3.9
Totals	99.9	100	100	100
Number	(316)	(585)	(323)	(586)

Still, the figures in Table 25 are not surprising, given the fact that 44 percent of the FSOs were born in the northeast, and other considerations such as the prevalence of highly regarded graduate schools in the northeast and the traditions some of them have of providing candidates for the Foreign Service. Obviously young men from the midwest, south, and southwest leave their home regions to attend schools in the northeast, possibly because they believe the schools in that region will prepare them better for a Foreign Service career.

TABLE 25

Last Place of Formal Education of FSOs (percent)[14]

Region	*1925–46 FSOs*	*1960 U.S. census*	*1961–64 FSOs*
Northeast	69	27	59
Midwest	13	29	13
South	6	21	5
Southwest	2	8	4
Mountain	1	3	3
Pacific	9	12	16
Totals	100	100	100

Writing of the period up to 1939, Ilchman points to the continued importance to the democratized Foreign Service of

[14] Data on FSOs from C. R. McKibbin, Department of Political Science, Drake University. Census data shows percentage of U.S. population living in the regions.

Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, which provided 63.8 percent of the members of the old Diplomatic Service. He reports that these three schools sent 36 percent of FSO recruits in 1926-30, 40 percent in 1931-35, and 26 percent in 1936-39. State universities provided 25 percent in 1936-39, up from the 9 percent to the Diplomatic Service.[15]

The big three of the Ivy League are still very important recruitment sources for the Foreign Service, but proportionately less so than before World War II. In a five-year period, 1957 to 1962, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale provided only 15 percent of the newcomers to the FSO corps. Table 26 compares the top 10 universities for the FSO corps during this period, compared to the top 10 for the Civil Service in 1959.

TABLE 26

Top 10 Universities for the Foreign Service and the Civil Service[16]

Civil Service, 1959		*Foreign Service, 1957-62*	
George Washington	3	Harvard	6
City College of N.Y.	6	California	12
California	8	Princeton	17
Ohio State	10	Yale	21
Minnesota	12	Georgetown	24
Illinois	14	Stanford	26
Washington	16	Dartmouth	28
Wisconsin	17	Columbia	30
MIT	19	Michigan	32
Michigan	21	Minnesota	34

Of the 926 FSOs who entered between 1957 and 1962, 325 came from the 10 universities in the table. Another 26 schools provided 215 officers, and the remaining 383 officers came from a broad range of 169 schools. Only three schools, all of them state universities, appear in both lists in Table 26.

A final indication of the importance of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale is that of the 72 degrees held by the officers in the top two grades of the Foreign Service in 1966—the seven Career Ambassadors and 52 career Ministers—30 were taken at these three schools.

Religious Affiliations

Data on religious affiliations are not easy to obtain for comparative purposes.[17] Unfortunately no trend data on religious affiliations of FSOs exist, but it is possible to compare the SDP sample to NORC's college seniors and to military leaders.

Janowitz observes that the military elite historically has been overwhelmingly Protestant, but a trend toward greater representation is evident in the West Point class of 1961. If earlier data on FSOs were available, it is likely that a similar trend from a strongly Anglo-Saxon Protestant group to a more nearly representative one would be evident. As it is, Catholics are still slightly underrepresented in the Service.

The NORC data are interesting, in that less than half the proportion of Jews appears in the "Foreign Service" group as in the total sample. The proportion of Jews actually in the Foreign Service is considerably higher, but is largely composed of lateral entrants.

TABLE 27

Religious Affiliations: FSOs, Military Officers, NORC Survey

			SDP	*Military*[18]			
	NORC "Foreign Service"	*Total NORC Sample*	*Foreign Service Officers 1966*	*Army 1950*	*Navy 1950*	*Air Force 1950*	*West Point Class of 1961*
Protestant	64.8	60.5	68.7	89	90	84	64
Roman Catholic	23.1	25.1	17.8	11	10	16	29
Jewish	3.4	8.2	6.2	—	—	—	2
Other	2.8	3.0	1.7	—	—	—	3
None	5.9	3.3	5.6	—	—	—	2
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	(327)	(3,397)	(585)	(166)	(205)	(106)	(731)

TABLE 28

Political Orientations: FSOs, Military Officers, NORC Survey (percent)

			SDP, Foreign	*Military Officers, 1954*[19]		
	NORC "Foreign Service" N = 327	*NORC total sample N = 3,397*	*Service Officers N = 585*	*Army N = 211*	*Navy N = 208*	*Air Force N = 157*
Conservative	4.6	6.0	2.4	25.1	23.0	14.7
Somewhat conservative	20.4	28.0	14.0	44.5	45.2	46.5
Somewhat liberal	39.5	36.6	42.4	21.3	18.3	31.8
Liberal	21.0	11.2	32.3	5.3	6.3	3.2
Neither (or no answer)	14.5	18.2	8.9	3.8	7.2	3.8
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

Political Orientations

The comparison of political orientations of FSOs with those of military officers offers a marked contrast. Nearly 75 percent of FSOs are on the liberal side, choosing either "somewhat liberal" or "liberal" in self-rating their political orientations, while Army and Navy officers show very nearly that percentage on the conservative side, with Air Force officers at about 60 percent.

There are no significant variations among SDP sub-groups on this question, with liberal sentiment well distributed by grades and method of entry. Janowitz shows that the most highly ranked military officers show conservative tendencies to a more pronounced degree than the next rank group.

The FSOs also come out as considerably more liberal than the college seniors, either those choosing a "foreign service" career or the total NORC sample. An indication that a diplomatic career has some appeal to those with a liberal political orientation is that the "foreign service" college

(*Continued on page* 43)

[15] Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy*, p. 236.

[16] Figures on the Civil Service are from Warner, *et al, American Federal Executive*, p. 372; on the Foreign Service from the Department of State *News Letter* (Jan. 1964), p. 24. The percentages are cumulative vertically; for example, Harvard provided 6 percent of the FSOs, California 6 percent, and Princeton 5 percent, for a total for these three universities of 17 percent.

[17] For example, Warner, *American Federal Executive*, p. 617, reports that they could not ask about religion, politics, and race in their survey for fear of endangering the size of the response.

[18] Data on the military officers is taken from Janowitz, *Professional Soldier, pp.* 98-99.

[19] Data on military officers from *ibid.*, p. 237.



The Bridge

A SHORT STORY

WILLIAM A. SOMMERS

DEE saw the coming of the rain as everyone did, who sat drinking coffee in the little hut that hugged the narrow village road. Medium size, slim with hardly a show of muscle, he stood at the entryway wrapped in a plastic raincoat, watching the rain through small, round eyes that looked out from an unexceptional face. Dee had lived in the village of Ban Sai Mun most of his life and for the past five years had been village headman. But Dee saw not only the gusting sheets of water that fell as from a sluice, filling the diked fields, overflowing the roadway and careening high over the banks of the small stream, which flowed alongside the fields; he saw that with this first heavy rain of the season, the bridge would succumb once again to the rush of water and collapse. The villagers would then have to slosh through the fields to avoid the fallen bridge until it was rebuilt in the dry season.

Even more than this inconvenience was the thought that Kum would take up his mask of nagging and needle Dee until the bridge was finally restored. It was Kum who owned the field next to the road and whose house, perched on a little wooded knoll, looked across those fields to the bridge. Dee had known Kum for years and while they had never been close, they were always friendly; it was not until Dee became headman that their relationship altered. Actually, it hadn't really altered for Kum's needling was neither vindictive nor malicious; it was, rather, a kind of friendly raillery which nonetheless pinched Dee's nerves as each year brought a re-enactment of the same drama. Perhaps it was this reluctant immersion in play-acting, more than the discomfort of the villagers, that pushed Dee to seek ever more ingenious solutions for the bridge problem.

"Ah, here is our renowned headman," he could hear Kum rasping with that faintly derisive tone, "the dry season bridge builder!"

Then he could feel the smiles of the other villagers, transforming the bridge into a sore, a sore as irritating as an infected mosquito bite which never seemed to heal. And when Dee would drive his cart along the detour through Kum's fields, his happy tormentor would greet him with "Welcome to our detour, Mr. Dee. Do avoid the bridge. We don't want you to have another nasty fall!"

This never failed to draw laughter; the remark recalled a prime defeat suffered by Dee, a defeat which crowned all his other disappointments with the bridge. A few years back, after the rain dealt its annual havoc on the bridge, Dee, in the wisdom reserved only for village headmen, had been ready. He had devised a brilliant scheme and, during the dry season, with the help of his son and two nephews, had constructed an emergency bridgeway. In great secrecy, Dee had selected the best bamboo stalks from the grove behind his house, cut them to the right length and bound them together with a tough fiber made from kenaf shoots. He fashioned two sections so that the weight of the traffic would be evenly distributed. The plan was a stroke of genius that should earn the compliments of the District Officer should he visit Ban Sai Mun, an unlikely prospect.

Dee had waited expectantly, feasting on the scene of rapture, revenge and retribution as he came riding out of the wood, like Rama himself, laying the bridgeway in place and putting to rest forever the taunts and barbs of Mr. Kum. He had not long to wait. That year the rains came early. The bridge washed out with a great gulping sludge, piling mud, stone and wood in a heap on the downstream side of the road.

The next morning as the villagers began to cut the detour around the bridge, Dee's cart came in view at a fast trot with his son and the two nephews following close behind. In the cart were two bamboo planks, the fruit of Dee's secret labors. He stopped near the bridge and dismounted.

"Here, boys, quickly. Take the top one off first."

Sensing the excitement of the moment the boys obeyed and hurriedly placed the first section across the void. It laid in nicely just bridging the gap. The second section was equally well conceived. Dee tested both sections by jumping on them.

"Why, Mr. Dee," a familiar voice intoned, "you have a welcome surprise for us this morning?" The voice, of course, belonged to Mr. Kum who, seeing Dee's cart coming along the road with its precious cargo, hurried from his porch to have "a little innocent sport." Dee tried to hold himself back, to be forebearing and let the facts speak for themselves. But he had endured so long.

"Yes, my friend. And this little surprise is just the answer to our problem. You'll twaddle no more."

"A wonder, Mr. Dee, a wonder. Still, don't you think . . ."

But Dee could not wait. His moment of glory had come. Why waste it in talk? Leaving Kum's question in mid-air, Dee sprang into the cart,

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assured of victory; with a regal flourish of his whipping stick he whacked the oxen. The bullocks responded by bolting into action, jerking cart and driver. They sped up the muddy approach and hit the newly laid bamboo planking with a thud, the cart skidding in their wake. It was here that the science of bridge building caught up with the admirable devotion of the village headman; it was here, too, that Mr. Kum wished that Mr. Dee might remain the village headman forever. For it was here that the skidding cart with the great wheels lurching through the slippery film of the muddy surface, crashed into the ever so slightly raiscd level of the bamboo planking and carried the planks sideways. Carried them, in fact, along the edge of the defunct bridge, turned them askew under the bewildered feet of the bullocks and, before the unbelieving gaze of the widening pupils of Mr. Kum, dumped the bridging into the stream followed by the airborne cart, which come to rest in the sludge beneath the bridge, rinsed by the fast flowing water, while the bullocks hung suspended from the cart, their feet flaying the early morning air. "Stop" cried Dee, as the last note broke air, in a curving descent of harmonics where song and singer found their rest.

Stunned by the swiftness of this scene, the gathering crowd gasped and waited in astonishment. Then, led by loud guffaws of the irreverent Mr. Kum, the villagers broke out in gales of laughter. Dee's son and his two nephews, peering over the edge of the bridge, giggled through hands held politely over their glittering teeth. Somehow extrication followed. Mr. Kum, intent on keeping his tormented leader alive, responded in anguish. Descending on the hopeless confusion, the men unlaced the bullocks and led them off, pulled out the smither of bamboo planking and lifted out the cracked, broken remnants of the once proud cart. They uncovered Mr. Dee, waist deep in the gulley of muck, spewing mud and betel juice. He emerged physically intact but spiritually not unlike the bridge itself.

"Phewt, phewt," said, or gurgled, Dee, "I can get out myself. I'm not dead, you know."

These events passed vividly through his mind as he stood watching the rain approach over the fields. For months after he had nursed his wounded pride in the solitary confines of his own counsel. Yet hope had not been completely extinguished; somewhere there must be someone with the answer. Dee stepped onto the road, wiped the water from his bicycle, mounted, and pushing up the kickstand, drove off toward the main highway. He was bound for Nong Bua, the district seat, to attend tomorrow's meeting of village headmen. Dee would cycle the distance of 45 kilometers, arrive in Nong Bua by late afternoon and spend the night with his friend, the district postman. The main highway, a euphemism for a series of briefly connected potholes, became a succession of quagmires interspersed with large ponds during the rainy season. The buses ran weekly between Ban Sai Mun and Nong Bua but with the rainy weather they ran only on the sporadic courage of the driver. Dee pedaled his bicycle with great skill, his figure slowly obscured by the curtain of pelting rain.



THANKS, my friend," said Dee to the postman as they sat on the porch drinking Chinese tea and watching the rain.

"You can stay again tonight, Dee, if the meeting lasts all day," replied the postman.

"The meetings used to be very long with Old Pradit. He talked enough to put a monkey to sleep. But the new one, Mr. Thawatchai, is better, not so long winded," commented Dee. He thought of meeting after meeting when Pradit would drone on, talking of doing good, getting people to cooperate in this and that project, always explaining things they couldn't do this year but maybe the Governor would give the money next year. But when the money did come it was usually spent on projects right around the district headquarters.

"Yes, the new district officer is better. Just look down there by the road. He put a new drain in for me only last week," pointed out the postman in obvious pride.

"Well, well," muttered Dee whose eyes were now fully occupied, tracing the flow of water down a small ditch alongside the postman's house to where it merged with another ditch running alongside the road. His eyes widened as he saw the waters unite in a swirl of white foam and then abruptly disappear. Before, the water had always formed a large pond near the road and when it became too large the postman would set out a temporary walkway to the road. Now there was neither ponding nor walkway and the water seemed to evaporate as if by magic.

"I used to complain to Old Pradit but he always said 'there isn't any money.' After I talked to the new district officer he came out and looked it over and within a couple of weeks the workmen were here. They put in a cement box to catch the water, dug up the road and laid in a big concrete pipe which carries the water under the road and into the stream on the other side.

Dee was not listening. He stood up, eyed the flowing water, went down the porch steps and ran down the lane, not feeling the soaking rain. There he saw it all, the basin, the concrete pipe, the water gushing and the road, still firm, still strong under the wash of water and the flow of the torrent. And he smiled as he hadn't smiled in a long time. He knew that today's meeting would be *his* meeting, that sometime soon Mr. Kum would swallow those nasty words; Dee would be praised in his village as the headman who gets things done!

Mr. Dee did well. He spoke to the meeting and related his problem. Such action was a mark of Dee's devotion and bravery for most of the headmen knew of Dee's "problem" and were well aware of the episode with the cart. Passed on by word of mouth with added embellishments, the story was a ranking coffee shop favorite throughout the district. Dee ignored the knowing nods. He appealed to the district officer, Mr. Thawatchai, to the latter's youth and vigor. He was persuasive and convincing. By evening he had made arrangements to return to the village the next day *with* the district officer: an event so seldom recorded in the unwritten history of the village of Ban Sai Mun that the fact of the visit was nearly as great an achievement as the possible construction of a new bridge.

The District Officer was interested. He had served in other districts and had just completed two years with the Department of Local Affairs in the capital. But this was his first assignment as a full fledged District Officer. He wanted to do well, to make the people realize that the district officer could be a friend. Mr. Thawatchai also hoped to advance, to get a double step increase in his salary and to move on, eventually, to bigger and better

districts. But he had one unusual characteristic, amid a background of welcome attributes; he liked people and he especially liked village people. This led him to listen closely to their problems; he sought solutions. He badgered the provincial office with requests, he made trips to the capital for money, he cajoled other district functionaries for money and support. Among the rank and file of government officials he stood out like a sore thumb.

"And this is Mr. Kum who owns the field by the bridge," said Dee, introducing the District Officer to his principal antagonist. Mr. Thawatchai was tall, with a young, thin face. His long nose supported black rimmed glasses. Kum, on the other hand, was squat, fat with a large round head that sat like a pumpkin upon his shoulders. He sported two long black hairs from a mole on his cheek, a cherished good luck sign.

"You have a real problem here, Mr. Kum," said the District Officer in a high pitched voice. "Your headman tells me the bridge washes out almost every year."

"Yes," replied Kum, "but Mr. Dee has tried to solve the problem. One time he even put down some temporary planking. . . ."

Not now, thought Dee as he interrupted: "What we need, Mr. Thawatchai, is a permanent bridge like the one you put in for the postman in Nong Bua."

This moved the discussion to more practical considerations. Mr. Thawatchai investigated the situation closely and agreed that the problem could be solved. He would have to get the money and the materials from the province. The district officer also noted that it might be necessary to straighten the road to get the culverts in the right position. This would add extra cost. Dee explained that the villagers had very little cash to contribute.

"But could you get your people to help in construction?" asked the district officer.

"That should be no trouble," answered Kum, overcome with the spirit of the moment, enthusiastic with the real possibility of a bridge. Mr. Dee beamed and wondered, perhaps, Kum was not such a bad sort after all.

"I'll draw up a sketch with an estimate of the cost and send it on to the Deputy Governor at the provincial office," stated Mr. Thawatchai.

"When can the work begin?" asked Dee, hoping not to be put off for too long.

"In a couple of months, if the Governor approves. Right after the rice harvest maybe."

And they parted with thanks. The district officer slung himself into the little Japanese jeep, pushed it into gear, bowed to the headman, and in a swale of flying mud was off toward the district seat. Dee watched the disappearing jeep for a long time and then looking up at the rain clouded sky saw wisps of white clouds come whirling by, forming themselves into the barely perceptible outline of a bridge.

THE District Officer of Nong Bua, Mr. Thawatchai, is waiting to see you," announced the clerk.

"O Lord, is he back again? All right, tell him to wait until I get these letters signed." With that the clerk noiselessly left the room.

The figure that had spoken from the large, glass covered desk placed between the serene picture of the bemedalled Prime Minister and the sash-strewn chest of the Minister of Interior was that of Mr. Prayat, the Deputy Governor. He was a large, fleshy man with a deep, resonant voice, a face that fell in folds over his collar and eyes that forever hid behind a pair of green-tinted glasses. Mr. Prayat had been a district officer for more years than he cared to remember and had served as Deputy Governor for so long that his wife wondered, usually out loud, whether he would ever become a Governor. Prayat wondered too, but never allowed his wonder to go beyond his work. He liked his job and hoped for promotion but even more he liked to work in serenity.

As he signed the documents he thought of the district officer at Nong Bua and pegged him as a "boat rocker." Ever since he arrived a steady stream of requests and suggestions had flown in until Prayat felt the province had only one district, not four as the record showed. It was difficult enough to have a Governor as energetic and erratic as Governor Surapong but to start getting new district officers with the same characteristics made the Deputy Governor feel as though he were being slowly squeezed in a vise of action. Yet Prayat realized that while the district officer was bubbling with energy, he had some ideas that might be useful. Closing the last signature folder, he tapped the bell to summon the clerk.

"These are finished. Send in the district officer from Nong Bua." The clerk picked up the pile of folders, bowed politely, and shortly reappeared announcing the district officer.

"Good morning, sir. I hope I haven't inconvenienced you," apologized Thawatchai.

"No, no, I have about twenty minutes before the executive council meeting starts. I saw your letter asking for money to build a bridge. Is that what you want to talk about?"

"Yes, Sir. This village has been overlooked for a number of years. The headman pleadcd with me to build this bridge," replied Thawatchai.

"You know, I have gotten more requests from you in the last four months than your predecessor sent in four years," lectured the Deputy Governor in a voice reserved exclusively for smudging the shining purpose of new district officers.

The district officer shifted nervously in his seat, clasped and unclasped his hands in the traditional pattern of deference with his right hand holding his left wrist. He felt small drops of perspiration forming at the back of his scalp. This was not going to be easy.

"Can you locate the village on that big map behind you," asked Prayat, breaking the growing silence.

Thawatchai, glad to be relieved of the momentary tenseness, went to the map, slowly orienting himself to locations. Finally, he turned to the Deputy Governor, who also had moved to the map.

"Yes, Sir, right here and this, I think, is the stream," said Thawatchai.

The deputy peered closer and studied the map for a moment. Then he noticed that just over the mountains was a large red blob with the word INCIDENT written next to it. He paused thoughtfully, then went to another wall map behind his desk, a map which apparently showed development projects for all the northeastern provinces. Even the newest district officer could not help but observe a furious motion of the "wheels" beneath the placid exterior of the Deputy Governor. He waved Thawatchai back to his chair and began talking in a slow monotone.

"Tell me, is there any evidence of . . . activities in that village, any robberies or . . . other . . . things?"

"Well," started the district officer, racking his brain to see if he could produce something that would satisfy the Deputy Governor, "two buffalo were reported missing last week."

"That isn't exactly what I had in mind," replied the Deputy Governor. "Have you heard of any aircraft or the like flying over the village, for example?"

The light began to dawn on Thawatchai and the meaning of Mr. Prayat's deep interest in the INCIDENT and the construction projects on the other map became clearer.

"Yes, as a matter of fact, I was told

some villagers had seen evening flights of unmarked helicopters on two or three occasions."

"That's what I had in mind. You know, Thawatchai, you may have something with this bridge . . . and there might be a lot more that can be added. When you return try and find some other . . . facts . . . that might be the basis for calling your district a sensitive area."

Thawatchai made sounds of profuse thank yous, bowed deeply, and left. Mr. Prayat was lost in thought. He had talked with the Governor last evening and recalled, painfully, the latter's words on how the other provinces, demonstrating their security problems, had started to get help from the central government, not to mention foreign aid; yet this province had gotten nothing but a truckload of used American textbooks, still taking up space in the provincial meeting room. Prayat could almost quote the Governor's last sentence:

". . . we have received very, very little. And you know why, Mr. Prayat? Because we haven't come up . . . you haven't come up with a single development plan for any district, for any village that has made the least bit of sense to me, the Department or the Ministry."

Prayat never had a great love for grand development schemes with people running in and out, building this, asking for help, with a spate of visiting dignitaries horning in. This upset his serenity, it rocked his boat. But if something wasn't done to satisfy the Governor, Prayat might find himself in a province near the Burmese border. And here comes the other boat rocker from Nong Bua District with a plan. Why not work the thing up? Get a big development proposal going, then the Governor, and the district officer, could rock their own boat? It could be done. Take Thawatchai's plan, add a health center, some road construction, a bit of community development and wrap it up in a cloak of security justification. It might work out nicely.

Wiping his perspiring face with a clean white handkerchief, Mr. Prayat leaned over and hit the bell forcibly.

THE Governor liked charts, they were tidy, clean and so precise. The straight black lines showed the village boundaries with neat black dots for houses. Then long, gently curving lines indicating the old road and the bright red lines showing the improvements, bold and strong. Here and there, as if to balance this abstraction of progress, red squares and triangles hinting of new buildings, new programs, new lives. These, in turn, were always followed by charts, which gave meaning to the abstractions: the cost, the people who would be affected, the target dates. It always renewed his confidence. And the Deputy Governor had done very well. Yes, there was no doubt that Prayat had taken his words to heart. Here was a plan covering an entire village, development and security tied neatly and convincingly together. It was a "get to the people" program. What did those Americans call it? Ah, yes, a "model village." He liked that.

When the Deputy Governor had finished briefing the executive council, the Governor turned toward the members seated around the large, oval table. "I think that covers all the items in the plan. If any of you has something to add, you had better do it now."

The members seemed to be in silent agreement with the plan. They had been working on it for nearly two months since the Deputy Governor had first proposed it. Police had secured a location for a police station to counter incipient insurgency; the Health Officer had worked out a plan to give the village a health center; he was quite sure he could get the Japanese to sponsor a roving medical team; Rice came up with a program for improved rice seedlings and free chemical fertilizer while the livestock man produced a complicated operation to improve beef cattle. The Deputy Governor had worked out road improvements and also suggested a rather neat approach for community development which ranged from silk culture to birth control. Had anything been overlooked? Finally, one hand was raised followed by a polite cough. It was the District Officer of Nong Bua.

"Yes, Thawatchai," said the Governor, "I hope you don't object to this—after all, you'll end up with the best damn 'model village' in the whole Northcast!" This was followed by appropriate laughter, particularly since the Governor, who did not often joke, appreciated a good response when he did. It didn't reduce the nervous tension under which Thawatchai was laboring.

"Pardon me, Sir, but . . . there is one thing. The villagers of Ban Sai Mun had originally asked for a small bridge on the village road. I don't see that . . . included . . . in the plan."

The Governor gave Thawatchai a puzzled look. He turned to the Deputy Governor who jumped to his feet.

"Mr. Governor, we have included the bridge in the rebuilding of the main road from Ban Sai Mun to the District Office at Nong Bua. If the plan is approved, the construction crew can easily fix the bridge while working on the road. It is, of course, a small part of the total plan."

Yes, it was. The cost of the bridge improvement was about 25,000 baht; the total plan came nearer one million baht. The Governor appeared satisfied with the explanation. He again addressed the meeting.

"It is absolutely vital that we start lining up support for these projects and get the money allocated from our central departments. Most of the cash outlay will come from the Department of Local Affairs, which means that Mr. Prayat must take our proposals to the capital as soon as possible."

"Yes," replied the Deputy, adjusting his glasses, "I have already wired Mr. Krachang, the Bureau Chief, for an appointment tomorrow afternoon. I'll leave on this evening's express train."

With that statement, the Governor rose and, beaming satisfaction, closed the meeting. As the members filed out the Deputy Governor began gathering up the charts and putting together the papers he would take on his trip. He felt elated over the presentation and even more pleased with the Governor's reception. Things had fitted together, the boat had moved smoothly. Glancing up he saw the back of the District Officer of Nong Bua disappear through the door. Yes, quite smoothly, except . . . once more he adjusted the green-tinted glasses.

THE Ministry's meeting room, once a ballroom in this palace of a dead prince, had been trimmed, painted and the ceilings dropped to give it less the feeling of an enclosed stadium. Still its size overwhelmed the infrequent visitor and bore down on those who perhaps once in their life had to perform here. Governor Surapong felt this as he waited for the meeting to begin. However, it was a feeling capped with joy. From an insignificant village project the plan had grown until it caught, not only the fancy of the Minister, but the cooperation of five foreign aid programs; the Governor had ended with, not a model village, but a model province! Today, these agglomerations of plans, projects and programs would be translated into binding agreements. But the thinking behind it was what the Governor appreciated almost more than the program itself. Here was protection from subversion tied in with rural development all aimed at helping villagers help themselves. He recognized a certain overemphasis. Perhaps unmarked helicopters and a skirmish with a band of buffalo thieves

were not open subversion; still you could see it coming. And in Governor Surapong's province, by thunder, there was going to be preventive action before, what did they say, before "All the dominos fall down." Yes, he liked that.

His reverie was broken by the arrival of the Minister. All stood while the Minister lighted two golden candles and three joss sticks before the Buddha image placed high on a balanced arrangement of seven intricately carved tables. After lighting the candles and the joss sticks he clasped his hands, and raised and lowered them three times in a gesture of devotion while kneeling on the prayer bench. The Minister then came to his place at a large, half moon table and, smiling to those standing on his pleasure, seated himself. The rest followed in turn. A tall man with a decided military bearing, he was impressive in a lean and angular way with a pair of sharp, dominating eyes, which peered from behind a deeply lined face. He began briskly.

"We are here to conclude some very important business. I think you have reviewed the details, but I prefer that before we sign these documents Governor Surapong summarize the main points."

Translators buzzed quietly in the background busily giving the gist of the Minister's remarks to the foreign representatives seated around the table. The Governor bowed to the Minister and then to the rest. With precision the Governor unfolded the whole program, but having unfolded it so often of late, he had the uneasy sense of discussing projects already completed. Pausing just a bit, the Governor plunged into his final statement.

" . . and remember, gentlemen, this project came from the villagers, came up through the channels of felt needs so that, with all the material benefits, we are doing much more. We are, in fact, bringing a real kind of democracy to the people who count, the villagers."

He beamed, he bowed and returned to his seat. As he moved into the chair, he caught the Minister's eye which closed quickly in what might have been a wink. That last statement came out well. It was one suggested by the Minister. The Governor looked at the representatives whose translations were just catching up with the end of his speech. His eye lighted firmly on the American member. As if in understanding response, the American smiled broadly. The Governor returned the compliment. The Minister was right. Americans liked democracy more than dollars.

The Under-Secretary outlined the financial arrangements. The total cost was one million American dollars, or twenty million baht. With the Ministry putting up eight million baht, the cooperating countries were shelling out the remaining twelve million. As the Under-Secretary smiled through his presentation, the Minister recalled highlights of the negotiations. Of the balance the Americans were picking up the largest share. They excelled in assuming hard-headed positions but if you stressed "get to the villagers," or "felt needs" the Americans let go of dollars as though they were hot coals. At the same time the Japanese seemed more interested in outlets for motorbikes and transistor radios than they were in the actual details of health programs or fertilizer requirements. The United Kingdom, featuring Britain and Australia, on the other hand, cut the line closely down to the last shilling and sixpence. Eventually, the Ministry agreed to supply tea for their construction teams and a cricket field near the camp. Yet there was nothing comparable to the French. They flourished a grand manner and were grossly eloquent with "magnifique" strewn all over the negotiating table. When hard cash was discussed, they melted away into shadowy hints of France's historic role in Southeast Asia. The negotiations had been tedious and exhausting and as the Under-Secretary finished, the Minister sighed inwardly, hoping he would not miss both lunch and golf.

The Minister concluded with a short soliloquy, which was followed by a lengthy process of signing the agreements. Everyone was happy to have the meeting ended but the French representative, who with an apparent sigh of regret, returned to his inner coat pocket four pages of typescript that looked very much like a statement.



BEST dam rain storm I've seen in years," said the old man sitting next to Dee.

"And it looks to last all day," replied Dee.

Dee rose and, over the protests of the old man, paid for the breakfast. He bought a large bottle of whiskey, which he placed carefully in his coat pocket. Wrapping the plastic rain cape around his shoulders, he adjusted his large brimmed hat to keep the rain from running down the back of his neck. With a nod he stepped out of the shop into the full flush of the rain, which, without wind, was driving straight down in drops as big as grapes, turning the road into an ooze of ripe red mud. He glanced up the road to the intersection where it met the main highway to Nong Bua. There he saw stockpiles of gravel and tin barrels of asphalt. Unfortunately, construction on the main road had started at the Nong Bua end. It might be a year, even two, before the gravel was spread. Shaking his head Dee turned down the village road toward the stream. He felt now, as he had felt for months, like a man who had prayed for fish and found a whale on his porch. It was over a year since he had gone to the meeting at Nong Bua and asked for the bridge. First there was a trip to the provincial headquarters and a talk with the Governor. Then a series of inspection teams came to the village. This resulted in much talk, an endless period of briefings, brought to a climax with the arrival of a group of earnest young men who passed out questionnaires and interviewed nearly everyone in the village. Dee laughed as he remembered one young man who asked Kum for his most important felt need and Kum replied, "a minor wife, please." Ban Sai Mun was then invaded by engineers and construction teams who built a new health center and, with a platoon of police, started a police station. Dee was berated by the villagers for this bit of "progress" because it stopped the home brewing of rice wine.

Last month they held opening ceremonies for the health center and two busloads of dignitaries came to the village, including the Governor, officials from the province and the district. People from the capital also came as well as a number of foreigners who had contributed to the health center. After the ceremonies everyone went inside to have lunch served by the ladies of the village. Plate in hand. Dee found himself talking with the Governor.

"Well, Mr. Dee, your village is going to be an example for the whole province. You must be very proud," said the Governor as he popped in a spoonful of rice mixed with jungle curry.

"Yes, Sir, we have received a great

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THE NAME OF THE GAME NOWADAYS

A GLANCE AT THE FUTURE

WILLIAM N. TURPIN

In the present world of developing nations, the salient fact for American policy, and for the Foreign Service as its instrument, is that the United States is and must be actively engaged in the process of political, economic and social development. By now it seems to be generally recognized that the process of development has all these facets, and that none can be ignored, even under the laudable rubric of non-interference in the internal affairs of these countries. It is simply a fact that once a transfer of technology begins, other streams tend to join the flood. For while all the elements of a culture are mutually interdependent, elements of it can be split off and adopted one at a time. But if they are to be mastered, their borrowers must draw more and more of the other elements after the first. The economic and technical implement tends to draw after it the process of manufacturing it, and through that process, some form of the social organization needed for the manufacturing process. But that social organization has political aspects; and political philosophy has aesthetic, philosophical, and religious connotations.

The process of adoption does not preclude adaptation, of course, nor is it inevitable. But the danger is there: a pasha teaches his soldiers French so they can study gunnery, and they read Rousseau. And even if the process of cultural borrowing stops short of the roots of the matter, technical novelties have a way of producing, as it were, on their own, great repercussions.

At present the United States is engaged in the transfer of elements of Western culture to non-Western civilizations, without taking proper care either to facilitate a desirable degree of borrowing or to assist in making the adaptations necessary if the resulting culture is to be successful. Already the transfer of medical technique has upset the balance of nature in many countries; many people are concerned at what the transfer of a Western ideology and Western scientific weaponry to China may bring forth.

It would seem probable, then, that the interests of the United States would be best served if the transfer of Western economics and technology which we are furthering were carried out with some idea of the probable impact of these bits of technique on the societies to which they are transferred, and with as much of a balancing and restraining complex of political and social ideas as possible. The world is too crowded, and the process of change too rapid, one would think, for us to allow nature to take its course. Even when we declare our intentions not to interfere with the decisions and the internal affairs of the countries to which we give aid, we are really doing no more than refusing to accept the responsibility for our actions. But we do not thereby avoid the results of those actions—nor do we do so by turning the responsibility over to "multilateral organizations."

Our refusal to accept our responsibility is at least becomingly modest. We have no way, at present, of overcoming our monumental ignorance of local conditions around the world, which prevents us from estimating with any accuracy the effects of the changes we promote. Nor do we have the conceptual framework we would need, if we were to try to direct our isolated actions toward a desirable pattern of evolution in the countries affected by our actions.

Unfortunately, these two forms of ignorance reinforce each other. Because the people doing the job do not master the history, language, culture, economics, and politics of the countries they are helping change, we can neither predict the effects of our actions nor coordinate them into a policy of sufficient depth and breadth to secure results we can approve.

For both reasons, our actions tend to be guided by our vision of America, or of some particular aspect of America. We know, quite literally, no other way of proceeding than to urge the adoption of specific bits of American technique and, less explicitly, of imitation of American institutional and cultural patterns or of some idea, often wildly inaccurate, of what those patterns really are.

We lack, in short, both the expert knowledge and understanding of the local culture which we need to be able to judge the effects of the Westernization process, and the comprehensive view of our own achievements and objectives which would enable us to formulate and pursue a strategy having some chance of moving the object of our concern in a direction we approve of.

Academic and other scholars and thinkers can help to fill these two great gaps in the intellectual equipment of the Foreign Service, but only if the Service itself is also working in that direction. To state this is to show clearly how ill our present ways of conducting policy in the developing countries are fitted to cope with the dynamics of change. Our Foreign Service officers need to equip themselves, first, with far more intimate and detailed local knowledge than they have had in the past, and second, with a concept of the nature of society and of the nature of social change, including their economic and political expressions, with which they can understand what exists and plan for what is coming.

A series of random and unpredictable assignments of only superficially prepared officers, whose chief concern is getting ahead, is singularly unlikely to achieve this goal. Specialization, both by function and by area, is not unknown in the Service. But specialization, most officers consider, should not be overdone; it is not a recipe for success, nor a prerequisite for service in, or for exercising responsibility for, a country. Devotion to the affairs of any country, and especially of an unglamorous, backward, and uncomfortable one, is not expected of, or indeed permitted to, an aspiring officer.

Administrators, of course, dislike limitations on the bodies with which they fill slots; they dislike trying to plan for 20 or 30 years for each of more than a hundred countries. They begrudge the time and expense of training, especially if it must be repeated. They doubt that recruiting for so narrow a specialty would be possible.

But specialization is the name of the game, nowadays. Colonial services had no difficulty in finding administrators who would spend their entire lives in a backwater, however,

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uncomfortable. Besides, if our analysis is correct, administrative habit and administrative convenience will simply have to yield to a policy imperative.

This analysis suggests that instead of trying to staff our posts all over the world with officers who are equally at home in any part of it, and equally capable of turning a hand for a time to whatever job comes to hand, we begin to build up for service in the underdeveloped world (or small area) cadres of officers capable of handling all our relations with a given country at whatever level, either in Washington or in the field. Officers should, that is, be selected for and expected to concentrate on the affairs of one country or small group of countries, to choose, in effect, their professional major field. They should then begin the process of acquiring the necessary skills: mastery of the language or languages, perhaps, to begin on, and then both through study and through experience the deepest and broadest familiarity with the area which a lifetime of devoted work can procure. The ultimate objective would be the development of a team of specialists united by a common interest and experience in a particular country and its relationship to the United States. For the individual officer, a focus, an intergrating line for his career, would supply the factor now most obviously missing from a Foreign Service career, looked at from the viewpoint of a profession, namely unity. Everyone has experienced the increased awareness of people and places which follows even on casual acquaintance. What is here proposed is the institutionizing and consciously using this propensity, and making it prospective as well as retrospective. It means making sense by conscious choice of an officer's experience, and supplying a coherence which is now usually furnished only by coincidence.



Lengthened, broadened, and deepened experience should lead officers into fields of intellectual activity of more than ephemeral interest. And part of the activity of the "country corps" should certainly be vastly improved intelligence gathering and studying, aided by acquaintanceship and intercourse with academic and other non-governmental specialists in the field and illustrated as often as possible by published research.

Similarly, there would be room during a career for officers to be assigned to tasks not now normal for Foreign Service officers. Teaching assignments in secondary schools and universities, details to local governments, perhaps even working with private industry for a period, and other uses of whatever talents an officer may have outside the diplomatic establishment, would both further the officer's education and contribute directly to the attainment of objectives which the United States shares with the local society.

Finally, there is a traditional tool of diplomacy which is capable of far more effective and imaginative use than has thus far been made of it. The old consular functions have declined in relative importance, and modern administrative methods have made possible the concentration of these functions in embassies, with attendant fiscal savings. But the prestige of the consular title could be used effectively to permit American officers to increase their knowledge of and bring their influence to bear on the affairs of the developing countries at the local level. It would be impossible and undesirable to try to specify rules for every individual case; far too much would inevitably depend on the ability of individual officers to bring their character, personality, and intelligence usefully to bear on particular situations. But stationing officers with an abiding interest in a country in its provinces would provide them with an opportunity for acquaintance and even intimacy with people whose importance today is only less than their potential significance tomorrow. Few countries are as homogeneous as we like to think; all have local problems, of racial or cultural minorities, of depressed or backward areas, of local political bosses and movements. None is irrelevant to American policy, but many may be neglected if our view is entirely from the capital city. If consulates were regarded more as listening posts and mouthpieces and less as visa-issuing points, they could fill a role of immense value. The fact that at the moment there is little awareness of a need merely shows that we don't know what we are missing.

The scheme here proposed has dangers: cliquishness, overspecialization, "clientitis" (the danger of overidentification with the country on which one is working). Mistakes might well be made in assignments; misfits would appear. But we are exposed to these dangers in any case, and we would escape at least two dangers. It would no longer be possible for officers to escape the long-term consequences of their short-term decisions; they could no longer hope to achieve professional success by avoiding rocking the boat for the limited period of their assignment. And an officer could no longer deceive himself into thinking that history began the day his most recent assignment did; by the time he achieved real responsibility, he would himself have been part of that history for some years.

While the sphere of traditional diplomacy has changed less dramatically in the Southern hemisphere, it too will increasingly place new demands on the American Foreign Service. The divorce of the Communist part of Europe and Asia has left a breach which we may work to close but which we may not ignore. The industrialized countries are bound together, to a growing degree, on two levels, and the forms of the binding promise to be determinative for the future.

First of all, Europe is working towards integration, not only of the six nations of the Common Market, but also of the countries now outside it. This integration has already found formal institutional shape, and the institution as such has become a power center, making relations both between itself and its constituents and with outside countries important even now, and likely to become more important in the future than direct bilateral relations. At the very least, the fact and the institutionalization of a uniting Europe will increasingly color all the international relationships of its members. The European powers have turned away from extra-European concerns, downgrading the importance of the politics of imperialism.

John Bright and the Manchester School, and not they alone, used to preach the doctrine of free trade as a force for peace; they thought that trade would tie the world so straitly together that war would be impossible. Private self-interest, as we know, proved to be as ineffectual as socialism in taming national pride. But since 1945, Keynesian economic policies at the national level have been seen to demand international cooperation, and larger corporations a Europe-sized market, with the result that a uniting Europe has had to find institutional expression. What free trade failed

to do, a political institution, whatever checks it may receive and whatever expansion and adaptations it may undergo, seems to be steadily accomplishing. And an increasing, and increasingly important, share of the work of the Foreign Service is going to be connected with this uniting Europe.

The necessity of harmonizing national economic policies, to avoid the futilities of "beggar-my-neighbor," has also been seen in a second, a looser and a broader sphere. Since 1945, the world's industrial and trading nations, with the others tagging along, have found it necessary to anchor in international institutions, and in less formal practices of cooperation, carefully designed (if still imperfect) mechanisms for harmonizing monetary policies, trade policies, and assistance policies. The International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, on the formal side, and the curious, mixed governmental and central bank network which functions so mysteriously and so effectively on the less formally institutionalized side, have grown into an active environment within which and as part of which major American policy decisions are taken. If the Foreign Service wishes to pretend to primacy in American foreign policy, it must prepare itself to function in this sphere too.

The common thread linking the future tasks of the Foreign Service in dealing with these two levels of integration among the industrialized countries is, obviously, the premium which will be placed on technical economic expertise. For economics is the subject matter of the uniting Europe. Even more obviously, it is the subject matter of the international institutions and practices we noticed.

Some people, even within the Foreign Service, seem to think that the State Department can run our foreign relations simply on the basis of Presidential instructions setting up the Ambassador as chief of the total American effort in a country and according the State Department the right to give "overall policy guidance." Others think not only that experience has shown this to be false—even "underdeveloped" countries are clever enough to find out where the power (or the money) is—but that "policy" is much less a series of abstract directives than a series of actions. They even argue that policy pronouncements are unlikely to mean much, or to be listened to effectively, unless they are based on the sort of understanding of the technicalities and of the language which only long experience and day-to-day familiarity can provide.

And on the personal touch. Traditional diplomacy was carried on among Foreign Offices; in the new world we have been describing, central banks and Ministries of Finance, of Economic Affairs, of Trade, are becoming the effective power centers. And this is true within the American Government as well. Officials of these institutions are less patient with rapid turnover and with technical ignorance than diplomats. They are busy men; they prefer talking to people who know their fields and share their interests to educating a stream of ignorant foreigners.

Moreover, they drop things which make sense only to people who know the context; they reveal patterns of their thinking which, again, are comprehensible only to those who know the fields of thinking involved. Yet these are the vitally indicative straws in the wind.

Similarly, men like these officials are not especially internationally minded, professionally speaking. They know that the decisions they make or recommend on taxes, or on interest rates, are taken within an international context, but they are not used to or especially happy with the give-and-take of international intercourse. They are not easy to influence by reference to the wishes of the United States, but they can, much more often, be influenced by respectable technical argument—especially if it is advanced by someone whose professional competence they respect.

But, in distinction to the developing world, the similarities among industrial countries are much more striking than the differences—and anyway conditions in each of these countries affect those in others, by virtue of the very interconnections we have been looking at. What one knows of one country helps in understanding all the others. The implications for the Foreign Service seem clear.

In order to function successfully in the industrialized world, officers at all levels need both theoretical instruction in economics and practical, continuous experience in this sort of work. There is no need to staff the Foreign Service with Ph.D.'s in economics, or to consign them to bookkeeping or tax collecting for lengthy periods. But there is a distinct need to give officers a chance both to acquire and to expand a conceptual apparatus in the economic field, and also to keep them working in relevant parts of that field for long enough periods for them to be part of developments in it. The Foreign Service is, even now, doing something in both these directions. But it still regards economists, by and large, as auxiliaries, as technicians; it still expects an economist to be able to do any job not demonstrably political. It still tends to move aside realistic economic analyses of the facts of a given situation with the magic words: "But there are overriding political considerations." So there may be, but usually when that phrase is used, the official using it has not the vaguest idea what is being overridden. And however powerful that formula is within the State Department, its lack of efficacy—indeed, the contempt in which it is held—outside those walls is monumental.

If our analysis of the needs of the future is sound, the Foreign Service will necessarily, if it wishes to be relevant to that future, have to change some long-cherished images of itself. It has, tacitly abandoned the 1946 concept of a fully professional service, in the sense of a group of people who have spent their working lifetimes acquiring competence in a special field. "Lateral entry" for physicians and lawyers has seldom if ever been earnestly suggested. Yet the Foreign Service, as we saw, contains a substantial number of officers whose professional competence was acquired neither by special training nor by experience within the professional group to which they now belong.

Perhaps the very insistence that any officer of a given grade can, in principle, fill any job at that level explains this evident lack of expertise for the Foreign Service to be professional about. However that may be, we have now suggested two major divisions of foreign service work, and at least implied the type of professional education and of professional development which might be followed.

Two common lines of professional training are obviously needed for both the two major divisions. Officers whose primary function would be long service in a given underdeveloped area, like those whose professional lives would be spent in industrialized countries, would need both adequate linguistic preparation and a thorough grounding in economics. Both language work and economics, however, should be tailored specifically to future function.

Because languages can be quickly and efficiently taught, and because the Foreign Service has done well at teaching them to some of its junior officers, we are inclined to underestimate the distance we still need to travel.

A smattering of several languages, acquired *ad hoc*, is not what a professional needs. Language learning is not difficult, but it is tiresome, and as one grows older he may well tend to get by, either with English, which is increasingly common as a second language, or with French or German. But although it is usually possible to make one's way, especially at rather senior levels, through an interpreter or a second language, it is impossible to get at the guts of a man's thinking unless one hears it expounded as he thinks it, not as he or someone else

(*Continued on page* 46)

THE H-BOMB DECISION

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ONCE again, the United States is in the throes of threshing out major problems of national security. The USSR is deploying anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs), and Red China has not only an atomic but also a growing thermonuclear capability plus first generation delivery vehicles. What are we to do? Increase our retaliatory capabilities; arm our missiles with more sophisticated, multiple warheads? Or, should we also deploy an ABM system? The equation of national security is constantly changing; in this era of rapidly shifting technology, we must—as Alice would know—run twice as fast to stay in the same place.

Another crucial national security crisis was faced—and resolved—in late 1949 and early 1950: the decision whether to proceed with the development of the H-bomb. Today, when co-existence between the Soviet Union and the West is a respectable expression and a growing reality, it is sometimes difficult to recall that in the Stalinist 40s and 50s it was a dirty word, a semantic smokescreen which meant simply to co-exist the Soviet way.

The year 1945 saw the mushroom clouds over Japan and the opening of Pandora's box of the atom, 1950 ushered in the thermonuclear era of megatons, and today the defense debate continues. In 1945 we were in the heat of war, in the 50s, the chill of the cold war, and today the debate proceeds in a period of thaw.

The state of affairs vis-a-vis the USSR after World War II was gloomy. A sullen and suspicious wartime ally, the Soviet Union had reneged on the Yalta agreements. The United States found it necessary to launch the Marshall Plan to resuscitate Western Europe and to proclaim the Truman Doctrine to prevent a Communist take-over of Greece and Turkey. In the United Nations the USSR was monotonously exercising the veto and had repeatedly made clear its unwillingness to enter into any effective system for the international control of atomic energy. Then there was the Berlin blockade. It is against this background that one must consider the judgments that caused the United States to proceed with its thermonuclear program.

THE date was January 31, 1950; the time, 12:30 p.m.; the place, the President's office. Truman was going over a pile of papers before him. He looked up at the motto placed on his desk: "The buck stops here." He mused about how many "bucks" he had stopped: the abrupt termination of Lend-Lease after the war—bad advice—a blooper; the Truman Doctrine re Greece and Turkey—good; the Berlin airlift—right again; and the Marshall Plan—a "ten-strike." Over-all the batting average was pretty good, he thought. He wondered, though, whether the decision to reduce drastically the defense budget might have been unwise. True, it had been enthusiastically welcomed by the public and the Congress. But considering the unsettled state of world affairs and especially the uncooperativeness of the Russians, was it prudent? He sighed. Arousing himself from his reverie, he turned to study the papers he needed for his meeting with the Secretary of Defense. His appointment secretary came in to announce that the Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, accompanied by the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson; the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, David Lilienthal; Admiral Sidney Souers, Executive Secretary of the National Security Council; and James Lay, Souers' Deputy, were waiting to see him. Somewhat surprised, the President motioned for them to come in.

He greeted them with a quick, owlish look over his steel-rimmed spectacles and an anticipatory—somewhat quizzical—smile. Admiral Souers handed him two papers.

"Mr. President, here are your committee's recommendations on the question of the H-bomb and the press release proposed for your approval."

Truman quickly read the recommendations:

> That the President direct the Atomic Energy Commission to proceed to determine the technical feasibility of a thermonuclear weapon, the scale and rate of effort to be determined jointly by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense; and that the necessary ordnance developments and carrier program be undertaken concurrently;
>
> That the President direct the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense to undertake a reexamination of our objectives in peace and war and of the effect of these objectives on our strategic plans, in the light of the probable fission bomb capability and possible thermonuclear bomb capability of the Soviet Union;
>
> That the President indicate publicly the intention of this government to continue work to determine the feasibility of a thermonuclear weapon, and that no further official information on it be made public without the approval of the President.

At Acheson's suggestion Lilienthal outlined briefly some of the arguments against going ahead which he had earlier expressed at length to his colleagues.

Speaking to no one in particular, Truman asked, "Can the Russians do it?"

All heads nodded, "Yes, they can."

Admiral Souers interjected, "We don't have much time."

"In that case," Truman said, "we have no choice. We'll go ahead."

The President initialed the recommendations and approved the press statement for immediate release.

> I have directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons, including the so-called Hydrogen or super-bomb.
>
> Like all other work in the field of atomic weapons, it is being and will be carried forward on a basis consistent with the overall objectives of our programs for peace and security.
>
> This we shall continue to do until a satisfactory plan

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for international control of atomic energy is achieved. We shall also continue to examine all those factors that affect our program for peace and this country's security.

As far back as 1932 it was known among world scientists that it was theoretically possible to produce an explosion 1000 times more powerful than a fission bomb by fusion or union of certain isotopes of light elements such as deuterium or tritium. These isotopes had been studied intensively at Berkeley in 1942 by Teller and Konopinski. In the early stages of work at Los Alamos in 1943, investigations were made on the properties of tritium. Indeed, one of the first buildings erected at the site was designed for these studies. However, work was soon suspended for four principal reasons: (1) the atomic bomb proved more intractable than had first been thought, (2) the thermonuclear discussions were incomplete and prospects appeared doubtful, (3) a thermonuclear reaction, in any event, appeared to depend on perfecting an atomic bomb to trigger it, and (4) General Groves, Commanding General of the project (the Manhattan District), doubted that his mandate included work on the "super."

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when the spasm of the war effort was over, more leisurely thought was given to the post-war research program. It was nearly a year later, in June 1946, as the Manhattan District was preparing to pass its mandate to a civilian commission, that Los Alamos undertook a thorough review of the state of knowledge of the thermonuclear program. An active participant and contributor to these discussions was Dr. Klaus Fuchs.

With the long delay in getting the McMahon Act (which established the civilian Atomic Energy Commission) passed by the Congress and the subsequent tortuous transfer of the program to the AEC, all research languished. Los Alamos was depleted, many of the scientists drifting back to the more congenial laboratories of the Universities. Oppenheimer had resigned as Director and had gone back to the University of California completely exhausted in mind and spirit. Momentum faltered all along the line. The frantic pace of the war could no longer be sustained. The nation as a whole relaxed in the luxury of peace: the armies were rapidly demobilized on the popular cry that could not be denied, "Bring the boys home!" The paroxysm was over.

In the atomic energy field there was the promise of a civilian commission, the hope of developing peaceful uses of the atom, and the prayer that efforts at the United Nations to secure international control might succeed. Foolish now in retrospect? Perhaps. But these ideas were real enough at the time and a tribute to man's hopes for plowshares instead of swords.

Louis Johnson, former national commander of the American Legion, became Secretary of Defense in early 1949. He boasted he would cut the fat out of the defense budget. And he did. From a wartime high of $80 billions, the defense budget had been cut back to $13 billions by 1950. His boast and his actions were perhaps only a reflection of the times, but had paralyzing consequences for any intelligent thinking in the Pentagon. The three services began fighting over reduced rations; it was the time of the battleship—B-36 controversy, the era of "more-bang-for-a-buck."

While the military had not digested the facts of the atomic age, nor had it built military forces around this new weapon, or even recommended use-policy, atomic weapons appeared to be the way to obtain the greatest military power for the least money. If you can't have the Divisions, the Fleets, the Air Wings believed necessary, what else can you do? Conventional forces suffered: the ability to fight conventional war and to manage brush-fire wars dwindled. Throughout this period use-policy was never spelled out, except to the extent that the McMahon Act stipulated that a decision to use this weapon could be made only by the President. Some thoughtful commentators of the time (Lilienthal was one) saw a contradiction between our avowed policy in the UN of seeking international control of atomic energy on the one hand, and, on the other, our increasing reliance on atomic weapons for our military muscle. The real culprit was not contradictory policy but misplaced and unrealistic economy.

In early 1949, President Truman created a Special Committee of the National Security Council to aid him "in resolving major questions of fact and policy" on atomic energy matters. Its members were Secretary of State Dean Acheson, chairman; Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson; and David Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. The President realized that any atomic energy question involved three major considerations: (1) the political, (2) the military, and (3) the scientific and technical. There was a fourth—the domestic—but he'd take care of that himself provided he had behind him the force of the other three.

In July the Committee was asked to assess our defense build-up and the form it should take. Secretary Acheson argued strongly that the Defense Department's economy drive was unrealistic and should be reversed. The United States must re-arm speedily and forget about a balanced budget. He urged we influence our allies to do the same. In the end, the Committee recommended a sharp increase in the production of atomic weapons and B-36 bombers.

On September 3, 1949, US dreams (for dreams they surely were) of a continued monopoly of atomic weapons vanished. On that day, a lone reconnaissance bomber picked up samples of radioactivity in the upper atmosphere over the Pacific near Japan. Its snatch had been sheer luck. The plane had caught the trailing edge of the cloud and followed it eastward over the North American Continent toward the UK, where British monitor planes also obtained samples. Quick analysis revealed the presence of radioactive debris of an atomic explosion. Meteorological studies determined that the explosion had occurred sometime between August 26 and August 29 in Siberia. (In subsequent years, cumulative evidence concerning the Soviet atomic program indicated the test explosion took place in Siberia at the Semipalatinsk proving grounds on the Irtysh River in Kazakh Province.)

It took some time for the evidence to be fully evaluated, but it was unmistakable. It was clearly an atomic explosion. For a while the President hesitated. The Russians were sending their "first team," headed by Vishinsky, to the upcoming UN General Assembly. There was some reason to hope they might have something constructive to offer. Nevertheless, on September 23, 1949, at the urging of his advisers—State, Defense, AEC and the Joint Chiefs—the President announced:

> "We have evidence that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR."[1]

[1] There has been raised in some quarters from time to time the tiresome question of the meaning of the term "atomic explosion." I remember vividly the day Admiral Souers, Executive Secretary of the NSC, called me urgently on the telephone and said: "Come over right away. I have some 'hot' intelligence." It was a beautifully bright fall day in Washington, the kind that makes you glad you were alive whatever the day's news. But as I walked over to Old State, I had a premonition—"This was it." Estimates had varied from 4 to 20 years on the time it would take the Soviet Union to conduct its first test. On the whole we had based our view of Soviet progress on the assumption that our vaunted industrial capacity and organization could not possibly be duplicated in performance by the Soviet Union, peopled as it was by wild-eyed bomb-throwing Bolsheviks and peasants, all thumbs, trying clumsily to run factories.

Admiral Souers expressed the idea that the radioactive cloud might have come from an accident, a blow-up of a nuclear reactor. I told him I hoped he might be right but it seemed unlikely. Careful analysis of the radioactive debris soon clearly established the fact the explosion had been that of a test weapon.

This was portentous news, indeed, which required a good deal of stock taking of where we were and whither we were tending. It called for a reappraisal of our entire national security policy. Specifically, it raised the question of thermonuclear weapons.

In late October the AEC requested its General Advisory Committee to submit its views on what should and could be done. Created to advise the Commission on scientific and technical matters, the Committee had a blue-ribbon membership: Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, fabulously able wartime director of Los Alamos, was Chairman. Other members were: Dr. James B. Conant, Dr. L. A. DuBridge, Dr. Enrico Fermi, Dr. I. I. Rabi, Hartley Rowe, Oliver Buckley, Dr. Glen T. Seaborg and Dr. Cyril S. Smith.

The Committee had two formidable and interrelated technical arguments to consider. First, deuterium and tritium could be produced in reactors only at the expense of plutonium at a ratio of 1 gram of d/t to 80-100 grams of plutonium. Second, plutonium weapons then on the drawing boards were expected to yield one-half megaton (500,000 tons of TNT). Consequently, even if the d/t thermonuclear reaction should be successful (and it was by no means certain that it would go at all—the chances were about 50-50), wouldn't we get more "bang-for-a-buck by staying with plutonium weapons? Curiously enough, however, when these equations were weighted in the scale, technical considerations were not what the GAC landed on most heavily. Its main argument centered on moral issues.[2]

After a day of long and troubled debate, in the course of which Conant remarked, "All this sounds like an old record and a poor one at that," the GAC (Dr. Seaborg was absent) recommended unanimously against proceeding with a thermonuclear program. It concluded:

> We all hope that by one means or another, the development of these weapons can be avoided. We are all agreed that it would be wrong at the present moment to commit ourselves to *an all-out effort*. . .[3]

The main report was supplemented by two addenda. One, signed by Oppenheimer, Conant, DuBridge, Rowe, Smith, and Buckley, stated in part:

> In determining not to proceed to develop the Superbomb, we see a unique opportunity of *providing by example* some limitation on the totality of war and thus eliminating the fear and arousing the hopes of mankind.[4]

The second, signed by Fermi and Rabi, said:

> The fact that no limits exist to the destructiveness of this weapon makes its very existence and the knowledge of its construction a danger to humanity as a whole. It is necessarily an evil thing considered in any light. For these reasons, we believe it important for the President of the US to tell the American public and the world we think it wrong on fundamental ethical principles to initiate the development of such a weapon.

Now, these were strong opinions, stated in unequivocal language by highly respected advisers. Most of them had participated in the wartime program and, while beset by worries about the atomic bomb as was everyone else, had not hesitated in the end to support its use. Some, too, had participated in drawing up plans for effective international control and knew full well the stringent requirements it entailed. They had agonized with us during the long, dreary, and sterile negotiations in the United Nations where we had butted our heads against the Iron Curtain—and yet they could state "We see a unique opportunity for *providing by example* some limitations on the totality of war."

When a copy of the GAC report reached me in the State Department, I was appalled. I sat in with Secretary Acheson in meetings he had first with Lilienthal and then with Oppenheimer. After a long session with Oppenheimer, the Secretary and I talked together for a few minutes to assess what they had said. We tried to fathom the argument. We were unable to. Acheson knew both of them very well and held them in highest regard. With him, they had been the major architects of the Acheson-Lilienthal Plan for International Control of Atomic Energy three years before. He shared with them the desire for a peaceful world. But he was also a realist; he knew that, as in politics, foreign affairs was the art of the possible. His experience on the Hill had taught him to give full weight to public opinion as reflected by the Congress. His sense of realism prompted him to conclude that even if the Soviet Union refrained from undertaking a thermonuclear program as the result of our refraining—a non-existent prospect—the Administration would run into a Congressional buzz saw and the proposal would be stillborn. He was deeply troubled. Finally, he said, "You know, I listened as carefully as I knew how, but I don't understand what 'Oppie' was trying to say. How can you persuade a paranoid adversary to disarm 'by example?' "

I suggested we bring in other Departmental officers immediately to think through this matter against the day the Special Committee of NSC would have to make its recommendations to the President. George Kennan, who was about to depart his post as Director of the Policy Planning Staff, was alerted, as was Adrian "Butch" Fisher, the Department's Legal Adviser and former General Counsel of the AEC.

The AEC was divided in its views. Unable to reach a consensus, it was decided each member would set forth his individual views for submission to the President, and to State and Defense. This was done on November 9. Chairman Lilienthal and Sumner Pike were opposed. Dr. Henry Smyth, the scientist member of the Commission, urged delay until we had one more quick try at reaching agreement with the Soviet Union. If this effort failed we should go ahead. Gordon Dean, newly appointed member of the Commission, former law partner of Senator Brien McMahon and soon to be named chairman, favored a "crash" program but also urged further efforts to reach agreement on international control. Admiral Lewis Strauss said we must proceed forthwith. We could not expect the Soviet Union not to.

President Truman, a staunch believer in proceeding on questions of policy in an orderly way, promptly requested the Special Committee to give him its recommendations. In his memorandum to the members he said:

> I desire that the committee analyze all phases of the question including particularly the technical, military, and political factors, and make recommendations as to whether and in what manner the US should undertake the development and possible production of "super" atomic weapons.

(*Continued in the June* JOURNAL)

[2] At one stage in the argument it was asserted that the detonation of as few as ten atomic weapons would dangerously contaminate the atmosphere to the mortal danger of human life on the planet, but it developed that someone had misplaced a few decimal points.

[3] Emphasis supplied. It should be made clear that the AEC had asked the GAC to study the matter of a "crash" program, as originally proposed by Admiral Strauss, a program that was in fact never undertaken until feasibility tests had been carried out and new technological developments had come along which imposed much less strain on the regular A-bomb program.

[4] Emphasis supplied. Four years later, Oppenheimer was to testify, "The notion that the thermonuclear arms race was something that was in the interests of this country to avoid if it could was very clear to us in 1949." But he went on to say. . . "What was not clear to us then and what is clearer to me now is that it probably lay wholly beyond our power to prevent the Russians somehow from getting ahead with it."

Poems

G. LEWIS JONES

SYNTHETIC FIBER

I find it hard to visualize
Those models with the made-up eyes
Bearing children, kneading bread
Or breathing even. They look dead!

I wonder how her pelvis grows
The girl with such spread-eagle toes?
And can she wince and does she rail
When hammer hits her fingernail?

Long legs, to which the lens-man adds,
Our modern Aphrodite has.
Her features, as in granite carved,
Are those most seen upon the starved.

The face, the neck, the legs, the chin
The dark-rimmed eyes and mouth line thin
Recall that once, as canine toys,
The Tartar chieftains bred Borzois.

October 8, 1966

WARSAW QUERY

Why is the skin of the Poles so white?
Does the sunless day and long, long night
Give them the pallor of holy martyrs
About to be killed by the Huns or the Tartars?

What makes the women walk head held high
So proud of themselves? To the passer-by
They seem to say "I am a woman—I live today."

Does the soil—dark with deeds of death—
Quicken to life and vibrant breath
A special breed—half Slav and yet
Not quite the same as the Slavs I've met.

Tall lilies spring from the darkest loam
And violets are lighter when shade is their home.
Perhaps Poland's a garden whose magical earth
Spawns dreamers of dreams from the moment of birth.

Oh deep and complex are the roots of the Poles
And dark is the humus from which springs their souls.

Hotel Orbis
EUROPEJSKI
Warsaw
March 8, 1966



Under Secretary Elliot L. Richardson speaks to the assemblage at the American Foreign Service Association's Awards luncheon on March 26.



Best wishes were in order to the winners of AFSA's Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards from Mrs. William R. Rivkin, left, wife of the late Ambassador, Under Secretary Elliot L. Richardson, center, Christian A. Herter, Jr., second from right, son of the late Secretary of State, and Philip C. Habib, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and President of the American Foreign Service Association. Left to right, award winners Jacob M. Myerson, John Paul Vann and Donald M. Sladkin.

"intellectual courage, creativity, and personal integrity, including disciplined dissent, in the conduct of United States foreign affairs."



Philip C. Habib, President of AFSA, congratulates John Paul Vann after the luncheon.

The award winners, Jacob M. Myerson, (Rivkin Award); John Paul Vann (Herter Award); and Donald M. Sladkin (Harriman Award).





BERLIN LANDSCAPE *Berlin 1950-54*



IZBAS *Moscow 1955-57*

Journey through City and Space

SHEILA ISHAM

The stars are hidden,
the lights are out;
the tall black houses
are ranked about.

I beat my fists
on the stout doors,
no answering steps
come down the floors.

I have walked until
I am faint and numb;
from one dark street
to another I come.

The comforting
winds are still.

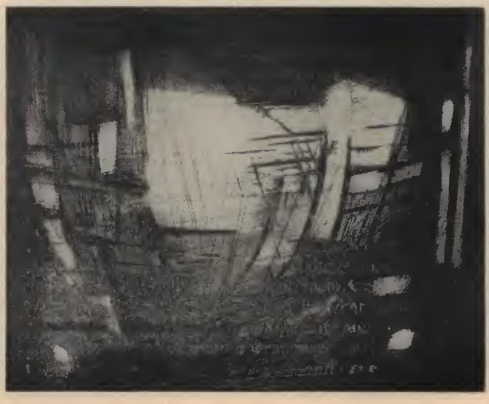
This is a chaos
through which I stumble,
till I reach the void
and down I tumble.

The stars will then
be out forever;
the fists unclenched,
the feet walk never,

and all I say
blown by the wind
away.

— Charles Reznikoff: *By the Waters of Manhattan,* published by New Directions and San Francisco Review

STEEL CONSTRUCTION *New York 1958-62*



APOCALYPSE *New York 1958-62*





ORIENTAL LANDSCAPE *Hong Kong 1962-65*



SPACES OF SPIRIT *New York 1968*

Movement and Quiescence, in their alternation, are each roots of the other. There is Movement and the Quiescence; Quiescence and the Movement. They open and close, go and come, succeeding each other without pause. There is division into Yin and into Yang, and the two forms (Liang) are thus established. These two forms are Heaven and Earth.

Fung Yu Lan:
The Philosophy of Chu Hsi
Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 7, 1942

TANG POEM *Hong Kong 1962-65*



CH'IEN THE CREATIVE *New York 1969*





Turtles and Diplomacy in Madagascar

JOHN E. CUNNINGHAM

DIPLOMACY is a term which embraces many activities, not all of them very closely connected with negotiating treaties or attending state dinners. I had discovered very early in my career that diplomacy could also involve disinterring corpses, tracing a lost javelin for a specialist grantee training an African team for the Olympics, waiting hundreds of hours at airports for distinguished visitors on late planes, dancing around a fire with Azandi tribesmen in the Southern Sudan and a host of other activities far removed from European drawing rooms and the Hall of Nations in Geneva. Nothing, however, has impressed upon me the staggering potential for diversity of my chosen profession than the incident of the *testudo radiata*.

Early in 1966, when I was serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Tananarive, the Embassy received a long and complicated letter from the Department which was concerned with a suitable coronation gift for King Taufaahau Toupou IV of Tonga or the Friendly Islands. After unraveling the somewhat murky prose, it emerged that what was proposed as a coronation presentation was a tortoise. Moreover, it was to be a female and a suitable mate for a very famous male tortoise which had been living in Tonga for almost two hundred years.

Captain Cook on his famous voyage of 1776-78, had visited a number of islands in the Indian Ocean. In one of these, he picked up a tortoise of the species *testudo radiata*. In 1777, he called in at Tonga and, during the course of his visit, presented the turtle to the King. It since had been living in the royal gardens and had become almost a personage in the islands. It had been a great favorite of King Toupou's mother, Queen Salote, who had reigned over the small kingdom from 1917 until her death in 1963. Many will remember her as a towering figure (she stood well over six feet) in the telecasts of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953.

King Toupou was now preparing for his own coronation after the long period of mourning required by Tongalese custom. He also apparently held the tortoise in considerable affection.

The tortoise had been living in enforced celibacy for almost two centuries due to the absence of any ladies of his species in Tonga. The only place on earth where this species now exists is Madagascar. Someone in Washington decided that a most appropriate gift would be a female *testudo* to brighten the old fellow's remaining half-century or so and, hopefully, present him with offspring. Hence, the Embassy in Tananarive was asked to find a suitable mate.

The first problem which arose was where to assign the action. Since it was a matter of US-Tonga foreign relations, the Political Officer seemed a logical choice. But there were equally valid reasons for choosing the Economic Officer since he was responsible for scientific (including geological) matters, the AID Affairs Officer since his agency normally has the action on independence gifts (so why not coronation gifts?) or the Cultural Affairs Officer since we would be dealing with an agency in Madagascar concerned with scientific and cultural affairs. I finally decided to handle the matter myself.

The next problem which confronted me was one to which I could see no immediate solution. As far as I knew, only another turtle could tell a lady turtle from a gentleman turtle. At least I was unqualified to make the all-important distinction. It then occurred to me that there were qualified people not far away.

Several weeks earlier I had visited two American zoologists on a mission for the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. They were in Madagascar studying the communications system of the tenrec. The tenrec is a small animal unique to Madagascar (as so many of the island's fauna are), which is about sixteen inches long, weighs about two pounds and eats insects. It is characterized by a clump of quills in its back near its rump. It had been noted that the animal rattled these quills in different ways to make different sorts of sounds. Our two scientists were investigating the possibility that tenrecs have a communications system composed of distinct "words" in the form of clicks made by their quill patches.

When I visited them at a house they had rented in the mountains high above the city of Fianarantsoa, I found the two scientists surrounded by cages of tenrecs. They were both intently observing an oval run surrounded by a low fence in the garden where about twenty tenrecs were strolling about in a leisurely way. It appeared that I had arrived at the moment of a crucial experiment. The day before the two men had succeeded, after numerous failures, in obtaining a tape recording of two tenrecs (happily married, one hopes) engaged in one of life's most universal and at the same time most intimate activities. They had now placed a small speaker in the run and were about to play the tape to observe its effect on the assembled animals.

The great moment arrived and the tape was switched on. As we watched breathlessly, one tenrec after another ambled passed the speaker without giving the slightest indication that they knew it was there, much less giving

■ John E. Cunningham served as counselor at Tananarive in 1965 and is now assigned to Tripoli. Mr. Cunningham's assignments have included Kuwait, Tehran, Khartoum, Rabat and Conakry. The JOURNAL hopes for further adventures among the fauna of these various places.

The Turtle

OGDEN NASH

The turtle lives
'twixt plated decks
Which practically
conceal its sex.
I think it clever
of the turtle
In such a fix
to be so fertile.

out with anything unusual. Finally, one old fellow, fatter and lazier than the rest, stopped next to the speaker. He walked over and sniffed it curiously for about a minute. Finally he cocked his leg and relieved himself all over the speaker. He then turned and continued on his unhurried way around the oval run.

I'm sure all this told our friends something but its deeper meanings were lost to me.

At any rate, I now knew where to find experts who were knowledgeable about such arcane matters as sex differentiation in the lower orders. When he next came to Tananarive, I asked the team leader if he could tell a male from a female turtle and if he could pick out a suitable mate for a two-hundred-year-old *testudo radiata*. He reassured me on both counts.

The next step was to seek the cooperation of the Scientific Research Institute of Madagascar in providing a turtle, and its aid in getting permission from the government to ship it out of the country. Turtles, like the famous lemurs, are protected animals in Madagascar and it is very difficult and complicated to get a permit to export them.

This led to some minor perplexity regarding what language to use in making the request and explaining the function of the sought-after lady turtle. How do you explain in French that you want a mate for a two-hundred-year-old turtle? Particularly, what should be the operative word? We considered and discarded *coucheuse* on the grounds that turtles did not go to bed and could not therefore be considered as bedmates. Likewise *femelle* was rejected as a pejorative and we did not wish to be insulting to the country's unique species of turtles. We thought of *amie* and *femme*, but both were too cute. After a number of other momentous semantic decisions, we finaly decided on *compagne* since presumably companionship would be at least as important a function of the still-to-be-chosen lady as any other.

Finally the great day arrived. We went to Tsimbazaza Park and were led to an enclosure where about forty turtles of various sizes, ranging up to monsters the size of bulldogs, were basking in the late afternoon sun. To my untrained eye, all of them not only lacked sex appeal but were sexless. But our young scientist had no doubts. After examining several of the assembled reptiles minutely but thoroughly, he picked out a dust-covered beauty weighing about twenty pounds who was so unimpressed by the whole operation that she did not even bother to draw her head into her shell when she was picked up. I say "she," but I use this pronoun only on the authority of my scientific advisor for I am still completely ignorant about the sex of turtles.

Until all the formalities could be completed, the bride-to-be lived happily in the garden of our Consular Officer's house. She misbehaved only once. When the Economic Officer picked her up, she made a mess down the front of his shirt.

Our negotiations with the Ministry of Agriculture's Service for the Protection of the Flora, the Fauna and the Forest Domain for an export permit for the turtle were time-consuming and frustrating, as negotiations with bureaucracy very often are anywhere in the world, but hardly dramatic and a merciful curtain will be drawn across them. In good time, the permit was forthcoming.

So finally we turned our herpetological beauty over to the freight agent of Air France in a shipping crate which had been specially constructed to the specifications of our zoologist. She was consigned to the Washington Zoo where she would be lodged until proper arrangements were made for her ceremonial journey to Tonga. We took careful note of the routing, flight numbers and ETA Washington.

That afternoon a telegram was sent to the Department of State reading approximately as follows: "Testudo Radiata arriving Dulles Airport via AIR FRANCE 731. ETA 1530 March 16." Only after it had gone did it occur to me that the telegram was somewhat vaguely worded. My predecessor in Tananarive was now in charge of cultural affairs for Africa. He was well aware that the names of the Malagasy people from the region around Tananarive invariably begin with the honorific syllable "Ra." I had visions of his driving out to Dulles to meet the Air France flight in the erroneous belief that the *Directeur du Cabinet* of some Malagasy minister was arriving in the United States on a Leader Grant. Even though it would make a better story otherwise, I must confess that I later discovered that this did not happen.

The evening after our turtle *compagne* began her air voyage to Washington, I went home from the office and, following an old tribal custom, fixed martinis for my wife and myself. As we were having them, we switched on the BBC world news. I do not remember exactly what the main news items were that spring evening of 1966 although it would probably not be too difficult to reconstruct them. It was the final item in the broadcast which caught our attention and made us forget everything else that had been said. BBC announcer Roger Collings, in a voice which has been heard round the world for almost twenty years, said that a turtle which had been presented by Captain Cook to the King of Tonga in 1777 had died that day. It was probably the world's most famous turtle. Its remains were being shipped to New Zealand for preservation in a natural history museum.

So that was the end of one diplomatic episode in my career. I have often wondered what happened to my *testudo radiata*. She may still be in the Washington Zoo. Or she may have been sent to Tonga after all. In that case, it is not beyond the capacity of my imagination to believe that one day a future generation of Foreign Service officers serving in Tananarive will receive a message from Washington asking them to find a *male* companion for a very old turtle belonging to the King of Tonga. ■

From Ted Olson

Washington Letter

Nobody needs to be told that prices go up. It's a fact of life, an economic principle as immutable as Murphy's Law. For overseas families soon to report to the post that has neither differential nor housing allowance the news is not cheerful.

Taxes are rising. Bank rates are at a record high, which means costlier financing for house-buyers. Both consumer and wholesale price indices are still climbing. For consumers, Washington appears to be setting the pace—a 6 percent jump between February 1968 and February 1969, compared with 4.7 percent for the country as a whole.

The increase in interest rates was supposed to check inflation, but so far it hasn't worked that way. The TIMES financial expert Edwin Dale summed up the situation in a sentence: "In the meantime, confusion reigns and inflation rages." Since our own economists are admittedly flummoxed, it would be interesting to get a peep at the appraisals being sent back to his government by—well, let's say the British Embassy's Economic Counselor.

To get down to the nitty-gritty and the nuts and bolts (two locutions which your correspondent had sworn never, never to use and which he now, on oath, renounces forever):

The prime interest rate of 7½ percent means, of course, that it will be more expensive to buy or build a house—unless you can take over a mortgage at a lower figure. Slightly-used GI loans at 4½ percent are greatly to be desired, but they're getting scarce. Lumber prices have virtually doubled in the last year, adding several thousand dollars to the cost of a new home.

Maryland has raised its sales tax to the same level as the District and Virginia—4 percent. Food, fortunately, is still exempt. And a proposal to double the beer tax was voted down. Having imposed a graduated income tax two years ago, Maryland was faced with the hard choice: which to increase—income, property or sales tax? Governor Mandel chose the last, and the Assembly went along.

District officials are considering raising the property tax from $3 to $3.10 per $100, and are asking Congress to increase both cigarette and liquor levies. No telling how much longer suburbanites will be able to buy at bargain prices by crossing the District line. (Strictly speaking, those bargains are illegal, but smugglers are rarely caught, for obvious reasons. It's just a bit risky, though, to load up your trunk with Scotch, bourbon, gin and vodka at one of the better-known liquor stores just before the holidays.)

For Maryland residents, present or prospective: there will be a referendum November 4 on several constitutional amendment proposals, salvaged from the draft constitution rejected by the voters last year. Presidential primaries are being re-established in 1972. The General Assembly refused to lower the voting age to 19.

The Virginia legislative session ended too late to be covered in this month's letter.

News From the Underground

Sorry. We promised to report when the hippies returned to Dupont Circle, but our intelligence network let us down—as such networks have been known to do—and we can't pinpoint the date. It was later than usual, certainly, because this was a cold, late spring: first robin March 10, first crocus March 13. Anyway, they're back.

"Hippies" is, of course, not a taxonomically precise term, like *marmorata monax,* the groundhog, which also hibernates. No count has been made, to our knowledge, to determine how many of these young or not so young people belong to the New Left or the Underground, and how many just don't want to bother with razors, combs, soap and steady jobs. We have a kinsboy who *looks* like a hippie, but he furiously rejects the appellation.

We're not even sure whether Underground and New Left are interchangeable terms. Maybe some reader—a Young Turk, perhaps?—can enlighten us. There must be some overlap, at any rate, because the Washington FREE PRESS, identified in newspaper headlines as an "underground paper," is having law trouble in Montgomery County. The grand jury is investigating it, at the behest of a judge who thinks it is egging on high school students to rise against the state. The other day Bethesda police arrested two young men for "possession of obscene literature"—specifically, the current issue of the FREE PRESS. They were obligingly standing in front of the police station to make it easier for the fuzz.

We blenched as we read the story. We tiptoed upstairs, furtively exhumed our own copy of the FP from the litter on our desk, tiptoed downstairs and incinerated it in the fireplace. (Our wife called testily from the kitchen: "Isn't it awfully warm for a fire?") Took us right back to the early '50s. One must give the FP credit, though; it burns faster than the works of Owen Lattimore and Howard Fast did.

The two issues of the FREE PRESS we have examined for the purposes of this report don't live up to the judge's billing. It's pretty gamy, to a Victorian taste—lots of four-letter words, and "personals" that LA VIE PARISIENNE might have hesitated to publish. But we can't imagine it sending hordes of teen-age *sans-culottes* to storm the White House and the Pentagon. As a revolutionary organ, if it intends to be one, it lacks something. Focus, mainly. Sex, pot, acid and psychedelic art won't topple the Establishment—unless the revolutionaries could somehow get the Establishmentarians hooked while remaining coldly, calculatingly ascetic themselves.

There's a Real Underground, Though

You must have noticed it dozens of times. It's under Dupont Circle, with entrances spaced around the perimeter. They're closed with steel gratings; they've been closed as long as we can remember. When the circle was constructed 20 years ago, the idea must have been to provide pedestrian shortcuts under that traffic maelstrom. In a European city such passageways are brightly lighted, lined with shops, always crowded. Why not in Washington? Because there aren't enough pedestrians? Or because the city authorities feared that the underground would be taken over by the underworld, and it would cost too much to police it properly.

Shortly after the streetcar tunnel on Connecticut Avenue was closed some years ago, it was discovered that young people—forerunners of the hippies, perhaps—were congregating there of an evening. The authorities quickly put a stop to that, and the tunnel is barricaded tightly too.

Theater in Washington: No Joke

Manhattanites like to call ours a hick town, but this season Washington play-goers have the last laugh. Broadway is queuing up weeks ahead for shows that the home folks saw first, months ago. Look what the big-time critics said about four that tried out at the National:

"Promises, Promises:" ". . . an absolutely marvelous musical . . . all 200 million of my fellow citizens should make plans to go and see it as quickly as possible."—Brendan Gill in the NEW YORKER.

"Forty Carats:" ". . . a silly trifle so nearly perfect . . . that I doubt if the bleakest curmudgeon in the land would dare to whisper a word against it."—Edith Oliver in the NEW YORKER.

"Play It Again, Sam:" "[Woody Allen's] benignly frustrated presence is . . . a joy forever. A slender but hilarious evening."—Clive Barnes in the TIMES. ". . . continuously funny, entertaining, and all of a piece." —Henry Hewes in the SATURDAY REVIEW.

"1776:" ". . . a most striking, most gripping musical . . . Who knows, it might even run until the celebration of the bicentenary in 1976. I rather hope so."—Clive Barnes in the TIMES. (There was a minority report, though, from Brendan Gill. He said librettist and composer "have contrived to turn one of the great events of our history into a series of childish romps." Spoilsport!)

Of course you can't win 'em all. Almost everybody agreed that "Jeremy Troy" was a real clinker.

Apologies are due Washington's third legitimate playhouse, the Washington Theatre Club. We've been neglecting it in these intermittent reports on the arts. Now it's won national recognition. It shares the Margo Jones Award this year with New York's internationally-known Cafe la Mama. In case you don't know (we didn't), the Margo Jones Award is for enterprise in producing new plays. In the last four years this little theater—seating capacity 145—has given footlight exposure to no fewer than 63 new writers (quite a number, to be sure, in revue skits). It also produces off-beat pieces by big-name writers—Tennessee Williams's "The Eccentricities of a Nightingale," for example. Now it's starting a school for acting, directing and playwriting.

And we musn't forget our neighbor city, Baltimore. It has more to offer than S. S. Swartz, the Orioles and the "Block." Our editor tells us the Morris A. Mechanic is a beautiful theater; it houses both pre-Broadway tryouts and road companies, including some that don't play the National.

The Baltimore Symphony Orchestra played two concerts in Washington this year and plans a longer season in 1969-70. It has a new conductor, the Rumanian Sergiu Commissiona. The critics liked him.

Reader's Guide

FOREIGN AFFAIRS, April, takes a three-way look at ABM, the subject of the latest Great Debate. Appraising "Prospects for Arms Control," William C. Foster thinks they're pretty fair, and urges that "we try to negotiate a halt in the strategic arms race before the task becomes far more difficult." Harold Brown, in "Security Through Limitations," examines the various missile systems and concludes that "the essence of a useful agreement would be a fixed limit on both ABMs and the number and size of offensive missiles." D. G. Brennan of the Hudson Institute presents "The Case for Missile Defense." He doesn't believe BMD, as he prefers to label it, would necessarily provoke the Soviet Union to counterescalate.

Also: "Relations with Latin America," by Covey T. Oliver, a down-to-earth examination of the potential and the limitations of our aid and influence.

ATLANTIC, April—"The New American Militarism," by General David M. Shoup. The former Marine Corps Commandant says "the basic appeals of anti-Communism, national defense, and patriotism provide the foundation for a powerful creed upon which the defense establishment can build, grow, and justify its cost." It's "somewhat like a religion," and he doesn't like it.

THE CENTER MAGAZINE (A Publication of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), March—"The End of Diplomacy," by Elizabeth Mann Borgese. "Diplomacy . . . is incompatible with democracy—or, in other words, democracy is not geared to cope effectively with foreign affairs." What else, then? "Cooperative foreign policy making." "The China That Is Not There," by William O. Douglas. The Justice envisages an Asia "—dominated by Japan, India, and China—" which will show "how a regional regime of the rule of law can flourish."

Not exactly a balanced diet this month. Some readers may want to take a Tums—Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW, perhaps—to alleviate discomfort.

Oddments

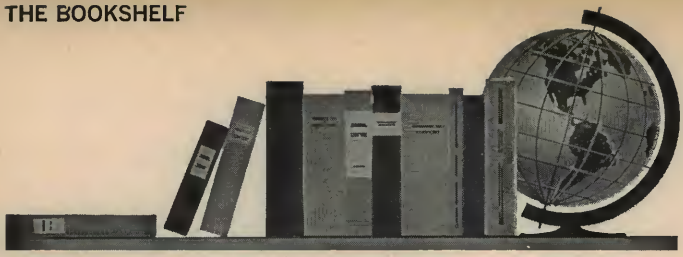
- One of the few remaining sites on Embassy Row has been pre-empted. The Malaysian Embassy is putting up a chancery building on the corner of Massachusetts and S.
- Incidentally, if you're showing out-of-towners around some day when flags are flying for a visiting Chief of State, you might see how many of them your guests can identify. For that matter, how many can you identify?

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"It's sweet of you, Mr. Letch, but you really shouldn't have ridden all the way over from the consulate, especially at this hour, to discuss my visa application."



Books on China: Briefly Noted

In the preface to Jacques Marcuse's "The Peking Papers," he writes:

> "After one has been an honest working journalist all one's life, it's difficult to write an honest book. It's like switching from a snack bar to a great kitchen as a self-appointed chef. A vast experience of sandwiches has not taught you how to cook. One has not the skill. One faces raw material of a subtler sort and of much greater variety. One deals in different truths . . . There's truth in sandwiches. The bread, for instance, must be freshly cut and not curl up at the corners like old-fashioned Chinese roofs. But they are made to be quickly consumed and, one hopes, digested, and then forgotten. The only sandwiches one remembers are the bad ones. A meal is another thing altogether—another reality."

Of books on China, recently received by the JOURNAL, "The East is Red," by Maslyn Williams, "Two Kinds of Time," by Graham Peck, "China in the Throes of the Cultural Revolution," by Louis Barcata, and, I fear, even the Marcuse book itself come from the sandwich bar. Forever, the sight, sound, and smell of China's surfaces have seduced and overwhelmed the traveler. It happened to Marco Polo, who also happened to be quite a writer. None of our authors is quite in the Marco Polo class, either as traveler or writer. But all write well, though perhaps rather more about themselves and their gifts as observers than about a China that they all seem to sense to be just out of reach. Edgar Snow's "Other Side of the River" certainly rates as the best of the "sandwiches" published over the past five or six years. None of these is in that class. Of them, however, Peck's word and line drawing portrait of China—on the eve of Communist take-over—is, perhaps the most modest, and perceptive.

"Mao Tse-tung," by Stuart Schram, and "Chou En-lai," by Kai-yu Hsu, are a good deal more than sandwiches. Both offer the episodic essentials in the careers of two towering personalities in Communist China. Schram engages, in addition, in a sophisticated exploration of the world of ideas and of psychic forces playing on Mao and generated by Mao; a world Hsu hardly enters.

Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou are co-editors of "China in Crisis: China's Heritage and the Communist Political System." Here, one recognizes what Marcuse had in mind in saying—"A meal is another thing altogether—another reality." The two volumes of "China in Crisis" are a feast. In both structure and substantive weight I know of few works on China more satisfying. Their scope is very broad. But the attention of the reader is held throughout as thoughts on big constituent subjects are advanced with bold, even reckless, self-assurance by the most distinguished scholars of Chinese civilization in the United States. Tandem, is given response, refutation or consent, by scholars of equal stature and quality. We are in the presence of conversation, of dispute, among giants of 20th century Sinology in rich Socratic symposium. In chapter one of Book I, for instance, which deals with Salient Aspects of China's Heritage, Ping-ti Ho produces a 38 page gem. What is consensus and what controversial in it soon becomes apparent from comments by Arthur Frederick Wright, Herbert Franke, Derk Bodde, and H. G. Creel. Then Ho replies to them. Whether scholar or mere novitiate, anyone concerned with China will find nowhere else, I think, a brief survey on the roots of Chinese civilization more learned, more graceful, more lively and more illuminating.

Leaping millennia, the same happy result is found in Tang Tsou's brilliant "Revolution, Reintegration, and Crisis in Communist China: A Framework for Analysis" to which the distinguished historian, C. P. Fitzgerald, and Jerome Alan Cohen, respond.

Among other participants in this invaluable University of Chicago-sponsored gathering were C. Martin Wilbur, Benjamin I. Schwartz, Franz Schurmann, Alexander Eckstein, and many others who have seized leadership in Chinese studies from the Germans, the French, and the Japanese, and made American Sinology of first rank in the world.

The Ho-Tang collaboration is a brilliant *tour de force*.

Another feast is available in the three volumes of "China Reader" edited by Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell: "Imperial China," "Republican China," and "Communist China." It would be surprising if these volumes did not soon become widely used in high school and college classrooms across the country, and stimulate young students to go on from extracts here assembled to the larger scholarly or documentary sources from which they were drawn. It would also be surprising if there were not, from among those already in possession of credentials of scholarship, challenge, ranging from polite to scorching, of the scholarly judgment of the authors in making some of the selections here given. Any such book would be vulnerable to such challenge. Another might not, however, succeed so well as this one in an essential respect: captivating the interest of the reader throughout.

Neither feast nor sandwich, but, rather, a kind of supermarket is Volume 2 of Howard L. Boorman's "Biographical Dictionary of Republican China." Starting with the Dalai Lama, we can skip along, to taste or as needed, to Ma Yin-ch'u. There is more to come in later volumes. In this one, I found of particular interest the brief biographies of Liu Shao-chi, H. H. Kung, Kuo Mo-jo, and Feng Yu-lan, but largely because their lives and writings were already known to me. Boorman has sustained the high quality of Volume 1.

For a reader lured by Siu's "The Man of Many Qualities: A Legacy of the I Ching" into serious examination of what we know about the Chinese text and Chinese commentary, this improved and expanded version of the Richard Wilhelm 1924 rendering may be what he wants to go to. Much of it will be heavy going, and he may be as intrigued by the C. G. Jung foreword as by anything in text or commentary of the "I Ching" itself. Jung sees in the "I Ching" revelation of a totally non-Western method of thought, and appreciation of reality, in which chance matches causation as explanation of event:

> "... The actual form, however, seems to appeal more to the Chinese sage than the ideal one. The jumble of natural laws constituting empirical reality holds

more significance for him than a casual explanation of events in order to be properly dealt with. The manner in which the *I Ching* tends to look upon reality seems to disfavor our causalistic procedures. The moment under actual observation appears to the ancient Chinese view more of a chance hit than a clearly defined result of concurring causal chain processes. The matter of interest seems to be the configuration formed by chance events in the moment of observation, and not at all the hypothetical reasons that seemingly account for the coincidence. While the Western mind carefully sifts, weighs, selects, classifies, isolates, the Chinese picture of the moment encompasses everything down to the minutest nonsensical detail, because all of the ingredients make up the observed moment."

There will be more to come on the "I Ching." IBM could well come forward with suggestions that the New Math and the whole world of computers have their genesis in those yes and no, male and female, light and dark, unbroken and broken lines that go into making up individually and in aggregate those 64 hexagrams.

—ROBERT W. BARNETT

THE PEKING PAPERS, *by Jacques Marcuse. Dutton & Co., $6.95.*
THE EAST IS RED, *by Maslyn Williams. Morrow & Co., $5.50.*
TWO KINDS OF TIME, *by Graham Peck. Houghton Mifflin, $5.95.*
CHINA IN THE THROES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, *by Louis Barcata. Hart Publishing Co., $8.95.*
MAO TSE-TUNG, *by Stuart Schram. Simon and Schuster, $7.95.*
CHOU EN-LAI, *by Kai-yu Hsu. Doubleday, $5.95.*
CHINA READER, *Volume I (Imperial China, $6.95), Volume II (Republican China, $7.95), and Volume III (Communist China, $7.95), edited by Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell. Random House.*
CHINA IN CRISIS, *edited by Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou. The University of Chicago Press.*
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF REPUBLICAN CHINA, *by Howard L. Boorman. Columbia University Press, $20.00.*
THE I CHING, *or* BOOK OF CHANGES, *by Wilhelm/Baynes. Princeton University Press, $6.00.*

China in Crisis

COMMUNIST CHINA offers unique opportunities to study the dynamics of revolution—the problems of modernity, continuity, and change in political and social institutions.

The Center for Policy Study of the University of Chicago sponsored research along these lines in a series of seminars, lectures and meetings from March 1966 to February 1967 at which 70 scholars and other experts from all over the world participated. Eminent students of China such as Tang Tsou, Chalmers Johnson, C. K. Yang, Franz Schurmann, Ping-ti Ho, Benjamin I. Schwartz, and Martin Wilbur contributed papers on "China's Heritage and the Communist Political System." These essays are now published in "China in Crisis" (Books One and Two of Volume One). Those on the Cultural Revolution are of timely value.

The second volume of "China in Crisis" is devoted to "China's Policies in Asia and America's Alternatives," which was the subject of a second conference at Chicago. Hans J. Morgenthau, Robert A. Scalapino, Morton H. Halperin, Donald Zagoria, Roger Hilsman and Harold C. Hinton were among the notables who gave papers, many of which will particularly interest Foreign Service officers concerned with the Far East and, above all, Communist China.

The excellence of all the studies in these three volumes makes it invidious to select any particular ones for attention. However, a few excerpts seem in order.

Hans J. Morgenthau, commenting upon the coming generation of leaders in mainland China, believes it quite possible that they will be less militant in their Marxism-Leninism than the incumbent leaders and less given to instigating and supporting subversion on a global basis.

"But it would be futile to expect that the new generation will be more accommodating than is the old one when it comes to the restoration of China's traditional domain in Asia . . . Once China has realized its military potential, the issue of Taiwan, if it has not been settled in the meantime, will be the most likely *casus belli* between the United States and China."

The likely evolution of Communist Chinese attitudes towards the use and control of nuclear weapons is admittedly a hazardous field for prediction, but Morton H. Halperin holds that "if both the United States and Soviet Union can refrain from confronting Peking with what appears to be an unacceptable ultimatum, we can expect, even from the Mao-Lin leadership, a continuing caution and a desire to avoid a nuclear confrontation."

The comprehensiveness, the intensiveness, and the authoritativeness with which so many aspects of "China in Crisis" have been treated makes almost ineluctable the addition of these three volumes to the China-watcher's library.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

CHINA IN CRISIS *(Volume One, Books One and Two), Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou (editors).*
CHINA IN CRISIS *(Volume Two), Tang Tsou (editor). University of Chicago Press, $20. for Volume One, $10. for Volume Two.*

The Pageant of Tibet

IN the year that marks the tenth anniversary of the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa it is highly appropriate that two excellent works be added to the meager library of Tibet.

The two are different and yet vastly complementary. The serious student of Himalaya will rapidly conclude that he cannot do without either.

Handsomer of the pair is David Snellgrove's and Hugh Richardson's



"I say, Hemly's making off with Kipling again!"

"A Cultural History of Tibet." This beautiful volume, printed in England, is adorned with a jacket portraying an ancient, colorful Tibetan temple banner. Inside are more than 120 photographs—many taken by the authors and not previously published.

The work also contains a chart of the Tibetan monastic orders, two black-and-white maps, a chronological table, and an excellent index. Thus supported, the volume proceeds to trace the development of Tibetan culture from its pre-Buddhist era right through the fall of the country to the Communists.

Both authors are old Tibetan hands and nostalgic though they may be for the fast disappearing features of Tibetan culture, they do not pause to puncture the dreams of those refugees who cherish some hope of returning to the land and life they formerly knew:

". . . they forget," write the authors, "that the Tibet they knew has by now been swept away forever, and if ever they return there, they will presumably have to come to terms with an entirely new generation of Tibetans who, however glad they may be to escape from the Chinese yoke, will nonetheless be trained in the ways of their present Chinese rulers."

The second work, entitled simply "Tibet," is an intimate picture of life in the Himalayan land as seen by the Dalai Lama's elder brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, with the collaboration of Colin M. Turnbull.

Norbu, who is associated with the University of Indiana's Tibetan studies program, weaves a delicate thread of Buddhist philosophy throughout the portrayal of his peasant childhood, the life of nomads, monastic rule, incarnation and succession, the "riddle of love" and a dozen other subjects.

Although the work contains no photographs, there is a valuable 25-page section of charming line drawings depicting Tibetan costumes, headdress, layout of the family tent with its adjacent altar and animal compound, the steps in the shearing of yaks, and other chores of the Tibetan household.

The title page of each chapter is illustrated with a small sketch of a Tibetan ritual object or sacred symbol and is accompanied by a short passage from Buddhist teachings.

"Tibet" is not Norbu's autobiography, yet the reader can never escape his "presence" in the nomad's tent, at his wedding, or when he worships.

When one lays aside these two volumes and ponders on the magical panorama of Tibetan culture unveiled therein, he is at once both jubilant and sad to have shared a fleeting glance of a glorious scene that already is fading into oblivion. Snellgrove and Richardson sum up this ambivalent emotion in this way:

"The civilization of the Tibetan people is disappearing before our very eyes, and apart from a few gentle protests here and there, the rest of the world lets it go without comment and without regret. Many civilizations have declined and disintegrated in the past, but it is rare that one has the opportunity of being an informed witness of such events."

—James O. Mays

A Cultural History of Tibet, *by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson. Praeger, $12.*
Tibet, *by Thubten Jigme Norbu and Colin M. Turnbull. Simon & Schuster, $7.50.*

"First Circle"

A fascinating aspect of the currently regressive Soviet scene is the continuing and persistent demur of the talented Soviet writers. One of the most talented and courageous of these is the novelist, Aleksander Solzhenitsyn. It was he who last summer directly challenged the Communist Party's right to control the content of Soviet literature by calling for an end to censorship.

"First Circle," his full-length novel recently published in English translation, amply and eloquently illustrates what the controversy is all about. Solzhenitsyn and like-minded colleagues believe profoundly that, if the Soviet people are now to find their cherished Russian soul and identity, they have no choice but to try to recover the truth about their past. Sluffing off the soul-searing experiences of Stalin's years as relatively minor "mistakes" on an otherwise bright and "progressive" escutcheon is simply not acceptable to them.

"First Circle" reveals why. It is the story of a very brief period in the life of a *shalashka*, one of the forced labor institutions where highly skilled scientists and technicians were sent and held to work on high-priority state projects. The inmates, of widely different backgrounds and widely varied but generally vague "offenses," are well off indeed in comparison with their compatriots in the regular camps described in the author's "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." But the senselessness of the incarceration of these brilliant men and the systematic destruction of their dignity as human beings, as portrayed so matter of factly but so tellingly by Solzhenitsyn, is a trenchant indictment of the system in whose name they were imprisoned. Probably still more thought-provoking is the manner in which the system crucified the waiting wives of the prisoners, accused of no crime or misdemeanor, moving around in the "free" Soviet society but tormented and tortured at every turn of their vocational and personal lives.

This book cries out "why; for what?" much too loudly to have any chance for an early Soviet readership. But its author is a first-rate, maybe even a great, writer, and the moving story he tells fully merits the time of the Western reader, whether he is interested in things Soviet or simply likes good novels.

—John A. Armitage

The First Circle, *by Aleksander Solzhenitsyn. Harper & Row.*

Diplomatic Washington

If "Embassy Row" has missed anything of interest or importance that has transpired in the life of the diplomatic corps in Washington, I can't imagine what it might be.

Hope Ridings Miller has learned, for example, that the city of Washington was originally planned to accommodate diplomatic establishments along the Mall. As a matter of fact, letters were sent to the four envoys who were resident in the United States in 1797, offering them suitable sites in the new capital. Although there were no takers at that time, the envoys and their successors and more than a hundred more were to wish, eventually, that finding accommodations in Washington had been that easy.

Drawing further from the archives and her own experiences in the social life of the city, Mrs. Miller has included fascinating vignettes of White House entertaining from Jefferson to Johnson, of Chiefs of State who have been guests in this country, and of the envoys who have represented these governments.

I would do the book an injustice if I emphasized the trappings of diplomatic entertaining, although the author's detailed touch has made many of the gatherings memorable. What it is, really, is a book about people, who are, in Carlos Romulo's words, a diplomat's "stock in trade."

—Virginia Schafer

Embassy Row: *The Life and Times of Diplomatic Washington, by Hope Ridings Miller. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $6.95.*

Apologia Pro GDR

A sound objective study of the German Democratic Republic, especially as it has developed since the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, is badly needed. "Germany Beyond the Wall" attempts to fill this need, but somehow misses the mark. The author is both historian and, consciously or unconsciously, propagandist for the

East German regime. His failure to differentiate in which capacity he is writing makes the book frustrating and, at times, vexatious reading.

The author has done his home and field work well. He quotes copiously, especially in the Notes, from source material and has traveled extensively, as recently as the spring and summer of 1967 plus a three week refresher course in 1968, in the rarely visited eastern zone of divided Germany. But there is little evidence of critical evaluation of the source material and more than a hint that he allowed himself to be led on a Potemkin village tour.

More than any other eastern European satellite, the German Democratic Republic is the prisoner of its own propaganda. This comes out most clearly when the author quotes verbatim his conversations with high officials of the regime. The author asks all the right questions, but lets himself be put off by the most obviously propagandistic answers. He admits that the stridency and belligerency of the East German official propaganda outlets is offensive to him and that the East Germans themselves ignore them, but he continues to quote these sources to substantiate his own prejudices.

Among a number of omissions, two rather important gaps in his account struck me. There is no reference at all to the remilitarization of the eastern zone, although the much trumpeted fear of West German revanchism is accepted as a fact. There is, significantly perhaps, no attempt to explain or to justify the brutal methods used by the border guards to keep the Wall sealed. Furthermore, although the ups and downs of Soviet-East German relations are examined in minute detail and rationalized in an ingenious manner, there is no mention of the significant changes in West German policy toward eastern Europe and the new attitude toward dealing with the GDR.

In his conclusion the author wrestles with the same hen and egg problem which concerned the new leaders in West Germany's coalition government: European stability and unity through German reunification or vice versa. Oddly enough they both came to the same conclusion: without an overall improvement of relations with eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, it is unrealistic to dream of a German rapprochement and this latter will have to take place on a basis of the political realities.

In the light of recent events in Czechoslovakia and the role played therein by Ulbricht, however, I am sure the author regrets having closed his argument with the following sentences: "I suggest that Communism and Germanism have melded in the GDR into a growing national consensus. I suggest that national Communism flourishes in the GDR as it flourishes in Poland, in Czechoslovakia or Rumania."

—EDWIN M. J. KRETZMANN

GERMANY BEYOND THE WALL: *People, Politics . . . and Prosperity, by Jean Edward Smith. Little, Brown and Co., $8.95.*

Story of a Flamboyant Career

ON February 21, 1966, the vainglorious Nkrumah departed from Ghana on a quixotic and unique mission to Hanoi via Peking to try his personal hand at peace-making in Vietnam. Early on February 24, six hundred military men, supported by the Ghanaian police and their Criminal Investigation Department, seized the Government in Accra, and the world began to read of the jubilation in Accra following the demise of the tyrant. By June, 1966, Henry L. Bretton of the University of Michigan had completed an academically respectable volume documenting the sordid story of Nkrumah's rise and fall.

Perhaps the most perceptive portion of Bretton's biting critique of Nkrumah's flamboyant career is the final chapter, which attempts to evaluate in more abstract terms "the effects of personal rule on government and administration." Here Mr. Bretton adduces numerous dangers implicit in excessive centralization of government functions and decision-making, which tend to "maximize the corrosive elements in society, progressively creating new sources of confusion, multiplying the opportunities for information to be blocked, lost, or diverted."

This chapter contains a number of very valuable guides to history: "The dynamics of personal rule quickly reduced what originally may have been commendable, administratively sound aims to shoddy political maneuvers designed primarily to protect the personal political machine." "Personal rule meant overvaluation of particular data that happen to strike the interest, curiosity, or fancy of the ruler." "Practitioners of personal rule" become surrounded by "professed admirers who are sycophantic boobs." Personal rule necessarily brings about a "tendency of the leader to purge his environment of intellectually superior, and most important, independent-minded individuals." Personal rule seems to lead to "pursuit of spurious foreign policy goals," at the cost of large "human and material resources" . . . "dragging the economy and the people into the dust." This brings about rapidly mounting national debt, foreign trade chaos, and balance of payments deterioration.

However, when he descends from the plateau of abstraction, Mr. Bretton seems curiously undetached. Virtually every sentence of his book seems calculated to demolish the legend of Nkrumahism. Osagyefo emerges as the essence of criminality, immorality, vindictiveness, and egomania. He is repeatedly (or rather, alternately) compared with Stalin or Hitler. He has marked "Communist affinities" (not often described with precision) which more and more come to pervade his entire approach to government. He is obsessed with the fear that Western Imperialism, through CIA, will do him in. Through 1965, he seems less and less realistic, and increasingly strident, as in his vicious attacks on the United States and its President.

Since many of the specific points made by Mr. Bretton about Nkrumah —and Ghana under his regime—are almost equally characteristic of many other developing countries (and perhaps even some more developed ones as well), his volume at times seems lacking in perspective. Since what he construes as unique is often more general, this is an interesting treatise for the general reader as well as the specialist.

—JOHN J. HARTER

THE RISE AND FALL OF KWAME NKRUMAH: *A Study of Personal Rule in Africa, by Henry L. Bretton. Praeger, $5.95.*

Old Hawks and Ostriches

BETWEEN the collapse of France in June 1940 and the disaster which struck the US Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor at the hands of Japanese naval aviation on December 7, 1941, a determined band of perceptive private Americans increasingly sought to involve this country in the conflict unleashed by Hitler's Germany. In the end, their viewpoint prevailed. It did so, not so much by force of the logic and reason which was theirs, than by the combination of good fortune, bungling by "friend and foe alike," good as well as bad intentions and very occasional genius which seems to mark man's uncertain passing across the stage of history.

Mr. Chadwin's book is the story of the principal private men who lobbied, connived and fought on the domestic political scene to bring about America's growing support for Britain and a state of mind which made the country's eventual entry into the war a wholehearted, rather than a hesitant, enterprise.

For this, they deserve much credit

even though little by way of practical results is traceable to their efforts in those 18 months except for a contributory role in bringing about the destroyers-for-bases deal with Britain in September 1940 in face of the outraged protests of the isolationists. Unfortunately, the inept titled "Hawks of World War II"—in those days nobody thought in terms of feathered species—reads more like a RAND report than the kind of fascinating account that this story might have been. The beginning is good and so is the end. In between, there is considerable repetition, too much confusion, and too little discrimination between the significant and the trivial to do justice to the subject.

—Wolf Lehmann

The Hawks of World War II, *by Mark Lincoln Chadwin. The University of North Carolina, $7.95.*

Stalin As A Police Spy

In 1956, the year of Khrushchev's secret speech, Isaac Don Levine came forth with his own revelation about Stalin. In an essay published in a national magazine and given wide coverage by the press, he claimed that the former "great leader" of world communism had been an agent of the Tsarist Department of Police in his early days. The evidence cited in support of this astounding claim was of questionable authenticity and the whole piece smacked more of sensationalism than scholarship. However, the idea was not one to be dismissed lightly, as is well shown by Mr. Smith in his recent study of the young Stalin.

The early period of Stalin's life is a biographer's nightmare. Mr. Smith has done an admirable job of sifting Soviet sources for kernels of fact, while relying mainly on materials immune to Stalinist hagiography—emigrée memoirs and, most importantly, the Okhrana Collection at Stanford University. What emerges is a work of solid scholarship, skillfully tracing the origins of that cunning and vindictive personality which was destined to have such a baneful effect on modern history. Perhaps the book's most important contribution is to give a flavor of the pre-revolutionary times, in which double agents flourished and conspiracy seemed always to have many layers.

True, the author occasionally seems so caught up in his portrayal of Stalin as a police spy, that he appears to bend facts to fit the argument. In a matter where truth has been hidden for so long in Delphic mist, he is, at times, disturbingly unequivocal. And he makes but bare mention of the failure of Stalin's many formidable enemies—above all Trotsky—to accuse him forthrightly of the supreme treachery which police collaboration signified. Nevertheless, the book's argument is a persuasive one, supported by impressive and much hitherto unexamined evidence. Mr. Smith's account of Stalin's early life is without a doubt the best that has yet appeared.

—William Shinn, Jr.

The Young Stalin, *by Edward Ellis Smith. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $8.50.*

Student Unrest in Developing Nations

Students and Politics in Developing Nations is a careful examination of the involvement of university students in political movements in eleven developing countries—four in Africa, three in Asia, and four in South America, all contributed by specialist authors on these countries. A valuable concluding chapter by the editor makes generalizations where possible. More important, perhaps, he warns against generalizations not warranted by the facts.

The volume is a good antidote to a tendency to see student-activism as a world-wide, highly integrated movement. The individual chapters offer substantial evidence that student activism is often related to campus issues, and that, in any case, the nature of ideology, power and influence in each country is such that student movements must be looked at largely as separate cases. Moreover, the "student movement" is itself divided, and is more a reflection of a wide range of political opinion than solely of "the radicals" whose activities do so much to color the whole.

One generalization seems to hold for both the developed and the developing world: student unrest tends to center in the humanities, the social sciences, and in law. But in the developing world this seems to be true, in part, because of the lack of sufficient professional opportunities in these fields. Whereas in the developed world, conditions of affluence and the availability of a wider range of choice seems to provide the context.

Two of the best aspects of the book are its careful documentation and its skillful editing. Although it is a longish book, the general reader can probably satisfy his curiosity by reading three or four of the country chapters and the thoughtful conclusion. The editor, himself, concludes by suggesting that "righteous in tone, symbolic in context, student politics tends to differ from adult politics in the sense that it is more often the art of the impossible." Think that one over awhile!

—Clarence E. Thurber

Students and Politics in Developing Nations, *edited by Donald K. Emmerson. Praeger, $9.50.*

As Others Saw It

Reading "Divided They Stand" is a little like going to a movie for the second time in one week: the plot has lost its novelty and you know the ending, so you have more time for sub-plots and details. Those who witnessed the 1968 election through the tube won't need all of the descriptive material, yet our English friend does us a service to put down for the future the whole vivid diorama of that political battle. David English likes the United States, and as a good friend should he does not shy from telling the truth, even when it hurts. His analysis of the frustration, anxiety, and distrust abroad in the land as the campaign opened is cogent, and he draws a sympathetic portrait of Johnson as the target of dissatisfaction with Vietnam and a host of other problems just as insoluble. One bit of detail I found fascinating was the political machine formed by Allard Lowenstein, who methodically approached Kennedy, Gavin, McGovern, and finally McCarthy in his search for an opponent to Johnson who could fire up the young generation.

English does not hide British distaste for the "old Nixon" ("ambition, a gutter fighter's deadliness when cornered, a lack of style, a questionable integrity"), but he gives the "new Nixon" credit for a more relaxed, dignified demeanor and for a superbly organized campaign. The author describes Humphrey as a tragic figure, the aging liberal who overcame the bloodletting of Chicago and the slow beginnings of a lackluster campaign to forge a hot team which almost won the race. Portraits of other protagonists are also skillfully drawn.

Both as a study in politics and as history this is a fine book.

—A. M. Bolster

Divided They Stand, *by David English and the Staff of the London* Daily Express. *Prentice-Hall Inc., $6.95.*

British Curry, Highly Spiced

If you want to know what a British journalist—one of that special breed with no reverence, strong convictions and a blistering style—wrote about the war in Vietnam, the Kennedy assassination, Gandhi, de Gaulle, Barry Goldwater and nearly everybody and everything else of headline interest in the last two decades, this is your book. The pieces, all short, are reprinted just as they appeared. Some of them date badly, and not all will interest American readers.

—T. O.

What a Way to Run the Tribe, *by James Cameron. McGraw-Hill, $6.95.*

SOCIAL ORIGINS, *from page 18*

seniors show up as slightly more liberal than the total NORC sample.

At least part of the difference between the NORC and FSO groups may be accounted for by a difference in the wording of the question. NORC used the word "very" in conjunction with "conservative" and "liberal," which may have caused a tendency to stay near the middle. Note that the largest percentage of any of the groups at an outside position is the nearly one-third of FSO's who regard themselves as "liberal."

Another difference in the wording of the questions was that the military officers did not have the option of choosing "neither liberal or conservative" as did the NORC and SDP groups. Thus the comparisons should be taken only as roughly indicative; yet the differences are so pronounced that the lack of uniformity in wording is overshadowed. Certainly "conservative" and "liberal" are gross labels, but they do reflect basic orientations, if not specific political content.

Race and Representativeness

It was unnecessary to ask for an identification of race in the SDP, since the answer was already known. It is mainly on racial grounds that the issue of the representativeness of the Foreign Service is alive today.[20]

For a long time the Foreign Service has been able to resist the imposition of geographic quotas. Before the Rogers Act the Consular Service had such quotas, but the Diplomatic Service did not. Repeatedly, as early as 1900, geographic quotas have been proposed, most recently by the Wriston Committee in 1954. By gradually improving its geographical representation, and by such devices as making its written and oral examinations available to candidates throughout the country instead of only in Washington, the Department of State has succeeded in avoiding quotas.

The Service has not succeeded, however, in appointing anything near a representative number of Negroes. Ilchman comments that few Negroes applied and few were appointed in the years up to 1939. There were two Negroes in the FSO corps in 1935, he states and eight in 1942.[21] In 1967 there were 20 Negroes in the FSO corps, only a little more than one-half of one percent.

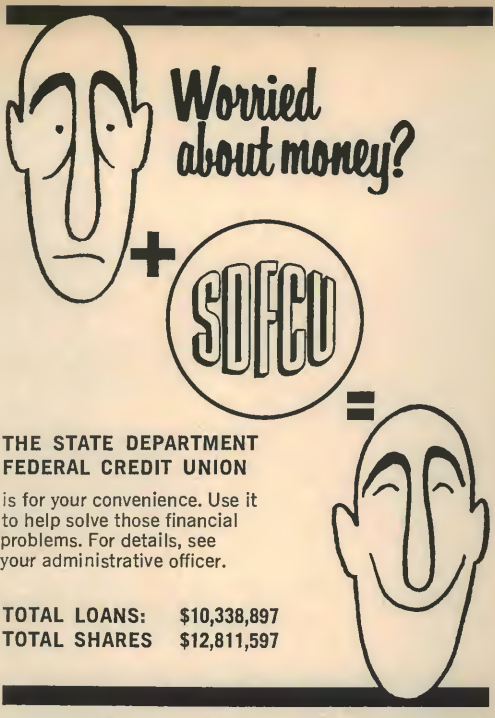
The problem was explored fairly thoroughly at the time of the existence of the Herter Committee in a series of meetings with Negro leaders and educators. The conclusion was that no systematic social bias existed, but that young Negroes, especially those from the southern Negro colleges, were culturally disadvantaged in competing with white students in the Foreign Service examination process. A much smaller proportion of Negro applicants than white applicants passed the examinations. Negro students from the first-rate northern universities were not applying for the examination in any appreciable number, either because they were not interested or because they suspected bias.

One result of these meetings was development of a "foreign affairs scholars program" financed mainly by the Ford Foundation.[22] For each of several years 40 students from minority groups were selected during their junior years to

[20] It is also alive in regard to women, but the reason that women are very much underrepresented in the FSO corps is widely understood and accepted. Because of the semi-nomadic existence of FSOs it is virtually impossible for a woman to have a career as an FSO and also be married, a problem that is not true of most professional groups. This tends to depress the number of women recruited through the basic examination process, since the heavy investment in the officer in recruitment and training is very likely to be lost when early in her career she resigns to get married.

[12] Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy*, p. 235.

[22] *Washington Post*, Jan. 19, 1964, p. B4. The *Post* story said there were 39 Negroes in the Foreign Service in 1964, but this figure included FSRs and political appointees, as well as FSOs.



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come to Washington as paid interns in State, USIA, and AID. During their senior years, approximately 25 of the 40 were awarded $4,000 scholarships for a year of study in university programs especially useful to those contemplating foreign affairs careers. The students were not obligated to enter government employment, but were expected to take the FSO examination.

It is too early to know what specific effect the program will have on the proportion of Negroes in diplomatic service (the program was terminated in 1967), but undoubtedly the proportion will increase over time. Far from being biased, the State Department can be said to be eager to have qualified young Negro candidates. Ironically, progress may be slow because of the marked increase in mobility in very recent years of the well-educated young Negro college graduates and the fact that the salaries in the lower grades of the Foreign Service are not competitive with those offered by industry.

Conclusion

In summary, it is clear that in terms of social origins and characteristics, the FSO corps maintains certain elements of distinctiveness in comparison to other groups, and yet it has moved steadily on the path of becoming more socially representative of American society at large.

There continues to be a strong northeastern regional flavor in terms of birth and education; urban backgrounds are pronounced as are liberal political orientations. Jews are well represented in the Service and Catholics are slightly underrepresented. Negroes are seriously underrepresented, but this is not a problem peculiar to the FSO corps and there are remedial efforts underway. FSOs are likely to have come from a middle or lower income stratum.

It seems clear that the regional flavor is the product of lingering traditions, proximity, and the character of the educational institutions in the northeast, rather than of any systematic bias. For example, it is perhaps significant that the west is overrepresented, in terms of formal education at least, although not to the same degree as the northeast. This suggests that the insularity of the American heartland in respect to the international character of diplomacy is still an operative factor, though a diminishing one.

Ilchman was satisfied that the Service had become democratized in the period up to 1939. In regard to the continued high incidence of the alumni of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale in recruitment into the Service, Ilchman pointed out that any attempt to restrict their entry "would be contrary to democratic presuppositions."[23] That reliance has decreased in the intervening time, and we have the overwhelming evidence of the family income background to support the democratization thesis. Clearly the Service has become an avenue of upward mobility, a fact nonetheless important if the avenue for lower income groups and Jews has been largely the unorthodox one of lateral entry.

The political orientations of FSOs clearly are not the product of social class, although regional overtones may have some significance. One suspects that in the main the liberal leanings of FSOs are the product of individual intellectual commitment, of a kind that would tend to make persons interested in the Foreign Service in the first place and would be reinforced in a diplomatic career with its emphasis on cross-cultural skill and political accommodation.

The distinctive elements aside, FSOs are very much like other important groups in American society in becoming progressively less castelike. The conclusion in the Warner study seems apropos, that "our society, although much like what it has been in past generations, is more flexible than it was; more men and their families are in social motion."[24] ■

[23] Ilchman, *Professional Diplomacy*, pp. 236-37.
[24] Warner, *American Federal Executive*, p. 22.

THE BRIDGE, *from page 23*

honor and we are very happy . . . I wonder, though, if I might get a little information" replied Dee, summing up all the courage he could get from two glasses of whisky and soda.

"Why, what is it?" asked the Governor with just a touch of sharpness as though Dee, having received the moon, were now laying claim to the sun.

Dee explained that while they now had a new health center and would soon have protection in the new police station and that it was a marvel to have the community development worker show them how to feed mul berry leaves to the silkworms, there didn't seem to be any action on the bridge. At the mention of the bridge, the Governor winced slightly, called over the Deputy Governor and then excused himself by making an end run toward the dessert table.

"Yes, yes, I remember that bridge you wanted," began Mr. Prayat whose potential as coordinator for development had surprised even himself. He still tingled with the newly found excitement in health centers, inoculations, two crop rice farming and the merits of chemical fertilizer. "We are getting around to that when the construction crews finish the main road."

"Don't worry, Dee," said the new district officer of Nong Bua, a Mr. Charoen, who basked in the reflected glory of the Deputy Governor with sounds of acceleration and model district ringing in his ears. "We'll get there as soon as we can."

Dee thanked them and went back to the food table where he was able to salvage the last piece of cold fish.

But all this was last month and Dee was presently looking for the path next to the grove of coconut and betel trees. Finding it he turned off and broke into a slow trot through a thicket of bamboo and low climbing vines until he came to a clearing dominated by a large, rambling wooden house where the rain drummed a metallic beat on the corrugated roof. He opened the gate, slipped off his shoes at the bottom of the steps and dipped his feet into the concrete water pan, washing away the mud and grass. On the porch he shook loose the hat and plastic rain cape, wiped his face with a soaked handkerchief and selected a well worn chair, which he pulled to the railing. Once comfortably seated he took the bottle of whiskey from his coat and with the motion of an expert broke the metal seal. From this vantage Dee could look across the green shoots of the transplanted seedlings to the stream which was climbing its banks in the floodtide of the heavy rain. A head poked out of the doorway. It was Kum.

"You'd better bring cold water," called Dee without turning his head.

"Yes, yes," answered a cheerful voice, "One can't work without the right tools!"

He turned back into the house to reappear with two tumblers and a pitcher of ice water. He pulled up another chair near Dee and placed the pitcher and tumblers on the floor. With the precision of practice, Dee took the bottle of whiskey and poured out enough to fill half of each tumbler. Kum added the water. Glass in hand they watched in silence as the rain fell with increased intensity while the stream frothed and churned around the defenseless bridge, chewing at the banks, pummeling the nervous wooden stanchions. The whiskey, at any rate, would last until noon.

"Here's to progress," said Dee as he lifted his glass just above the line of the road.

"And the bridge," added Kum. ■

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NAME OF THE GAME

from page 26

translated it. If the speaker is required to make an effort, he tends to minimize his expenditure of energy by saying what he can say easily, not what he really wants to say. If the American has to make an effort to understand and to be understood, he is likely to confine his intercourse to those foreigners with whom intercourse is easy. If a senior officer has not mastered the local language, he is understandably, if unconsciously, inclined to minimize the significance of his deficiency. Thus he neither gains the insights he might, nor, as a rule, puts much stock in those collected by his subordinates. Already walled off by his "little America" environment and tied umbilically to Washington by cables, he is triply isolated.

A truly professional service ought at a minimum to be fluent in the language or languages of most constant professional use. While officers may quickly acquire several languages, even though their assignments are quite random, real mastery of one or two, with a working knowledge of another couple, seems about all one can reasonably expect of any professional officer. Yet this mastery is much more likely to be attained, if the young officer has a reasonable assurance that the first couple of languages he learns will be of constant use to him throughout his career. And he ought to have both the respect for his superiors, and the chance of making his own insights meaningful to them, which he can only attain if they have already passed through this professional schooling. Mastery of the relevant languages would seem to be the least we can ask of our professional diplomats.

In a world in which economic illiteracy is becoming increasingly costly, we should also be able to expect our professional diplomats to be able to converse on equal terms which the economic specialists whose political importance is steadily rising, in the developed world, and to be able to include in their understanding the economic factors which are of increasing importance in the developing countries. Both study and experience are essential, if they are to meet this expectation.

It may of course be said that there are many other factors which should be taken into account; thus a Foreign Service staffed by specialists equipped, as we have suggested, to have understanding of the times and places in which we live would be inflexible, undemocratic, or de-Americanized. It could be argued that such professionals might fail to see the big picture, or that the Foreign Service would be staffed by pedants. People, it might be urged, would hardly want to join a service if they were to be sentenced to a lifetime in some backwater country. And anyway, other countries don't do it.

Even if these objections were valid—if a specialist were necessarily narrow-minded, or if long association with a country were more likely to lead to "clientitis" than a series of brief, disconnected associations during which a prudent desire for regular promotion dictates "don't make waves"—the case which we have sketched of the imperatives the future lays on us might well be thought to deserve consideration. But people do—must—specialize, nowadays; the choice before us is really between specialization by design and specialization by chance. No country, no intellectual discipline need be boring or stultifying; the needs of American policy are too varied for that. Colonial services attracted men to stay in one place for a professional lifetime; the involvement of America in tomorrow's Congos and Vietnams would seem to offer at least equal attractions.

And if no Foreign Service now demands such expertise, what of that? No other country has faced, or faces, quite the challenges that confront us. The only question which seems open is, will America equip itself adequately for those challenges. It is a question of some importance for us, for our children—and for mankind. ■

ESOTERIC TOPONYMY

ROBERT DEVEREUX

In the course of time, place names have a habit of changing as the sovereignty of areas changes hands, as one culture or civilization gives way to another, as states and nations live out their time and retreat into history. It is a process that is coeval with recorded history and that is still going on (note, for example, the recent replacement of Nyasaland by Malawi, Northern Rhodesia by Zambia, British Guiana by Guyana, etc.). But although place names change, the old names, while they disappear from maps, have a way of lingering on. It has been many centuries since the term Cathay has been used solemnly on a map, yet every English speaker instantly recognizes it as a name for the country now known as China. In similar fashion, he recognizes Erin and Hibernia (and, if he is extremely well read, also Ierne) as alternative names for Ireland (or Eire), St. Petersburg and Petrograd as former names for modern Leningrad, Helsingfors for Helsinki, Persia for Iran, etc. The United States also provides a few such examples: as every high school student knows, Pittsburgh was once Fort Duquesne, Chicago once Fort Dearborn, New York City once New Amsterdam, to cite only a few examples.

Listed below are thirty geographic place names (countries, territories, cities, rivers, islands) that have been superseded by time. Some date from Roman and Greek days, some from more recent times; some are poetic, some English versions of the names in local languages. Aside from their archaic nature, all share in common the fact that they are still sufficiently well known to merit mention in "Webster's Geographical Dictionary." The reader is invited to test his toponymic expertise by matching up the names with their successors. (Answers below.)

Old Name		*Modern Usage*
1. Adrianople	(....)	1. Australia
2. Albion	(....)	2. Cadiz
3. Alexandretta	(....)	3. Cambridge
4. Arabia Felix	(....)	4. Ceylon
5. Batavia	(....)	5. Corfu
6. Breslau	(....)	6. Dubrovnik
7. Caledonia	(....)	7. Edirne
8. Cambria	(....)	8. England
9. Cantabrigia	(....)	9. Iraq
10. Chosen	(....)	10. Iskenderun
11. Christiania	(....)	11. Isle of Wight
12. Corcyra	(....)	12. Izmir
13. Deseret	(....)	13. Jakarta
14. Dutch Guiana	(....)	14. Korea
15. Eridanus	(....)	15. Livorno
16. Formosa	(....)	16. Naples
17. Gades	(....)	17. New York City
18. Gotham	(....)	18. Oslo
19. Helvetia	(....)	19. Po River
20. Leghorn	(....)	20. Portugal
21. Lusitania	(....)	21. Rezaiyeh
22. Mesopotamia	(....)	22. Scotland
23. New Holland	(....)	23. Surinam
24. Parthenope	(....)	24. Switzerland
25. Ragusa	(....)	25. Taiwan
26. Serendib	(....)	26. Tokyo
27. Smyrna	(....)	27. Utah
28. Urmiah	(....)	28. Wales
29. Vectis	(....)	29. Wroclaw
30. Yedo	(....)	30. Yemen

ANSWERS:

1. (7) 6. (29) 11. (18) 16. (25) 21. (20) 26. (4)
2. (8) 7. (22) 12. (5) 17. (2) 22. (9) 27. (12)
3. (10) 8. (28) 13. (27) 18. (17) 23. (1) 28. (21)
4. (30) 9. (3) 14. (23) 19. (24) 24. (16) 29. (11)
5. (13) 10. (14) 15. (19) 20. (15) 25. (6) 30. (26)

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Cook's Tour

By Helen Kindler Behrens

While supermarketing with her daughter after her return from the Central African Republic, Mrs. Jack Getchel discovered to her surprise, while explaining about tapioca, that her daughter loved manioc; but she was distressed to hear that it had been obtained from the meals of the servants.

"You shouldn't have taken their food, dear!" Shelly chided.

"Oh, we didn't *take* it," her child reassured her. "I traded them all those stale marshmallows for it."

"But what on earth did they want with stale marshmallows?" asked Shelly.

"Well, they saw us toasting them at the party, and they wanted to put them on their sticks when they grilled their lizards."

The origin of cocktail kabobs? Fortunately not. But Mrs. Mark Lewis has given me her very tasty version of kabobs, which she puts on 6″ bamboo skewers (available in Japanese shops) and grills briefly just before serving.

Cocktail Kabobs

24 button mushrooms, canned or fresh
24 wedges of canned or fresh pineapple, ½″ wide
½ pound of tender beef, cut in ½″ cubes
(½ pound barely cooked shrimp, or pieces of King Crab leg, may be substituted for the beef.)
1 small can of pearl onions
1 red pepper, cut in ½″ squares
1 green pepper, cut in ½″ squares
24 cherry tomatoes (one 1-pint box)
bamboo skewers or long toothpicks
¾ cup olive oil
¼ cup vinegar
1 crushed garlic clove
¼ teaspoon thyme
½ teaspoon salt
⅛ teaspoon pepper

Cube the meat; dice the peppers, after washing and removing seeds. Mix last six ingredients. Marinate all the ingredients in the oil mixture for three hours. Alternate any three ingredients twice on one skewer. Grill for three minutes, turning once. Serve with napkins!

25 YEARS AGO

MAY 1944 IN THE JOURNAL

by Henry B. Day

Bearing true faith and allegiance

Many will recall incidents 25 years ago during assignments as deputy naturalization commissioners charged with expediting the naturalization of members of the armed forces whose records and recollections indicated they had not acquired American citizenship. Many of these men had already been in combat. Thomas S. Estes was in Naples for this special duty and was asked to attend to a group of soldiers on the Anzio beachhead. The June 1944 JOURNAL has the account of his experience. Offshore his IST was met by enemy aircraft, which were driven off. While he was getting out on the beach a shell struck an infantry barge 25 yards away. It was a dud. Enemy artillery fire continued. The shells had boosters that exploded to give greater striking power just before they landed. Proceedings with petitioners were conducted in the cellar of the HQ, in an abandoned villa, in a dug-out, and in a deep wine cellar. The jeeps for going back and forth had sandbags on the floor for protection against land mines. Tom Estes was in helmet and field uniform, without arms, and with a certificate that he was a non-combatant with assimilated rank of Captain. Exhausted by a succession of air raids, he slept through the worst raid of all in a state that led him to think the noise must be the American artillery. His last morning began with a heavy crash that caused a rush to the cellar. Tom felt he had to put on his pants. When he arrived in the cellar and looked around he found he was the only one who had so delayed. A 1000-pound bomb had dug into the ground close to the building. Luck had held. It had not exploded. Tom was off to the port area before anyone knew whether it was a dud or a delayed-fuse type. At Naples, Lieutenant General Mark Clark personally thanked him on behalf of the 113 soldiers who took the oath of allegiance and became citizens while under fire.

New careers/from Foreign Service to teaching

Dr. Melvilee E. Osborne, after 23 years of Foreign Service, chiefly in Latin America, is now Director of the Center for Ibero-American Studies at Southern Methodist University, where five departments in the School of Humanities and Sciences and the faculty of two of the other schools are cooperating in seven new courses on the culture which the Americas share with Spain.

Dr. L. Carl Brown, who served for six years in Beirut and Khartoum in the 50s before becoming an Associate Professor in Oriental Studies at Princeton, was recently named Director of the University's Program of Near Eastern Studies.

Muggeridge On The F.O.

"There was also the British Embassy, where we occasionally visited. The Ambassador . . . had around him the usual staff of first, second, and third secretaries—men in dark suits, with that particular sort of closed, self-satisfied face which the diplomatic service produces. They crop up everywhere, and, as disasters have thickened, it has been interesting to observe how their self-satisfaction has survived intact. Our downhill course as a nation has been followed by these discreet and elegant funeral mutes, who arrive at the graveyard in perfect order, without the slightest sign of breathlessness or disconcertment."

—from "Many Winters Ago in Moscow," by Malcolm Muggeridge, ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE, *March 1958, p. 38. Contributed by Thomas A. Donovan.*

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

AFSA Turned One On

I FOUND the discussion of the amendment of the membership by-law at the AFSA business meeting on February 18 a stimulating one, even if the more liberal amendment that I hoped to see adopted failed by a squeak to obtain a two-thirds majority.

Having been turned on by the meeting, here are a few reflections that it provoked. Fears were expressed there that opening up active membership to a larger number of members of the foreign affairs community might change the character of AFSA. While I do not believe that the particular amendment I supported would have done so, I have since concluded that a change in the nature of AFSA may, indeed, be what is required. Or perhaps what I mean is an acceleration in the direction of an AFSA that is something less parochial—something more broadly representative of the whole foreign affairs community, more activist, more like a union, if you will.

What struck me at the meeting, however, was the feeling that AFSA should remain as it is because otherwise it would no longer represent those who have achieved a certain mystique from the experience of Foreign Service living. But is that a relevant position to the realities of 1969?

Given the rapidity of global communications and transportation, the increasing number of government people outside of the Foreign Service who are dealing with a broad gamut of matters concerned with the conduct of foreign relations, the growing interchange with the business and academic worlds in the problem solving process of foreign affairs, the more prominent role of the specialist and technician; given all these factors, the significance and uniqueness of the Foreign Service style and experience, as we have known them from the past, are to my mind diminishing. As much as we may regret it, there seems to be gathering evidence of this trend. And I often do regret it, with little pangs of nostalgia, as I look back to the Service that I entered. On the other hand, if we remain huddled together in restricted quarters, ignoring the flicker of shadows cast by the world outside, I am afraid there will be fewer and fewer knocks at our door. We will suddenly find ourselves alone with our dreams of yesterday.

Perhaps the time has come to do as someone at the meeting suggested—change our name to reflect a broader based kind of AFSA. However, if we gave a more generous interpretation to "Foreign Service," it might not be necessary.

And would not those who have experienced Foreign Service living be able to exert the leadership within an expanded, more representative and forceful AFSA in the light of their ability and special training? Would they not be in a better position to transmit some of their Foreign Service professionalism to the other active members not possessing it to the same degree because of less exposure to service abroad?

There certainly is divided opinion as to the answers, but the questions are ones to which we should continue to give open-minded thought. As an AFSA member concerned for the future of our profession as an effective tool in the service of our country, I welcome seeing AFSA becoming more of a forum for constructive discussion of problems basic to its goals and purpose.

DAVID H. MCKILLOP

Washington

Bring F.S. Wives into the 20th Century

JACK PERRY is to be commended for his February JOURNAL article on "The Foreign Service Wife" which is not only witty and beautifully written but deeply wise.

For that matter, the entire JOURNAL issue on the role of women and wives in the Service throws open a cupboard that has long needed airing. In the past, the omnipresent and vaguely menacing emphasis on "the importance of the wife" to a successful career has added up to pressure on officers to smile bravely and to suggest (if wordlessly) that their own wives were totally happy and oh-so-well-adjusted to whatever strains the Service might have to offer. All of which did not prevent orotund pronouncements upon retirement (when it was too late to help or hurt) that the pressures on wives were sometimes greater than those on the officers themselves.

There is no question that wives are important to husbands' careers, but the nature of this importance needs re-examination. The JOURNAL'S issue is a good first step, but let it not end there. Our man-handling of wives in too many posts is straight from the age of the dinosaurs, and totally at variance with anything that the younger gals have been led from their previous experience to expect in this day and age. The nonsensical make-work that Jack Perry epitomizes with his example of the bandage-rolling is the clearest possible intimation that wives are worthless creatures who may safely be chivvied about with scarcely a thought for their own feelings. Talk about anachronistic attitudes!

As a beginning, let's bring into the twentieth century the instructions on the performance rating forms, placing emphasis on true fundamentals such as those cited by Jack Perry. (How many wives throughout the world are even now dutifully and inexpertly "teaching" English because of that idiotic item on page 2 of the Development Appraisal Report which reads "Does the wife participate in US program activities where appropriate, e.g., English-language seminars?" Why under the sun *should* she, unless she enjoys doing so?)

My own view is that there are certain elements of the wives' role which really are necessary to an officer's effective performance overseas. I would list an ability and a willingness to run a household with a reasonable representational potential as one of these. There are certainly others. However, for the most part, the important thing in the long run, both for the officer and for the Service, is not what the wife *does* but what she *is* and how she *feels*. The Service should absorb this into its bones and act accordingly. I suspect that we haven't the slightest idea how many officers have left the Service (or been divorced) because their wives couldn't stick it, or just what it was that they couldn't stick. These are questions that should be asked, and answers that we should know.

I don't usually hide behind pen names but will make an exception in this case. This is at the suggestion of (to use Art Buchwald's phrase) Our Wife who hinted that, on balance, this might be desirable. (Her actual words were, "If you sign that letter, I'll never speak to you again. They'll think *I'm* the nut you're talking about.")

So it must be . . . your ever faithful,

007

How to Shape a Pyramid

FEW things are more important to a career service than an equitable, straightforward and impartial promotion system, operating in a way that all those affected by it can understand. By and large, I believe most of us would concede that the FSO system, whatever its imperfections, has

met these criteria about as well as one could reasonably ask. The 1969 promotion list, however, suggests that there has been an unannounced but radical change in this system, with disturbing implications for every FSO.

Many will recall an article in the JOURNAL that appeared a month or two after last year's promotion "mini-list." This article (signed by Ambassador Steeves, although I doubt that he wrote it) purported to explain the reason for the sudden drop in promotions. It was defensively worded and so evasive that it was hard to grasp exactly what it was meant to convey, but certain facts did come through: the shape of the class pyramid was all wrong, there were relatively far too many officers in the higher grades, and there would be significantly fewer promotions to those grades for some years until the pyramid returned to optimum shape. I can remember no hint in the article that the selection system itself would be tampered with, and the implication was that it would be unchanged.

It now appears from the 1969 promotion list, however, that the system has indeed been changed, and changed substantially. Selection board ratings seemingly are no longer the factor that determines which officers are to be promoted. The key factor has become the length of time in grade, but with a reverse twist—the shorter your time in grade, the better your chances. Note, for example, the time in grade of those promoted from class 3 to class 2 in 1969, bearing in mind that the maximum time in grade is ten years:

10	years in grade	—none	promoted
9	" "	— 1	"
8	" "	— 2	"
7	" "	— 1	"
6	" "	—11	"
5	" "	—13	"
4	" "	—15	"
3	" "	— 7	"
2	" "	— 4	"

In short, there was an almost complete cut-off of promotions from class 3 after six years in grade.

Back-handed confirmation that the latter was apparently the case was not long in coming. The Department's January 1969, NEWSLETTER states flatly that this year's FSO promotions were based not only on selection board recommendations but on something called "*the relationship between grades of FSOs*" (italics mine). The phrase is a singularly uninformative one. If taken in conjunction with the above table, however, its meaning becomes all too clear.

It looks as if a whole group of class 3 officers has been arbitrarily earmarked for selection out in order to get that pyramid back into shape, and that all but a fortunate handful of them are going to be selected out regardless of their performance level.

The most serious implication in all this, however, is for the future of the Foreign Service itself. If the whole principle of promotion solely by merit is to be set aside whenever someone decides that "the relationship between the grades" should be changed, what sort of career service is this?

As a starter, perhaps we could have frank answers to the following questions:

Were the 1969 selection boards given instructions other than those stated in the precepts? If so, what were they?

Were the selection boards' recommendations followed exactly in the 1969 promotion list? If there were any variations, just what were they, who ordered them made (and let's not say "Secretary Rusk"), and why were they made?

And what about the future? Should all class 3 officers with more than six years in grade reconcile themselves to almost inevitable selection out?

Finally, how does this apparent new promotion policy square with the concept of a career service? And is it, for that matter, compatible with the spirit and letter of the Foreign Service Act?

(*Name withheld by request*)

Against Proliferations

CONGRATULATIONS to the JOURNAL for publishing Ambassador Briggs' views on personnel proliferation. It is probably too much to expect that the article will spark any immediate remedial action but the very ventilation of the subject is a healthy sign.

The supine attitude of the Department over the years has been a mystery to me. I vividly recall the Division of Foreign Service Planning, shortly after its organization some twenty-five years ago, expressing shock and alarm at the very idea of a Foreign Service of 11,554 as project-



ed for 1947 (the Service had grown from 3,966 in 1939 to 6,268 in 1945). While that figure is unimpressive today (there were 34,148 State Department employees abroad in 1968), the Division was so exercised at the time that it not only flatly refused to support the estimates but held "that radical downward revision is essential; that a Foreign Service of the size indicated would be contrary to the best interests of public policy; and that such a Service would not achieve the objectives which, in all good faith, have been set up in an atmosphere of war inflated thinking." It grudgingly admitted that "some expansion of the present Service may be necessary" but quickly added "that personnel stationed abroad can reach a point not only of diminishing but of damaging returns."

Unfortunately, leadership of the Foreign Service had passed from such hands as those of Wilbur J. Carr, George Messersmith, and Jack Erhardt so that it was found easier to sweep the problem under the rug by suppressing the Division's report rather than by risking public reaction by debating its recommendations.

Proliferation thereafter proceeded apace although a measure of restraint characterized the staffing patterns of our Latin American missions until the early 50s. This was due largely to the influence of Edward G. Miller, one of the ablest Assistant Secretaries for Latin America that we have had. In 1951, however, he was finally forced to give in to the demands of IIAA (forerunner of TCA, FOA, ICA, and AID) and permit a "coordinator" to be assigned to each mission to supervise Point IV activities. As an example of how it worked out in practice, let me cite the case of Brazil.

When I left that country in October 1951 no final decision had been made regarding the "coordinator," when I returned in August 1952 IIAA had almost as many people in Rio as the Embassy, the executive and administrative sections alone having some fifty people and a yearly budget of a quarter of a million dollars. By 1961, there was a veritable little Washington in Rio with seemingly endless desk jobs filled by people who appeared to be governed more by in-and-out boxes than by any apparent demand by our Brazilian friends for technical or other assistance. In 1966, when I was last in Rio, AID headquarters overflowed twelve floors of one of the most prominent downtown skyscrapers most inappropriately known as the BEG Building. Recife headquarters were more modest, a five-story building serving this purpose in that much smaller community.

It is far from my intention, in citing these examples, to lay all the blame on AID for our invasive tactics abroad. After all, AID accounts for only some 40 percent of State staffs abroad. However, AID staffs best lend themselves to dispersion and could most quickly reduce the vice-regal impact of our official presence abroad. Technical personnel could and should be shifted into the anonymity of the host government's own bureaucracy (as was the case before 1952) and a goodly portion of support personnel (administrators, supervisors, programmers) could and should be shifted to Washington or eliminated. If this could be followed by reduction of the staffs in other peripheral fields, I am quite sure that any loss in operational efficiency would be far more than balanced by the gratitude of our long suffering hosts abroad.

MERWIN L. BOHAN

The JOURNAL *welcomes letters to the editor and will use pseudonyms or withhold names on request. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Letters over 250 words are subject to condensation by the editorial staff.*

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- Other _____
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(D) MISCELLANEOUS, cont'd.
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- Pianos _____
- Books _____
- Luggage _____
- Bicycles _____
- Tools _____
- Sports equip. _____
- TOTAL (D) $_____

(E) TOTAL CLOTHING $_____

(F) TOTAL JEWELRY & FURS $_____

TOTAL PERSONAL EFFECTS
- TOTAL A $_____
- TOTAL B $_____
- TOTAL C $_____
- TOTAL D $_____
- TOTAL E $_____
- TOTAL F $_____
- (G) GRAND TOTAL $_____

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$ 3,500	$ 57.00
$ 3,700	$ 59.80
$ 3,900	$ 62.60
$ 4,100	$ 65.40
$ 4,300	$ 68.20
$ 4,500	$ 71.00
$ 4,700	$ 73.80
$ 4,900	$ 76.60
$ 5,100	$ 79.40
$ 5,300	$ 82.20
$ 5,500	$ 85.00
$ 5,700	$ 87.80
$ 5,900	$ 90.60
$ 6,100	$ 93.40
$ 6,300	$ 96.20
$ 6,500	$ 99.00
$ 6,700	$101.80
$ 6,900	$104.60
$ 7,100	$107.40
$ 7,300	$110.20
$ 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
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$1,500	$ 6.00
$1,700	$ 7.00
$1,900	$ 8.00
$2,100	$ 9.00
$2,300	$10.00
$2,500	$11.00
$2,700	$12.00
$2,900	$13.00
$3,100	$14.00
$3,300	$15.00
$3,500	$16.00
$3,700	$17.00
$3,900	$18.00
$4,100	$19.00
$4,300	$20.00
$4,500	$21.00
$4,700	$22.00
$4,900	$23.00
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AFSA NEWS

May, 1969

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2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

The FY 1970 AFSA Budget

The Board of Directors has devoted several recent meetings to consideration of the Association's budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

From estimates prepared by the Finance Committee, it is clear that inflation has caught up with AFSA, too. Printing costs for the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, for example, have just been raised substantially and overhead costs will also go up in the coming year.

The major change in the coming budget, however, is related to the salaries of the Association's paid employees. They have not had a pay increase for several years, despite the sharp rise in the cost of living and despite the very generous increases in the salaries of the AFSA membership over the same period.

A summary of the budget situation is contained in the following table. A complete set of the budget estimates, as well as a copy of the Secretary-Treasurer's report for FY 1968, is available at AFSA headquarters for anyone interested.

	FY 1969	*FY 1970*
Estimated Expenses		
Salaries	$ 70,850	$ 90,400
Taxes & insurance	4,021	5,283
Foreign Service Journal	58,200	66,900
Office space	12,320	13,450
Overhead (telephone, postage, etc.)	18,775	20,925
Committee expenses, etc.	2,300	2,600
	$166,456	$199,522
Estimated Revenues		
Dues	$ 63,600	$111,300
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL	95,700	95,900
Other	3,500	10,300
	$162,800	$217,500
Less accumulated three-year deficit		15,000
		$202,500

These estimates do not include costs connected with the new Foreign Service Club, which will be self-amortizing.

Nor do they include the active continuation of some of the new program activities in which the Association has been engaged in the past 18 months and which have been financed essentially by one-time grants from John D. Rockefeller 3rd and others. The Board of Directors believes that a decision as to the Association's ability to continue in its new directions should be postponed until the results of the membership campaign are known, since the annual costs of these activities are estimated at $48,500.

If the membership campaign is successful, however, the Board plans to fund several of AFSA's committees, to hire a badly-needed full-time secretary and to fill the two positions which are described in a following article.

It was clear in considering the budget estimates, however, that AFSA could not continue to function within the existing dues structure—which has not changed for several years, and which is substantially below that in comparable, active professional organizations. As a result, and after considering the results of the questionnaire described elsewhere in this issue, the Board has decided to increase dues substantially for those who benefited most by recent pay increases, and only marginally for those at the bottom of the pay scale or living on reduced annuities.

Beginning with the coming fiscal year, dues will be $30 for those members earning above $15,000 in salary and $15 for those earning less.

Membership Campaign

By the time you read this issue of the "AFSA News" you will also have received your 1969-70 membership renewal notice and the campaign to attract new members will be in full swing.

It will be clear from other articles in this issue that AFSA is at the crossroads. It has done more for you and for foreign service in the past year than it has ever done before. Now 'it' needs 'you!'

Return your dues notice today, so that we don't have to incur the expense of a second notice. And lend a hand in the membership campaign.

Our goal is 100% of all potential active members, regardless of agency or category.

You can help!

AFSA On the West Coast

As part of a broader effort to build a more effective constituency for foreign service, representatives of the Association spent four days in northern California at the end of March.

Lannon Walker, John Reinhardt, Erland Heginbotham and Charles Bray addressed six World Affairs Councils, spoke on three university campuses and had a number of radio and newspaper interviews, all on the subject of organizational reform in foreign affairs and other AFSA activities. They emphasized AFSA's interest in establishing better communications with men and women across the country who have an active and informed interest in foreign affairs.

In addition, the AFSA team conducted an extended panel session on "A New Look in Foreign Service" at the convention of the International Studies Association in San Francisco. The audience, composed of teachers of international relations from some 60 universities and colleges across the country, was both interested and responsive.

Expenses of the trip were covered by the substantial grant given the Association last fall by the William H. Donner Foundation, Inc., for the purpose of building a constituency for foreign service.

AFSA Correspondence

Mr. Robert E. Hampton
Chairman
United States Civil Service Commission
Washington, D.C. 20415

Dear Mr. Hampton:

Thank you for your letter of February 25 to Mr. Philip Habib enclosing the latest pay comparability material and requesting the views of our Association upon this important matter. A committee of the Association has only recently completed a study of remuneration to the Foreign Service. Based upon data developed by that study we have found several areas of concern in the Administration's present proposal.

In the first instance we share the widely held view that the new pay scale cannot in any real sense represent "comparability" as it is based on figures which are nearly a year old.

We are also troubled by the pattern of occupational groups selected by the BLS for their survey. It would not appear that any of the professions which were surveyed are really comparable to the Foreign Service.

Finally we were shocked to find that our remuneration study produced figures which demonstrated that between the years 1960 and 1967 Foreign Service salary scales have been deleteriously affected by attempts to force both the FSO and FSS salary scales into the GS salary mold. Our internal alignment has been badly skewed. Equally pertinent, however, is the fact that in 1961 the FSO-1 pay level exceeded at the top steps that of a GS-18; today an FSO-1 is roughly equal to a GS-17 with linkage at the FSO-1—GS-18 level occurring only at the top step. The proposed 1969 pay scale does nothing to alter these unhappy facts.

As a direct result of the concerns outlined above we strongly urge that the proposed 1969 pay scales for the Foreign Service be reexamined with a view towards reestablishing a meaningful linkage point between FSO-1 (Middle step) and GS-18. This would naturally be followed by an upward movement of all other salaries in the proposed schedule. At the time this revision is carried out it would also be appropriate to readjust the internal alignment of Foreign Service salary scales to insure that promotion is as meaningful in terms of remuneration as it is in terms of increased responsibilities.

In future exercises of this type we recommend that the BLS be instructed to shorten the time gap between the gathering of statistics on pay comparability and the publication of this data. We would strongly recommend that future BLS surveys used for salary establishment purposes should make some attempt to consider the salaries of higher corporation executives. These, it appears to us, would provide a more meaningful comparison of the levels of remuneration between Foreign Service personnel and private industry than does the present range of sample.

I have sent a copy of this letter to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Sincerely,

LANNON WALKER
Chairman of the Board
American Foreign Service Association

Members Want More

To give the Board of Directors a sense of the membership's interest in current Association activities, the questionnaire distributed to Washington members in March contained four questions about the broad areas in which AFSA has been engaged.

The areas are: (1) organizational and personnel reform; (2) pocketbook issues such as benefits and allowances; (3) developing public support for foreign service; and (4) serving as "ombudsman" to members with problems the personnel and administrative systems cannot satisfy.

The questions were designed to ascertain whether the Washington membership wanted the Association to do "more," the "same," or "less" in each of these areas.

The results were startling, as the following tabulation shows:

	More	*Same*	*Less*	*Percent*
Reform	320	342	139	83%
Pocket-book	434	292	68	90
Public Support	404	274	114	86
Ombuds-man	350	282	132	83

The percentage figures reflect the number of replies indicating that the Association should do the "same" or "more" in each of the areas.

Agency breakdowns were interesting, too. For example, respondents from the Department of State and retired officers were most interested in having the Association do "more" in the area of pocketbook issues. AID members were most interested in having the Association extend its reform efforts. Members in USIA appeared most interested in having the Association expand its efforts to enlist public support for foreign service.

Help Wanted

The Association is beginning to look for men and women in foreign service who might be interested in two positions at AFSA Headquarters, beginning about July 1.

The first position, now held by Charles Bray, will have executive responsibility for the entire range of AFSA's program activities. In the past year, the incumbent's duties have involved substantial contact work in both Houses of Congress, the Executive Branch, the foundations, universities and what is known as "the Establishment," as well as the press. Duties will also include continuing supervision of AFSA committee activities and the evolution of new programs under the supervision of the Board of Directors.

The second position, that of Research Director, is a new one. It will require a person with broad administrative and personnel experience, probably retired, who can assist the Association in preparing and presenting its positions on such matters as pay comparability, retirement annuities, allowances and benefits. The incumbent would be responsible for developing and maintaining a collection of relevant statistical and other material, and for maintaining intensive contacts with the foreign affairs agencies and elsewhere in government, as well as with other professional organizations. The position would be filled on a part-time basis.

Salaries for both positions will be negotiated with successful candidates.

While the Association cannot make definite commitments in advance of a successful membership campaign, persons interested in exploring the matter on a confidential basis should make known their interest to the "AFSA Search Committee" headed by Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., NEA/IRN, Room 5252, Department of State. His office telephone number is DU3-5840.

The Job Mart

The Association has been approached by three foreign-affairs related organizations looking for outstanding foreign service employees who may be considering a switch in jobs. The three organizations are seeking men or women who can fill executive positions at salaries ranging from $25,000 to $40,000. Anyone interested should contact Charles Bray at AFSA headquarters for particulars. He may be reached by phone at 338-4045, or by writing to the Association at 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037.

Annual Winners of AFSA's Herter, Rivkin and Harriman Awards

Under Secretary Elliot Richardson presented $1,000 awards at a special AFSA luncheon ceremony on March 26 to three outstanding officers. The awards are made annually by AFSA to one senior, one mid-career, and one juunior officer in recognition of their intellectual courage, creativity, and personal integrity, including disciplined dissent, in the conduct of United States foreign affairs.

John Paul Vann of AID, Saigon, was the recipient of this year's Christian A. Herter Award, established in memory of the late Secretary. Vann is currently Deputy for Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support. His nominating statement termed him ". . . a controversial figure, a man who insisted on maintaining his independence and integrity at all costs. . . . His judgments have been repeatedly proven right by time and he has demonstrated charismatic gifts as a leader."

Jacob M. Myerson of the Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State, won the William R. Rivkin Award for his lasting contribution to the form and nature of the North Atlantic Alliance and to the Western approach to broad questions of European security. The award is given in memory of Ambassador Rivkin, who was envoy to Luxembourg and, later, to Senegal and The Gambia.

Established in 1968, the W. Averell Harriman Award was won by Donald M. Sladkin. Sladkin served in Vietnam as Deputy Provincial Representative in Tay Ninh Province. His nomination said in part that "he was a brilliant coordinator whose organizational gifts greatly contributed to the substantial improvement in the province's public services . . . The overall success of the entire revolutionary development program in Tay Ninh owed much to his dedication and initiative."

In his remarks, the Under Secretary stressed that constructive dissent cannot take place unless it is coupled with imagination, creativity, intellectual resourcefulness, and, above all, courage. He recalled that in his first message to the Foreign Service, Secretary Rogers had emphasized that he would like to have all relevant views, including dissenting views, brought forward.

The Under Secretary hoped that the kind of officers who will win these awards—"and whom we seek as advisors"—will not only have the ability to see new opportunities and chart new courses. They must also win favor for what they believe, and this must have enough daring to risk the scorn of those more timid or conventional. "The three officers whom we honor today have proved to be such men," the Under Secretary declared.

The Association was extremely pleased to be informed by Governor Harriman that he now wishes to extend the funding of the W. A. Harriman award for junior officers to a full 20 years. This thus puts the three association awards on the same funding footing. The Association is grateful to the Governor and is all the more indebted to him.



Jacob M. Myerson, Rivkin award winner, chats with Christian A. Herter, Jr. and Mrs. Rivkin at the pre-luncheon festivities.

For The Record

The April Association News carried the text of a letter on benefits and allowances sent to Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration Idar Rimestad by AFSA Chairman Lannon Walker. Inadvertently omitted from the story was the fact that identical letters went to the Administrative Officers of AID and USIA.

Committee Needs Volunteers

The Association's Community Action Committee, under the chairmanship of Joseph N. Greene, Jr., has channeled a number of AFSA volunteers to programs dealing with the problems of the Washington area. The primary placement agency has been the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, which has referred more than forty volunteers to area programs. A number of these are currently involved in such activities, and the rest are still being referred to possible programs.

While most AFSA volunteers are involved in tutoring, others are participating in a wide variety of activities. One volunteer has been leading discussions and showing movies at District schools about his Foreign Service posts. Another will be teaching sports at the D.C. Recreation Department this summer. Still others are involved in sponsorship of young people.

The Bureau of Rehabilitation, a private volunteer social service agency supported by the United Givers Fund, is one of many organizations which needs volunteers. The Bureau operates a "Sponsors Program" in conjunction with Cedar Knoll Washington Childrens' Center and the Women's Detention Center. The young people, ages 13 to 18, in Cedar Knoll have been adjudged in the courts as delinquents and they are confined in Cedar Knoll for an undetermined period of time. The women in the Women's Detention Center have been convicted of crimes varying from petty larceny to homicide and are confined from four months to a year.

Volunteers would work as "sponsors" with a youth or a woman confined in these institutions. After review of a volunteer's background and interests, a case worker will assign him as sponsor to a young person anticipated to be responsive to those interests. The sponsor would visit the youngster at Cedar Knoll near Laurel, Maryland, at least twice a month, develop a friendly relationship with him (or her) and hopefully become someone who really cares.

After at least five such visits, a sponsor could by prior arrangement take his charge on "town trips," to a ball game, the museum, out sightsee-



photographs by John Neubauer, photo/graphics international



The main dining room of the club seats 72. It is divided into two sections, with a floor area which can be cleared for dancing at one end. Featured are paintings by Sheila Isham and Grace Barall.

The upstairs Lounge seats 25 and the daily buffet offers cold roast beef, sliced ham, salads and one hot dish. There is a long table available for those who would like to hold luncheon meetings.



welcome to the Club!

The Foreign Service Club opened on March 24. The Club is open for lunch from 12:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., for cocktails until 8:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. A buffet lunch is available in the Lounge on the second floor. Saturday hours are 11:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., for drinks and sandwiches only.

The Club is still hoping to receive decorative objects to provide an international flavor. The House committee would welcome cloth, ceramics, carvings or other objects.

ing, to a movie or home for dinner.

Those who have a few hours a month to invest in the development of human resources may contact:

Mrs. Bertha H. Martin
Bureau of Rehabilitation of
National Capital Area
412 Fifth Street,N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
Telephone: District 7-7376

AFSA members interested in other aspects of volunteer work are urged to get in touch with the Community Action Committee Coordinator, Katharine Shirley, at the State Department (DU3-4682).

Name ..... Grade .....

Address ..... Agency .....

I would like to join the Foreign Service Club. Please send application form(s) for American Foreign Service Association ..... and/or Foreign Service Club ..... I understand that the membership in the American Foreign Service Association is a necessary requisite for joining the Foreign Service Club.

Mail application to AFSA (Club), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037



Among the books already contributed to the Library are three autographed copies of Ambassador Ellis Briggs' writings and "The Instructions to the Diplomatic Officers of the United States in 1897," contributed by Mrs. John Campbell White. Copies of other diplomatic memoirs, especially autographed ones, will be welcomed by the Club committee.

The ship model which graces the stair well of the Lounge was contributed by Ambassador Robert McClintock. Refurbishing and placement was done by General Manager Gardner Palmer and sailing expert Norris M. Haselton.



Baldwin Scholarship Offered

A scholarship in memory of LaVerne Baldwin is offered to a graduate student or graduating college senior whose major discipline relates to international studies and who is the son or daughter of an active or retired Foreign Service officer of the United States. This is for the summer seminar for foreign students at Twin Lakes, Salisbury, Connecticut, July 7 through August 21, 1969, sponsored by the Institute of World Affairs, Inc. Application should be made in writing to Institute of World Affairs, Inc., 527 Madison Ave., New York 10022.

An Interview with Charles W. Bray III

by Charles A. Kennedy, JOURNAL Editorial Board

(*Continued from April*)

Mr. Kennedy: Perhaps we had better retreat a little and recall some history so that we're all speaking essentially from the same base. How did the Group of 18, the so-called Young Turk movement happen to be formed and what were its principal objectives?

Mr. Bray: The young Turk movement, which is, incidentally, a wildly inaccurate designation, had its beginnings in late 1965 and early 1966. You will recall that in early 1966 the Hays Bill, which would have provided certain far-reaching reforms in the personnel administration of foreign affairs, having passed the House, died in committee in the Senate. In early 1966 National Security Action Memorandum 341 was issued by President Johnson. Also in early 1966 the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club began to concern itself with a whole variety of new and complicated issues, and [in early 1966] a group of six mid-career officers, of whom Frank Wile and I were members, began to concern itself with the future of the Foreign Service. I think both the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club and the group of six were motivated in substantial measure by the fact that no creative effort was being devoted, in the wake of the Hays Bill, to look to the future of foreign service. In the wake of NSAM 341 there was no reshuffling of bureaucratic or other responsibilities to take account of the new authority granted the Secretary of State. This distressed us.

In the next year and a half I suppose there must have been four or five small groups of foreign service officers in Washington concerning themselves with this kind of problem. There were a number of articles reflecting this in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL at the time. A number of us talked to senior officials of the last Administration about what we thought needed doing. We found after awhile that though their doors were always open, nothing seemed to happen as a result of our conversation. Many of us decided that eventually we were going to need a substantial platform from which to put forward views which we considered important to the country.

In June 1967, as I think you know, Lannon Walker coalesced all of these small groups into the so-called Group of 18 which ran for office in the AFSA elections that summer.

As for our objectives—I think they were pretty well spelled out in the campaign flyer that we sent to every member of the Association. Broadly, they were that: the association should function as an effective professional organization; it should protect and advance the well-being of its membership; it should take the necessary steps to assure itself an effective and independent voice; it should accord effective representation to employees of AID and USIA; and it should establish more effective communication with AFSA's membership in the field.

Mr. Kennedy: And, looking at the situation now, a year and a half later, how would you say the goals of the Group of 18 have squared with its achievements so far?

Mr. Bray: I think remarkably well. I think our major frustration has been the difficulty of carrying through a substantial Association workload with part-time help. This incidentally was one of the reasons that led me to quit moonlighting and to take up my present job on a full-time basis.

We have, I think, built an image of an independent and reasonably effective organization. I think we are increasingly seen as the one organization which can advance the interests—by that I mean some of the pocketbook interests—of the membership. I recall to mind, for example, what was written into the Republican Platform last summer as a result of our efforts in Miami Beach: "We strongly support the Foreign Service, and will strengthen it by improving its efficiency and administration and by providing adequate allowances for its personnel." It's been a long time since anybody's platform has said anything like that about the Foreign Service.

We have enlisted a great deal of outside support to which I referred earlier. Tangible evidences of this, I think, have been the editorials in the NEW YORK TIMES and elsewhere; even more tangible evidences were the grants we received from John D. Rockefeller 3rd and the Donner Foundation which have made it possible for us to finance, at least on a temporary basis, some of the Association's new activities.

Finally, I think we have given very effective representation within the leadership of the association to our colleagues in AID and in USIA.

Mr. Kennedy: While the Association has obviously moved forward on the fronts you've indicated, its critics

hasten to point out that, despite the liberal leadership of AFSA and its worthy objectives, its membership has indeed not increased and in fact extended membership was rejected at a recent general meeting. Does this represent a significant setback for the AFSA leadership?

Mr. Bray: I think each side can have that one its own way. My own feeling is based on the fact that the association did not suffer, as it always has in the past, a substantial decrease in membership when the new year rolled around despite the fact that we did not have a significant membership campaign last year. This suggests, on the contrary, that we have more than held our ground. I am very pleased to note that in the six months since the new membership year began our membership has risen steadily, not declined as it usually does in the middle of the year.

As for extending active membership to our civil service colleagues in State, AID, and USIA, I was struck not by the fact that that amendment did not carry, but rather that it came within four votes of carrying the floor at the last business meeting despite the active opposition of some influential older members of the service. I predict that that amendment will carry the floor in the reasonably near future.

Mr. Kennedy: Of the original Group of 18, how many are still active in the Association?

Mr. Bray: If my memory serves me correctly, less than one-half of the original group is still active in Washington. I might point out however that three of our original Group of 18 are now heading chapters at overseas posts. That means they are still active in the leadership of the Association.

Mr. Kennedy: Of the half not active in Washington now, have all of them left because of reassignment?

Mr. Bray: Yes.

Mr. Kennedy: I ask that last question in light of the fact that some people in the Department have indicated that an attempt is made, particularly in the case of junior officers, to insure that their first assignment is abroad. They seem to think that the first tour in Washington has a high malcontent factor in that the younger officers tend to become more dissatisfied with the service and with the system with which they find themselves. It's curious to see that the activists in AFSA apparently do not find this the case, at least to the degree of resigning or seeking another occupation.

Why does Washington appear to be such a "bear" and is it just junior officers or is it all levels?

Mr. Bray: I would say that the phenomenon among junior officers to which you refer is additional evidence in support of the position the Association took in its report "Toward A Modern Diplomacy."

There *are* serious organizational and personnel problems in foreign affairs. They must be solved and present dissatisfaction had its counterpart four years ago when the reform movement was first getting under way. I think in substantial measure this dissatisfaction flows from a lack of job satisfaction, but I also think it flows from a larger, perhaps more institutional problem. I think the traditional Foreign Service needs a new view of itself, a new definition of its role.

One reason Washington is a "bear" is one of the reasons why the Association is pushing hard on a package of benefits. It's simply more expensive to live in Washington. The perquisites are lower here. This is a situation that needs correcting.

Mr. Kennedy: Would you say also that a factor might be that assignments are less interesting, less prestigious or substantive?

Mr. Bray: I think that one would be a toss-up. I think it might be more fun to serve overseas, but I think the real action in the foreign service, the real sources of power, are in Washington. This leads me back to my statement about the role of the Foreign Service. I think we're going to have to decide, those of us in foreign service, whether we want to have a good time or whether we want to have an impact, influence on events. If we do the place to do that is Washington, not the field, in 99 percent of the cases.

If I might just add a comment, the one thing that strikes me about so many people in foreign service is the aversion they seem to have to understanding and using power in Washington. This is an extraordinary phenomenon, considering that we deal with power on such a large scale abroad—or do we?

Mr. Kennedy: Going back to the Association's activities—last November the association took over Foreign Service Day and attempted something new. How would you rate the success of AFSA's experience of Foreign Service Day?

Mr. Bray: I think it was a smashing success. We in the Association saw Foreign Service Day as an opportunity to open a constructive and continuing dialogue with a large number of people not in government service to the benefit of foreign service. I think it was the first step, at least we saw it as the first step, in building an effective constituency for Foreign Service.

Mr. Kennedy: Could you give us some idea in terms of potential what kind of influence our constituency could have and, in fact, could you define our potential constituency?

Mr. Bray: I might start with the second question first. I think the potential constituency is very large. I think the effective constituency is smaller. I would number in the effective constituency all of those on the campuses around the country who have an active interest in international relations or any of the sub-disciplines which make up foreign affairs—economics, political science, law, and the like. I think there is a great deal of interest among academics in opening better communications with the practitioners in Washington.

I think there are a large number of businessmen and businesses having a considerable interest in us, in our effectiveness, and I think one would certainly have to put among the constituency all of the World Affairs Councils and like organizations, as well as their members. The problem, as I see it, is the organization of this constituency in some effective way. I don't think any one of our potential constituency groups sees itself in this role, for the time being, and I think getting them to have the sense of participating actively in important matters will be a tricky task

Mr. Kennedy: Going to the report "Toward A Modern Diplomacy," in your opinion is this report representative of the majority opinion of the AFSA membership, or would you say it tends to represent more its authors and/or the AFSA leadership opinion?

Mr. Bray: I think some of our critics assume that it is not representative of the membership's views. To that I think I would reply by pointing out simply that there are a relatively small number of people in any organization who think about its future in any serious way. But I would also have to say that I think the report is much more representative of the opinion of the membership this year than it might have been a year ago, and I take that to be an encouraging sign.

I doubt very much whether every member of AFSA would agree with every one of the propositions in the report, or even with every one of the propositions in the article by Lannon Walker which appeared in the January issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS. On the other hand, I think you'd find substantial agreement with the proposition that the professionals know best what needs doing and substantial pride everywhere in the service that the professionals are at last speaking up on this kind of issue.

Mr. Kennedy: Recalling that this report is actually to AFSA by the

Committee on Career Principles, do you anticipate any future attempt to get approval of this report by the membership, or are there future plans for this report?

Mr. Bray: In substantial measure, of course, the organizational recommendations in the report have been overtaken now by events. President Nixon has his own ideas about how foreign affairs should be organized and those ideas are already in practice. There is another aspect to the report of course: the question of how best to organize the people in foreign affairs and I do believe that the leadership of the Association will be consulting very actively in the next few months with the membership on these kinds of questions. We are still hopeful that the new administration will move in this sensitive but very important area and we would like to encourage them to do so.

Mr. Kennedy: Basically, what would you say AFSA's major resources are and perhaps you can contrast them with what AFSA's outstanding needs are.

Mr. Bray: I think AFSA's major resources are its members and the people who have worked actively for the Association. It's almost impossible to over-estimate the importance of volunteer work in an association such as ours, and I think one thing we must consider very carefully in coming months is whether we should not put some of our part-time activities on a full-time, pay-as-you-go basis.

I think a substantial resource accruing to the organization as a result of its activities in the last year is a new reputation—a reputation as an independent, tough-minded, slightly visionary, and very active organization representing its members' interests in both the narrow and broad senses. Just being known as an association that can get things done is a major resource.

Our needs—I think our needs are for more members and more money. Without substantially increased revenues I think the Association must inevitably slip back into the rather narrower frame of activities that characterized it in the past. I do not believe we can count on continued foundation support for the things we ought to be doing anyway, and I would simply point out that our dues are much lower than those of many comparable professional associations.

To that I would add that we are about to embark on another membership campaign. AFSA has done a great deal, both for its members and for potential members, in the last two years. I think it's time for members and potential members to speak up for AFSA. That means joining when the time comes!

Mr. Kennedy: You have very succinctly outlined some of the things that the Association is doing as far as the interests of its members go. Somewhat philosophically, do you see that the association has any role to play in substantive foreign policy issues; that is, giving any opinion on the direction of the United States foreign policy?

Mr. Bray: No, I do not think it has a role in that. We have been very careful in the last 18 months to make a distinction between commenting on policy and commenting on process. As professionals in foreign affairs we have an opportunity to comment on policy in our working lives. We do *not* have that opportunity with regard to process. Yet we believe firmly that an improved process will lead to an improved policy, and it is to this specific end that we have directed most of our energies in the last 18 months—better process for better policy.

Mr. Kennedy. Do you see any role that the Association might play or should play as a channel of opinion from inside the foreign affairs community to the public in general, or from the public in general to members in the foreign affairs community?

Mr. Bray: Yes, I think there's a very real role for the Association to play, and I think that there are many individuals and organizations in this country that would find it easier to enter into some form of relationship with the Association than they might with the Department of State, or AID, or USIA. I think that we could have some singular success with the student groups, for example, who are in such obvious dissent. We have already discovered that the International Studies Association and several others regard us as promising partners.

I think the association can play an extremely important and useful catalytic role in bringing together people—such as academics and diplomats —who have not talked with each other for many years.

Mr. Kennedy: If, as you have indicated, the Association's role is not in substantive foreign policy, what then is the value of fostering this contact with outside organizations?

Mr. Bray: I think there are several very important gains on our side and several very important gains on the part of those outside, as you put it. Looking at us from their point of view, we appear to be an open and reform-minded organization which has said some very important things about the value of participation by professionals in their own environment. I think any organization which strikes that note has a great deal of attraction for a great many Americans. I *do* think that a great many people to whom we have been talking in the last several months may see the Association as a way of participating more effectively in the public affairs of their country. I don't think they or we yet know what that way will be, but I think both sides have an over-riding interest in exploring the question.

As for ourselves, I think you find almost the mirror image of what seems to be important to people outside. We in the Association have been saying consistently for the last year and a half that the agencies in foreign affairs could conduct their own affairs more effectively, could get more mileage from the people they have on their payrolls, could get better decisions than they are now getting and—most importantly—should make sure that those decisions have the support, not only of the professionals, not only of the executive branch, not only of the Congress, but of all Americans. I think that if anything is clear to us in 1969 it is that we are about to embark on a broad national debate on what the United States is up to in the world. It's important, as that debate goes forward, that the professionals in Washington and the citizen in his home town be able to communicate with each other, and that both participate in the dialogue.

Mr. Kennedy: From your present vantage point as one who has worked both in the system and spent the last eight months studying the system, do you have any general comments you'd like to make on the future of the association, the foreign affairs community or your own future?

Mr. Bray: I think the future of the organization is directly related to the membership campaign. Unless we can boost our membership by as much as one-third in the next several months, the Association will be condemned to slip back into the track it used to occupy. My hope is that we can raise the membership very substantially and I would hope that every present member of the Association would be willing to recruit at least one colleague to our rolls. I repeat something I said earlier: there is no other organization to which foreign service people can turn for help or for representation. The American Foreign Service Association is the only one serving their interests. Now they must help it.

As for the broader future of the foreign affairs community, I think the new Administration is still too young in the saddle to make any predictions. I am, however, terribly impressed by the President's ability to take control of this complex and sometimes refractory governmental apparatus. I think that's encouraging.

AFSA Confers with Howard Mace

Members of the Association met on Tuesday, April 15, with Mr. Howard Mace, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel, to discuss the benefit and welfare proposals the Association submitted to Mr. Rimestad on March 6, 1969. (These were published in the Association News in April.) We have received a number of other proposals from AFSA members which will be discussed with Mr. Mace at future meetings.

In the meantime, the following summarizes the discussions to date:

Displacement Allowance — Mr. Mace agreed that it seemed likely that present legislation provided sufficient authority to consider some sort of allowance. He said that the Department would look into the problem.

Out-Patient Treatment — The Foreign Service Act does not permit outpatient treatment unless a dependent has previously been hospitalized. Dr. Mishtowt, Chief of the Medical Division, has been concerned about this problem and has a number of suggestions.

Leave Due to Injury or Illness Occasioned by Official Duty—In 1965, when the Department obtained "absence without charge to leave" for injury as the result of war or civil disorder, the State Foreign Relations Committee cut back the Department's request to extend the authority to cases "clearly caused by the fact that the officer or employee was located abroad." Mr. Mace is not aware of any cases where an employee has been penalized since enactment of the above.

One of the causes for concern, of course, is the possibility that employees may have to take leave without pay. Mr. Mace noted that the Federal Employees' Compensation Program administered by the Department of Labor provides partial compensation for loss of salary. Details of this program are available in all health rooms and in 3 FAM 689.

Separation Allowance — Separate maintenance allowances may be authorized at the beginning of any separation expected to last more than 90 days, Mr. Mace said. If the separation does not last 90 days, no refund of the allowance is required.

Mr. Mace also pointed out that the principal officer has authority to continue post allowances for up to 30 days after the departure of dependents.

The Association suggested that the administration of the regulations had not been as flexible as it might have been. We also offered to provide the Department with information on cases where employees have not received the complete benefits offered.

Capital Gains Tax—The Department will explore the possibility of seeking legislation to provide Foreign Service employees with benefits similar to those offered to the Military.

Administration of Travel Advance —There was considerable discussion of this item and its companion, *Delays in Reimbursements.* The problem, it was agreed, lies mainly in Washington. Cashiers are located at every Foreign Service post and have authority to extend additional advances to travelers in need of funds, Mr. Mace said. It was admitted there were some delays in Washington, particularly during the summer travel season, and the Department proposed to look into the possibility of an Advance Temporary Lodging Allowance.

Claims for Personal Property—The Department imposed a $50 deductible on all claims in an effort to reduce paper work. Inasmuch as small claims are filed anyway, this policy is now being re-evaluated.

Federal Savings Program—The Association will pursue this question with Department of Treasury officials.

Eligibility for Home Leave—The Department officials pointed out that more than 15 days home leave may be authorized upon request (3 FAM 454.2-1). The genesis of the reduction in home leave lies in a General Accounting Office Report to the Congress in 1964, which was extremely critical of this practice. The GAO in fact recommended stringent legislation against home leave; the Department modified its regulations at that time.

The prohibition against taking home leave after six months in the United States is based upon a Civil Service Commission regulation, which regulates the Government-wide home leave program, the Department said.

Mr. Mace agreed that the Department would investigate the possibility of a more liberal policy.

Temporary Lodging Allowance for Home Service Transfers—The Department will explore the possibility of liberalization. The Director General and the Director of the Office of the Budget approved such a proposal in 1967.

Temporary Lodging for Single Employees—The Department asserted it had received no complaints from single employees on this 15-day limitation.

Retirement Benefits—The Department is closely watching progress of H.R. 9825. This bill would increase the retirement contribution rate from 6½ to 7% and take other action to improve the financing of the Civil Service Retirement System. The financing provisions were recommended by the Administration. The bill was amended by the House Post Office and Civil Committee to provide a high-3 formula and other benefit improvements sought by employee groups.

The Foreign Service Retirement System faces an even more difficult financial problem than does the Civil Service system. The Department is actively considering action that should be taken to improve Foreign Service Retirement funding. In addition the Department will seek benefit improvements for the Foreign Service similar to those contained in H.R. 9825.

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