

Foreign Service Journal

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COVER PHOTO
by Lynn Millar

Lynn Millar's special exhibit of photos of East and West Berlin was opened last month at the German Consulate General in New York by visiting Mayor Willy Brandt. It will later be circulated throughout the United States by the German government. For another of her pictures see page 22.

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- Photos of AFSA luncheon, p. 8
- Cartoon, courtesy of Mr. Mauldin and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, p. 11
- Cartoon, courtesy the Des Moines Register and Tribune, p. 24
- Yoshitora print, from the collection of FSO Carl H. Boehringer, which is currently being circulated by the Smithsonian Institution, p. 28
- Robert W. Rinden, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," p. 29
- Illustrations from "Art in Nigeria," by Ulli Beier, Cambridge University Press, pp. 34, 35
- Mary Betts Anderson (wife of FSO W. Stratton Anderson, Jr.), "Moslem Women," p. 44
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- Lynn Moffly (wife of FSO Charles K. Moffly), "Champoluc Val d'Aosta," p. 56

BIRTHS

- COOKE. A son, Alexander Ambrose, born to Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin Cooke, December 18, in Washington.
- ELY. A daughter, Caroline Noel, born to Mr. and Mrs. Michael E. C. Ely, December 25, in Paris.
- FRIEDMAN. A son, Alexander, born to Mr. and Mrs. Jack Friedman, October 18, in Hong Kong.
- GETSINGER. A son, George Arthur, born to Mr. and Mrs. Norman W. Getsinger, January 2, in Taipei.
- HARRIS. A daughter, Ann Coreen, born to Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Harris, December 9, in Munich.
- HULEN. A daughter, Natalie Spencer, born to Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Hulen, January 28, in Seoul.
- ZUCCA. Twin daughters, Elizabeth Ann and Monica Pauline, born to Mr. and Mrs. Albert Zucca, December 31, in Washington.

MARRIAGES

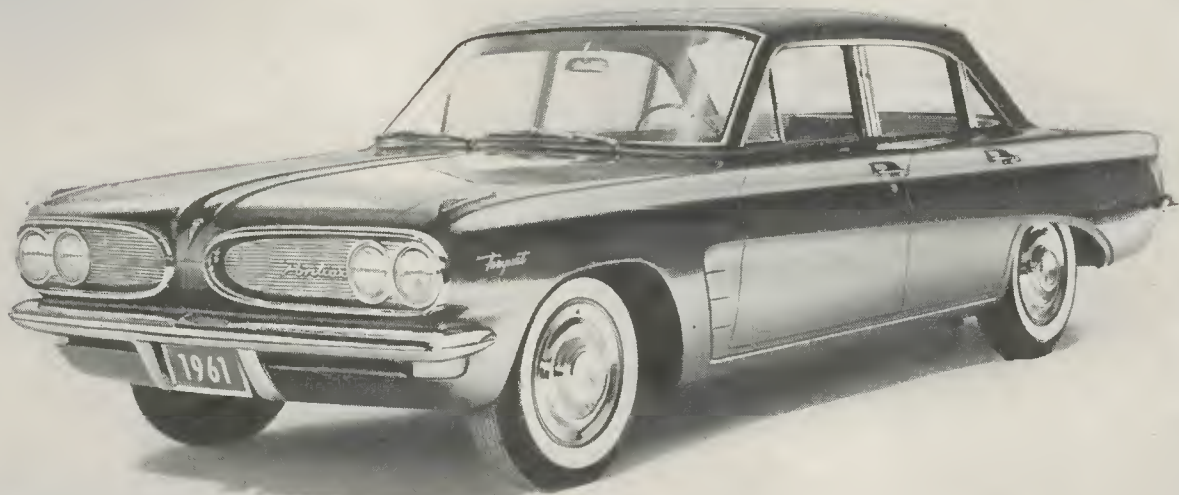
- LENCEK-RAUCH. FSS Virginia Joanne Lencek, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lencek, and Staff Sgt. Gerald J. Rauch, NCOIC of the Marine detachment in Hong Kong, were married, November 19, at St. Joseph's Church, Hong Kong.
- WOOLMAN-FOERSTER. FSS Ruth Elaine Woolman, daughter of Mrs. Thelma Woolman of Denver, Colorado, and Mr. Elwood James Foerster were married, December 15, at St. John's Cathedral, Hong Kong.

DEATHS

- BOND. Mrs. George Bond, mother of FSO Niles W. Bond, Minister-Counselor at Rio de Janeiro, died recently in Lexington, Massachusetts.
- BURSLEY. The Honorable Herbert S. Bursley, Career Minister—retired, died, February 27, at Orlando, Florida. Mr. Bursley had served forty-four years with the Department of State. He entered the Service in 1916 as a clerk at the Embassy in London, and after serving at posts all over the world, was appointed Ambassador to Honduras in 1947. In 1957 he returned to the Department and served as director of career counseling. In 1959 he received the Department's Distinguished Service Award. He had just entered upon his retirement at the time of his death.
- The family suggested in lieu of flowers those wishing to express sympathy might send a contribution to AFSA's Scholarship Fund. A scholarship named the Herbert S. Bursley Scholarship will be awarded for 1961-62.
- GARDNER. Lt. Colonel and Mrs. Kenneth Gardner, parents of Mrs. William A. Crawford, died February 12 and January 28, respectively. Mr. Crawford is currently Director of the Office of Research and Analysis for the Sino-Soviet Bloc.
- KELSTON. Leon Kelston, Economic Affairs Officer at Frankfurt, died February 4, in Landstuhl, Germany, after an illness of several weeks. Before going to Frankfurt, Mr. Kelston had served in the Department and with the Commerce Department in Washington.
- KWAN. Kwan Hin Kee, an FSL at Hong Kong for more than thirty years, died November 9 following a heart attack while on duty. At the time of his death, Mr. Kwan was employed in the Consular Section.
- PALMER. Mrs. Eno Palmer, wife of the Honorable Ely Eliot Palmer, FSO-retired and former Ambassador to Afghanistan, died February 21, at her home in San Bernardino, California.
- WHITE. The Honorable Francis White, former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador, died February 23, at his home in Baltimore. Mr. White entered the Foreign Service in 1915 and in 1922 became chief of the Latin American Division. He served as Assistant Secretary under Presidents Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt, and was Ambassador to Czechoslovakia when he retired in 1933. In 1953 he reentered the Government as Ambassador to Mexico and later was appointed Ambassador to Sweden, from which post he resigned in 1958.

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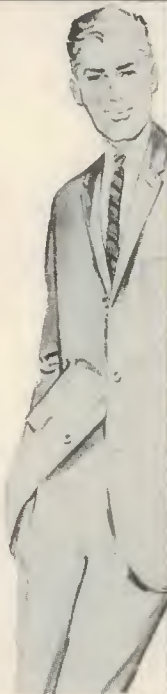
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APPOINTMENTS

Confirmed by the Senate

Ambassadors

CHARLES F. BALDWIN to the *Federation of Malaya*
 DAVID K. E. BRUCE to *Great Britain*
 LT. GENERAL JAMES M. GAVIN to *France*
 BERNARD A. GUFLEL to *Finland*
 RAYMOND A. HARE to *Turkey*
 GEORGE F. KENNAN to *Yugoslavia*
 DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, II, to *Belgium*
 WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, JR., to *Jordan*
 LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT to *Canada*
 FREDERICK E. NOLTING, JR., to *Viet-Nam*
 J. GRAHAM PARSONS, to *Sweden*
 CLIFTON R. WHARTON to *Norway*
 MURAT W. WILLIAMS to *El Salvador*
 FRANCES WILLIS to *Ceylon*

To FSO-4

TSUKAHIRA, Toshio G.

To FSO-5

COHN, David H.

To FSO-7

CADEAUX, Ralph H.

To FSO-8

ALLEN, Kenneth P.	HOLM, Ernest H. S.
ANTIPPAS, Andrew F.	HUMPHREY, George Merwin
BOGGS, William D.	KELLY, George Lockwood
BOOTH, Richard Thomas	KINGSBURY, William F.
CAMPBELL, Francis R.	MARSH, William H.
CAVANAUGH, Louis N., Jr.	RONALD, Katherine I.
COOPER, James Ford	RYAN, Robert J., Jr.
DORLAND, Harold H.	SANDERS, Irving L.
EATON, William F.	SEMAKIS, Larry W.
GRANQUIST, Wayne G.	SHEITELMAN, A. Louis
HARE, Paul J.	STEWART, Peggy
HART, Donald F.	WILDE, John H.

AWARDS

RUTH BACON, FSO, at present serving as Chargé d'Affaires at Wellington, was one of six career women in the Federal Government to be selected to receive one of the First Annual Federal Woman's Awards. She was cited for her outstanding contribution to the formulation and maintenance of United States foreign policy. Miss Bacon joined the Department of State in 1939 and served in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs (and its predecessors) during her entire Departmental Service. In 1949 she received the Department's Superior Service Award. In 1956 Miss Bacon became an FSO.

CHARLES E. BOHLEN, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union and the Philippines, is one of six career employees of the Federal Government to receive the Rockefeller Public Service Award for 1960-61. The recipients were cited for "achievement and long and distinguished career service." Each winner will receive a cash award of \$3,500. Moreover, he may draw additional funds, if he so desires, to make available his knowledge by devoting time to lecturing, writing, or pursuing a research program at the university of his choice, or by engaging in some other educational endeavor. Long a Russian specialist. Mr. Bohlen is currently serving as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State in the field of Soviet affairs.

JOHAN D. JERNEGAN, at present serving as Ambassador to Iraq, was one of the ten winners of the 1961 annual Career Civil Service Awards, given by the National Civil Service League to career civil servants who "exemplify the competence and dedication which this country needs and which is found throughout the Federal Service."

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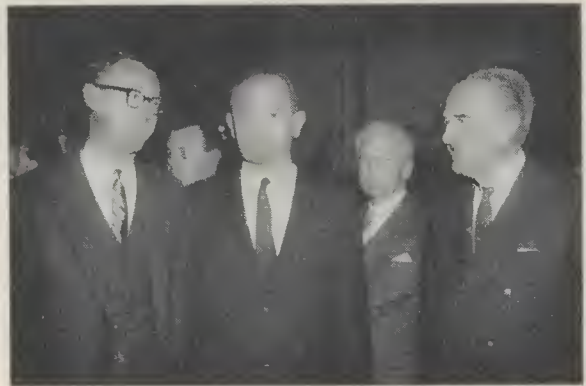
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AFSA : Luncheon



L. to R.: William Blue, Chairman of AFSA's Board, Secretary Dean Rusk, Robert Woods Bliss, Averell Harriman.

Secretary Rusk addressed an overflow meeting at the AFSA luncheon in February. In addition to the remarks below, we are publishing excerpts from his talk to the Policy Officers on which his luncheon talk was based, on page 32.

THE DEMANDS upon the Foreign Service in this country and abroad in terms of knowledge of an understanding of what our nation is all about, and of the forces which are reshaping the world in which we live, are larger than they have ever been in the past. . . We have a great stake in doing everything that we can to strengthen the Foreign Service, to attract as much top talent into it as possible. . .

I think there is great encouragement in the steps which have been taken in the last few years to strengthen the Foreign Service in terms of its personnel. The language program has shown remarkable progress. The figures are stimulating and encouraging—not because it would not be possible to communicate without these language skills—but because language is a means of understanding other cultures and other peoples, and because the readiness to master a language is a sign of respect for these other peoples which too often has been missing in the general American approach to countries abroad. . .

We hope to continue efforts to strengthen the Foreign Service, to make its service attractive, stimulating, rewarding, not only in practical support of the jobs themselves, and of the families who are necessarily involved in these jobs, but in terms of the opportunities for interesting and responsible service here and abroad. . .

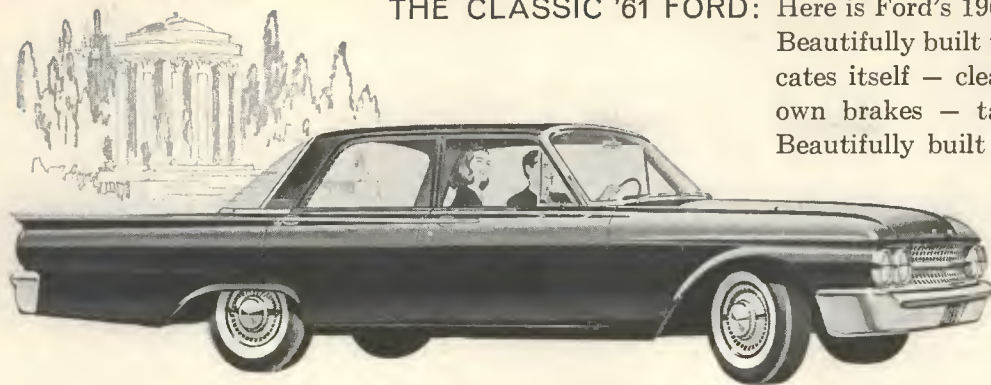
We shall continue to call upon the Foreign Service to take leadership both in the Department and overseas. . .

I need not elaborate my regard for the Foreign Service. Those of you who know me know of that regard. But what I do say is that we shall be called upon, you and I, for our very best, that we shall be fortunate if our best is good enough, but we can offer no less, and that the stakes are such that the game is well worth the playing, and we can hope that this great nation of ours will get on with the great dreams which have moved it from its beginning.

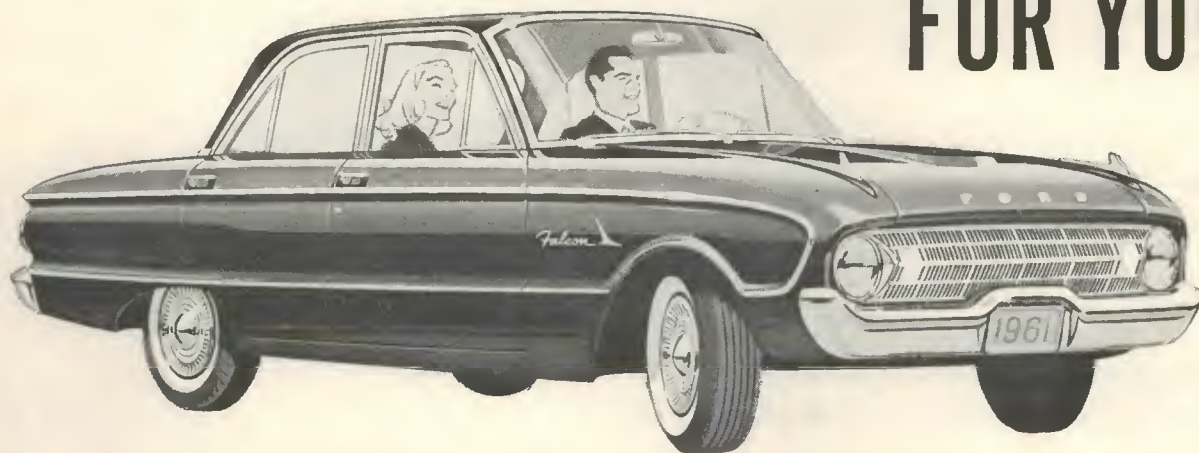


Among those attending were: Raymond A. Hare, Loy W. Henderson, J. Graham Parsons, Edward A. Bolster, John P. Young. →

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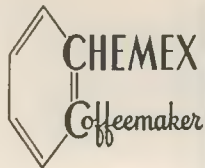
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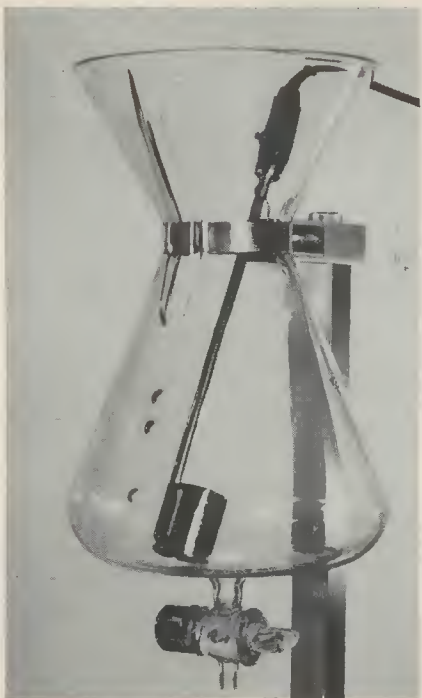
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Men of Merit

Not Just of Means*

by CARLISLE H. HUMELSINE

AT A TIME when we are adding new embassies in new nations all over the globe, it is difficult for a private citizen to say precisely what is needed for diplomatic expenditures. However, there is ample evidence at hand that the funds available are insufficient, and it would appear that an additional appropriation in the neighborhood of \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 is required. It would be a relatively simple task for Secretary Rusk to develop such a twentieth-century "general usage fund" based on actual needs as experienced by the present generation of diplomats.

Such a program for diplomatic expenditures, properly conceived and justified, should receive a favorable reception in the Congress. Most of the legislators recognize the need for this country to put its best diplomatic foot forward, and it is incomprehensible in these critical times that a responsible legislator would jeopardize our overseas standing for temporary political gains at the precinct level.

It is to be hoped that the great majority would agree with Senator Leverett Saltonstall, a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, who recently told former Secretary of State Herter that "it is important to give our people the proper prestige and proper standing without their digging into their own pockets."

If President Kennedy continues his initiative he is likely to find prompt Congressional appreciation of the facts of Foreign Service life, and his insistence upon the use of an over-all budget, reasonably supplemented above present levels, should relieve Congressional critics of the necessity

*Excerpted from the New York Times Magazine article of similar title.



"Make sure you don't spend this in riotous living."

© Mr. Mauldin and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

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Foreign Service Officer has made the statement—and we heartily concur—that a wise approach to financial survival in the Foreign Service would stand on three legs:

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for bellowing at the sight of every entertainment bill presented in the cause of American diplomacy.

Such a stand by the President would diminish the importance of this over-publicized category of expenses which, however essential, is so easily caricatured as to contribute to the background problem of great and rising costs to be borne by our career diplomats. In quieting the issue of the "booze hill" the President and Congress could open the door to many potentially valuable careers among our public servants abroad.

Anyone in search of reassurance in the matter need only consider the system used by our armed forces, which unhesitatingly provide according to their representatives' needs. If the military had used the scheme attempted for so long by our State Department—placing expensive roadblocks in the paths of career men of limited means—neither General Marshall nor General Eisenhower, for example, could have risen to become Chief of Staff.

It requires little stretch of the imagination to realize that nowadays our Foreign Service people abroad are as important to our future—and even to our defense—as their colleagues in uniform. We must give qualified diplomats at least an equal chance to rise to positions in which they can be of utmost value.

Throughout this debate we must keep in mind that qualified manpower for our diplomatic frontier posts is the vital affair. Jefferson put it in words which have lost none of their meaning: "We are extremely puzzled to find characters fit for the offices which need them."

Our eye should be on the "characters" rather than on their expense vouchers.

EMBASSY BUDGETS—A COMPARISON

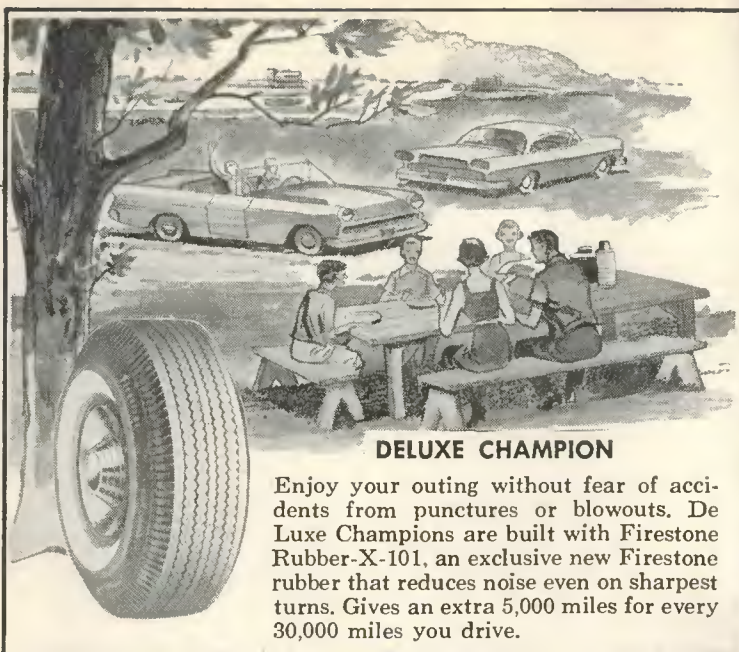
POST	GREAT BRITAIN		UNITED STATES	
	Annual Salary	Expense Allowance	Annual Salary	Expense Allowance
Washington	\$16,860	\$95,203	—	—
London	—	—	\$27,500	\$16,600
Paris	16,860	67,370	27,500	15,170
Rome	16,860	33,369	27,500	15,540
Bonn	16,860	32,596	27,500	19,325
Moscow	11,942	33,495	27,500	21,210
Brussels	11,942	33,270	25,000	10,255
Madrid	16,860	26,175	27,500	10,320
The Hague	11,942	30,174	25,000	9,220

The Secretary

THE SECRETARY of State is crucial to the operation of the [National Security] Council. Other officials, particularly the Secretary of Defense, play important parts. But the President must rely mainly upon the Secretary of State for the initial synthesis of the political, military, economic, and other elements which go into the making of a coherent national strategy. He must also be mainly responsible for bringing to the President proposals for major new departures in national policy.

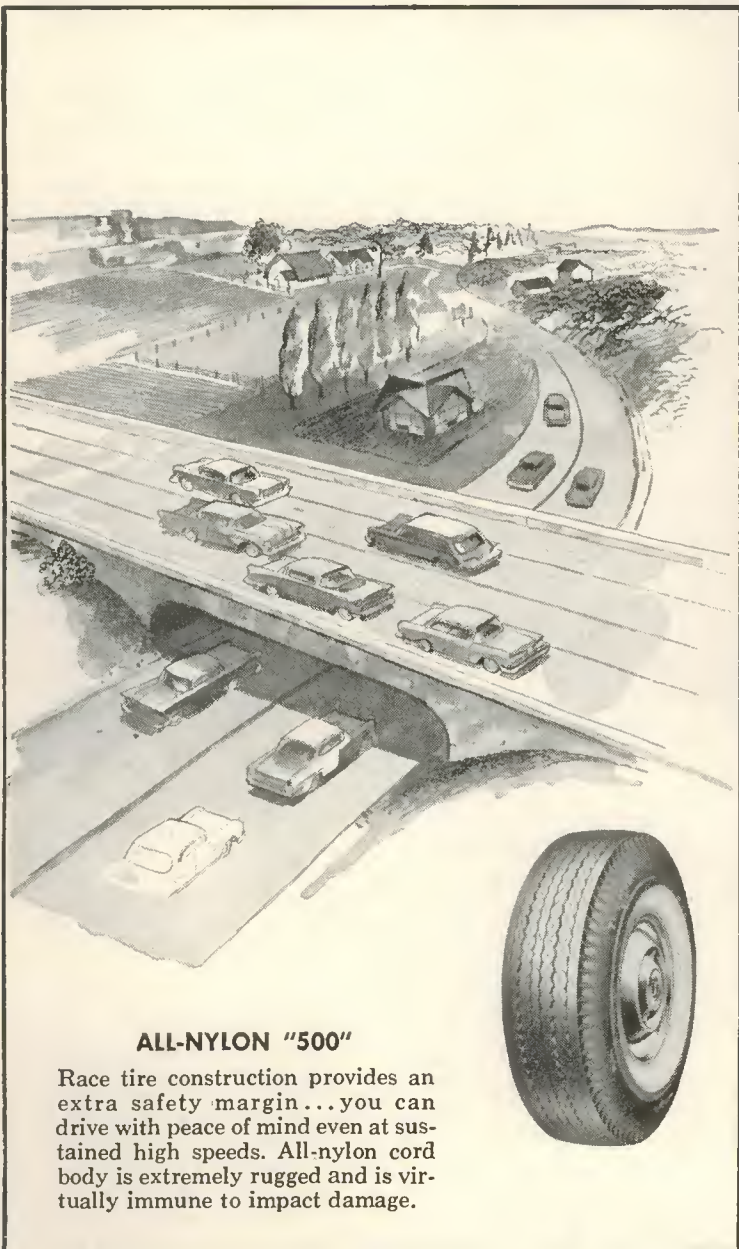
To do his job properly the Secretary must draw upon the resources of a Department of State staffed broadly and competently enough with generalists, economists, and military and scientific experts to assist him in all areas falling within his full concern. He and the President need unhurried opportunities to consider the basic directions of American policy.

From the second Jackson Subcommittee report which is generally critical of NSC machinery as it has operated.



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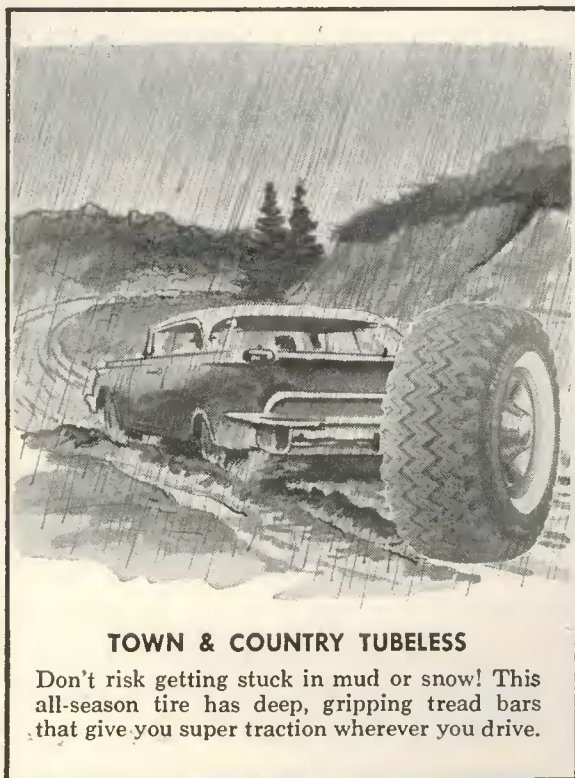
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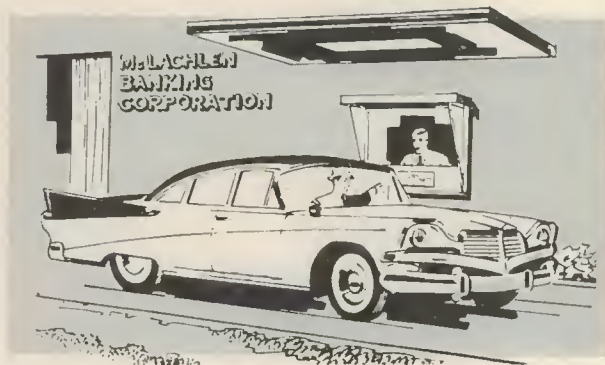
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APRIL, 1956

in the JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART

"Don't You Believe in Helen?"

FORMER Ambassador Skinner's quotation (in his article in the March JOURNAL) of Professor Blegen's finding that Helen of Troy was mythical attracted wide attention in the American press.

Among the more delightful comments was that of the Post Impressionist in the WASHINGTON POST, who devoted a column to the matter, concluding with these words:

"Won't you join in our protest against the iconoclasm of Messrs. Ambassador and Professor?"

"Won't you say with us that 'Helen's lips' aren't 'drifting dust'?"

"Won't you echo Lizette Woodworth Reese's really undeniable assertion that 'the fight for Helen still goes on?' When you were a little boy or girl, how did you answer Peter Pan's appeal about a faith in fairies?"

"Don't YOU believe in Helen?"—JOURNAL

Colonel Tobias Lear

Ernest L. Ives, Consul General, Algiers, wrote a thriller for the April, 1936 JOURNAL. It is about the adventures of Colonel Tobias Lear, Harvard, 1783, and one-time private secretary to General George Washington.

Colonel Lear was appointed Diplomatic Agent and Consul General at Algiers by President Thomas Jefferson, in 1803. He spent nine eventful years in Algiers, and must have shuddered in later years whenever he meditated on the last few days of his stay, for he realized how fortunate he had been to have escaped slavery and chains.

Some of the Colonel's colleagues in Algiers had not been so fortunate. When the Dey was annoyed with the consul or his country, usually with reference to the giving of presents, or the payment of tribute, he would threaten to put the consul in chains and make his countrymen slaves. Not infrequently the threat was put into execution.

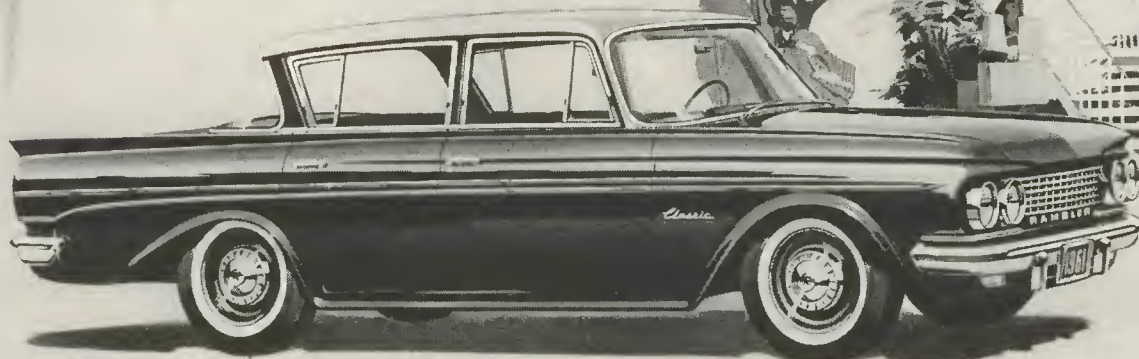
The Diplomatic Agent and Consul General of Holland was summoned to the Palace and treated in a most barbaric manner. Orders were given by the Dey to send him to prison in charge of a *Sbirro*, whose duty it was to conduct prisoners to torture. The Dutch representative in full dress uniform was pushed through the streets to prison, where he was put in chains. The next morning he was made to work with the slaves at the arsenal.

The Consular Corps did everything possible to obtain the release of their colleague and finally got the Dey to liberate him. But he had been working from three in the morning until four in the afternoon, had often fallen from exhaustion and the weight of the chains. Holland's Diplomatic Agent died a few months after his release as a result of the treatment he had received.

One can appreciate the character of these rulers of the Regency from the reply made by one of the Deys to a

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25 Years Ago

By JAMES B. STEWART

foreign representative protesting against piratical acts committed by Algerian corsairs:

"My mother," the Dey said, "sold sheep's feet and my father neat's tongues, but they would have been ashamed to have exposed for sale so worthless a tongue as yours."

Mark Twain in Switzerland

Arthur C. Frost, like Ernest Ives, has been a JOURNAL writer through the years. As Consul General, Zurich, he took us, in the April, 1936 JOURNAL, with Mark Twain on his three visits to Switzerland.

In 1878 the humorist was in Switzerland gathering material for "A Tramp Abroad." His second visit was in 1891. At Interlaken he wrote a travel letter titled, "Switzerland, the Cradle of Liberty." Mark Twain wrote: "After trying the political atmosphere of the neighboring monarchies, it is healing and refreshing to breathe in an air that has known no hint of slavery for six hundred years."

The Jungfrau, wrote Mr. Frost, evoked his fondest praise. "It was," exclaimed Mark Twain, "as if the door of Heaven had opened and revealed the throne."

In 1897 Twain made his third visit to Switzerland. He was then sixty-two years of age and he found at Weggis a favorite retreat under a three-trunked oak tree where he used to sit and smoke his pipe. This spot became known as the Mark Twain "Rube" (resting place).



Walmsley-Rennert. Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., and Mrs. Maria Teresa Rennert were married in Miami, January 14, 1936. Mr. Walmsley is Consul at Habana.

1961 Comment: Newbold Walmsley, our Ambassador to Tunis, and Teresa expected to celebrate their silver anniversary in Paris with the help, among others, of the Cecil Lyons and the Randy Kidders. Hope their plans carried.

And More Recently

Personals: Morry and Calista Hughes are contemplating "those sunny years of retirement." Their HQ will be Humboldt, Nebraska. • The Aaron Brown's daughter, Dorothy, is happily married and living in Stillwater, Oklahoma; Barbara is in Middlebury College, Vermont. • Ruth Thompson writes from Reykjavik, Iceland, that they love it there and hope to stay for years.

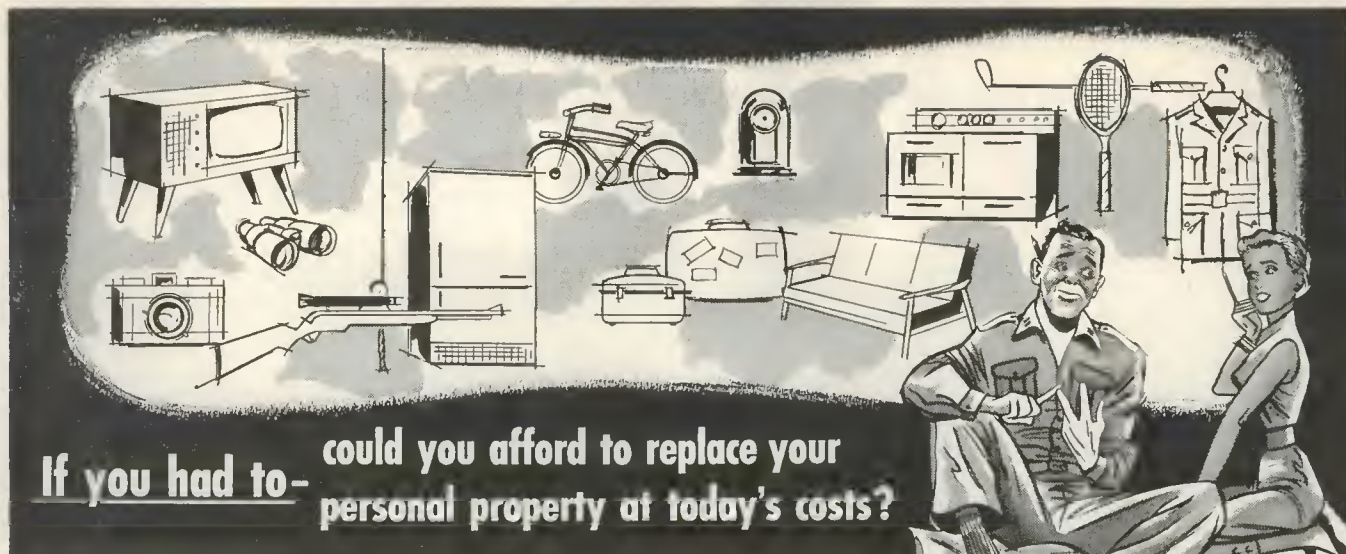
Herbert S. Bursley

FEW FOREIGN SERVICE officers ever had a more varied or a more interesting career than the late, former Ambassador Herbert S. Bursley.

Following a clerkship in London in 1916, Herb had about twenty assignments, including several in the Department, and was awarded the Department's Distinguished Service Award last December. In that month he retired and headed for Florida with Bobbie.

During one of Herb's assignments to the Department, the one about twenty-five years ago, he was editor of the JOURNAL. Holding down the two jobs meant much burning of the midnight oil, but he did it gladly, so intense was his interest in our Service magazine and its welfare.

Highly respected and held in affectionate regard, Herbert Bursley had two devotions—two loves—his precious family and his career.



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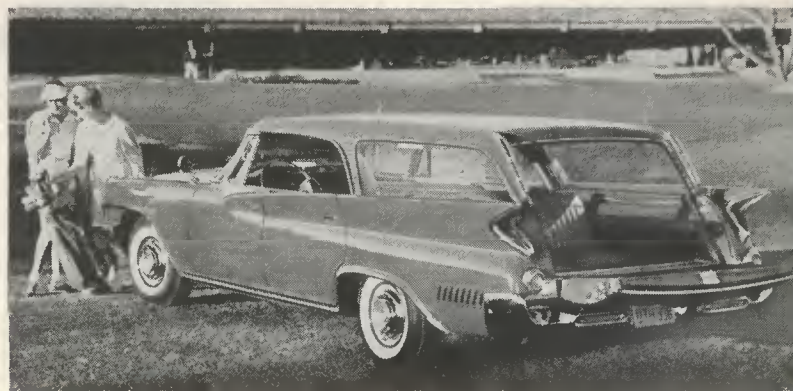


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Are We Spending Away Our Effectiveness?

The author looks at budget problems from the budgeteer's point of view. His ideas should stimulate thoughtful reactions from all who are concerned with the future of the Service.

by MARSHALL P. JONES

SOME MONTHS ago an interesting and provocative article entitled "Are We Administering Away our Effectiveness?" appeared in the pages of the JOURNAL. The article made a plea for a revitalization of personal initiative in the Service as a substitute for administrative "spoon-feeding" and depicted "Administration" as a self-serving machine with inexhaustible appetite for power and money.

I do not quarrel with the principal points and purposes of that article. In fact, I am in general agreement with them. I do question, however, the artificial separation of "Administration" as something distinct and apart from the rest of the Service, and completely disagree that "Administration" wears any labels, bears any smudges, or indulges in any excesses which are not part and parcel of the Service as a whole.

A penchant for excesses is neither a monopoly of "Administration," the Foreign Service, nor any single agency of the Government. Proof of this can be found in the annual budget estimates of most Government agencies wherein the relentless quest for more and more of everything—people, money, services, benefits, programs—is always in abundant evidence. In Washington, this struggle over bigger appropriations between the Bureaucrats and Congress has been labeled the "new" national game. It is more like a national disease, and it is contagious. Somewhere along the line it has afflicted the Foreign Service.

We have heard much during recent years, both within the Executive Branch of the Government and from the Congress, of the effects of these excesses, particularly as they relate to foreign affairs. How many times have we of the Foreign Service nodded in agreement to rising assertions that "there are too many Americans overseas," that "our fancy cars and standards of living abroad offend foreigners," that "allowances are being abused," that "too much money and people are wasted in non-essential activities." We subscribe to all these beliefs, particularly when they apply to other Government agencies operating abroad. But when it comes to putting the Department's own budget estimates together, an interesting annual phenomenon occurs. If one Bureau insists on a need for more positions, more money, more travel, more furnishings, more reporting, or more administration, no other Bureau wishes to

fall behind or be denied its slice of the appropriation pie. The domestic bureaus in the Department often see themselves in competition with the Regional Bureaus and the Foreign Service for new money and new jobs. These pressures and this merciless competition within the Department can have but one result. To keep a reasonable amount of peace, management has had little choice but to swell the total budget so as to provide something for everybody.

Experience has proven that the Department needs a high degree of flexibility in applying its monetary and personnel resources to meet unanticipated changes which occur all too frequently in various parts of the world. But the emergence of a new requirement in one area does not necessarily mean that the only way of accommodating it is to seek more money from Congress. Too often the only acceptable manner of funding new requirements is resort to the public pocketbook with little or no thought given to the abandonment or curtailment of programs which have outlived their priority or usefulness. For example, not many years ago the Department could justify the opening or maintaining of many consular posts on the basis of isolation, distances from other posts, poor transportation, poor communication, etc. Some could be justified on the basis of political instability within a country. Political reporting from one section of a country could be as important as reports emanating from the capital city. With the advent of fast transportation and modern communication, time and distance have rapidly shrunk. Political reporting from consulates in countries having a high degree of political stability may now be marginal. With a claimed shortage of both money and persons to meet all of the current requirements of the Service, can we honestly say that the only possible remedy is the continual quest for more money from the Congress? The closing of a few posts which are no longer essential to the foreign policy interests of the United States seems neither a drastic nor painful solution to the problem of finding resources for new needs.

A perplexing problem is the matter of allowances. Everyone recognizes that no amount of monetary allowance is recompense for the personal hardship and sacrifice which can and does occur to some individuals at some posts. The answer in these cases certainly is not that of making allowances so high that any sacrifice becomes worth it in terms of monetary return. The bulk of Foreign Service people, fortunately, live comfortably and enjoy a high standard of living under the present salary and allowance structure.

Continued

Marshall P. Jones, FSO-2, served as Embassy Administrative Officer at Tel Aviv and Belgrade and for the past two years has been Director of the Department's Office of Budget. He is currently assigned as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Administration.



by Lynn Millar

On the "Kurdamm," Sunday noon; Gedächtnis Kirche (Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church) in background.

Proof that the Congress has been generous with the Foreign Service in the matter of allowances is the fact that it is common talk throughout the Service that an assignment to Washington is the worst of all possible fates simply because one cannot afford to live there. Few realize that this apparently harmless bit of Service gospel has thunderous implications in Washington. Thousands of Americans raise their families and live quite happily in Washington at a standard of living unsurpassed anywhere in the world on the salary scale of a Civil Servant, without allowances. Many members of Congress, particularly those who serve on appropriations committees, frequently travel abroad and are fully aware of the vocal Foreign Service aversion to domestic assignments. From their point of view only one conclusion can be drawn. If the manner of living abroad on a combination of salary and allowances is so attractive that it alienates employees from desiring to serve in their own country, then there is something wrong. An inevitable result is that Congress is generally hostile to proposals that allowances and benefits, such as the proposed Washington housing allowance, are justified. If the Washington housing allowance proposal fails of passage in the Congress, the Foreign Service itself will bear a large measure of responsibility.

The bulk of the Department's annual appropriations is spent on the salaries of people and directly related supporting costs. In most agencies of government the cost of a position is the salary level at which it is classified. In the Foreign Service this is only the beginning. Let us consider for a moment that out of our fiscal year 1961 appropriations a new position at FSO-4 is established in the Foreign Service and subsequently filled by an officer having a wife and two children. In addition to his annual salary of \$11,000 it may cost upwards of \$5,000 for the travel of his family, his car, and his household effects to the post. After arrival he may be eligible for quarters allowances in the amount of \$2,500 per year, educational allowances of \$500, medical benefits currently averaging \$135, cost of living allowance of perhaps \$500, hardship differential, and so on. The post will incur new expenses because of his presence. It will be necessary to provide him with office space, secretarial time, furniture, supplies, equipment. He will wish to do some local travel within the country and to receive reimbursement for representational expenses.

After two years at the post, this FSO-4 will be eligible for home leave. This will cost approximately \$3,500. If it is coupled with transfer it may cost an additional \$3,000 to ship his household effects and his automobile to another post. If he is given training between assignments, an expenditure of \$1,000 or more may be made for this purpose. In

the end, the Department finds that the average officer position costs something over \$20,000 per year, this year, next year, and every year.

Let us assume that out of its 1961 appropriations the Department authorizes 50 new officer positions scattered at various posts throughout the Service. (The budget estimate included requests for 262 additional American positions in the Foreign Service). It would cost one million dollars per year to maintain these 50 jobs and would absorb a sizeable proportion of the total increase given the Department in its 1961 appropriation. Can we be sure that we do not already have in the Service positions whose value to the Department and the American people is something less than \$20,000 per year? Before incurring new position costs of these dimensions, should we not review to be certain there are not positions which could be eliminated, or positions for which we could substitute a local employee for an American? Perhaps the question really should be, can we afford not to? It is conceivable that the year will come when the Congress, unless we put our own house in order, will use the only weapon at its command—an arbitrary cut in appropriations—to force a review of our soaring Foreign Service demands.

It is sometimes argued that the size of the State Department's budget is so inconsequential in relation to total government expenditures that pruning would have no effect whatsoever on the economy or public debt. It does not behoove the Service to apply this kind of spurious analysis to its budget. The budget of every federal agency should stand on its own merit, and the financial management responsibilities of the Department should not be discarded merely because a neighboring agency's budget is ten times or fifty times larger.

Administrative activities certainly consume a large chunk of Foreign Service resources, but political, consular and economic activities, as evidenced by the Department's annual budgets, have shown little restraint with respect to the philosophy of needing more and more. Nor is there any noticeable lack of demand from these activities for more and more services to be provided by "Administration."

It is a truism that the public expects government agencies to be wasteful and inefficient, not limiting their needs to one dollar if two are available. The public is not yet well acquainted with the Foreign Service, and there is still hope that the old fashioned virtues of thrift, common sense, and dedication, which for so many years characterized the work and esprit of the Service, will still be in evidence in the years to come. These virtues may sound trite and archaic in this age of modern diplomacy, but let us not barter away our hirthing at the public trough.

... "Power gravitates to those who are willing to make decisions and live with the results, simply because there are so many who readily yield to the intrepid few who take their duties seriously."

—Secretary DEAN RUSK, at the February AFSA luncheon

EDITORIAL PAGES

“Daring and Dissent”

THE FOREIGN SERVICE has special reason to be thankful for President Kennedy's statement, in his State of the Union message, that the new Administration “recognizes the value of daring and dissent” among public servants. For the Department of State and the Foreign Service are, or should be, engaged in a continuous process of reevaluation of our foreign policies, and this process can be stultified if there is no freedom of expression within our organization.

Nobody who has been associated with the recent hammering-out of foreign policies in the Department of State will have come away feeling that there was any kind of enforced conformity. There are, and there should be, opposing viewpoints and sharp debates. But this has not always been the case. We are thinking of a time, for instance, when a despatch from the field which advanced facts and arguments that did not square with established policy could be withdrawn from circulation within the Department.

There should be no more of this. Even if an officer is wrong, provided he is loyal and keeps his views within the official family, he has a right—indeed, he has a duty—to make his best thinking on a particular problem available to the Department of State. The Department, on its part, should protect the officer against having labels put on him by outsiders who may disagree with his political views. Unless this is done, only orthodox views will be ventilated, and our policy formulation process will suffer. We have seen this happen to the foreign services of other countries. We have reason to believe, for instance, that the rigidity of Stalin's foreign policy was due in no small measure to selective and narrowly doctrinaire reporting from the field and an unwillingness to entertain new ideas about the actual world that surrounded the Soviet Union.

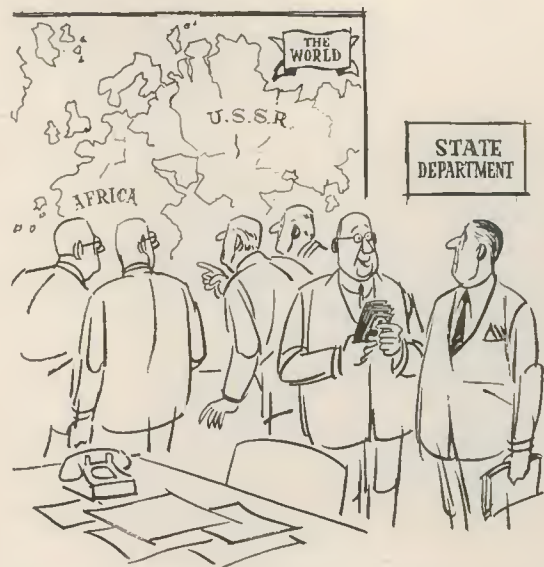
The right to think daring and dissenting thoughts is not a license for foolishness and wrongheadedness, but it is a guarantee that nothing will be taken for granted. In politics, yesterday's truths are often tomorrow's falsehoods. Officers who expressed skepticism about Russia's cooperative intentions during World War II performed an invaluable function in the policy formulation process, even though their views did not coincide with official policy. Officers today who question other assumptions of the day may possibly perform a similarly valuable function.

If an officer is consistently wrong or foolish, that will be reflected in his efficiency reports and he will presumably not advance to positions of responsibility and should, in fact, be selected out. But unpopular ideas are not necessarily foolish, and officers are also rated, and rightly so, for the factor of courage. We must hope that they will be given credit for courage if they give voice to unpopular thoughts, so that there will be no premium on “getting along with others” when that only means conformity and unimaginativeness. The policy formulation process is badly served if only those ideas are entertained that happen to correspond with the prevailing climate of opinion.

Let there be, then, within the limits of loyal service to the United States, a free play of ideas in the Foreign Service. Such a free play of ideas is only possible, however, if the President and the Secretary of State will actually defend those of their subordinates who may some day, with the benefit of hindsight, prove to have been wrong. In giving our best judgment we cannot always be right, particularly since politics involves constant change, and a judgment made two years ago may look foolish today even though it was quite reasonable at the time when it was made.

We are heartened by the President's response in his February 15 press conference to a reporter's question whether “any employee of our State Department was responsible for or had any part in advancing the Communist foothold in Cuba” and, if so, whether he would “take steps to remove them from office.” The President replied: “I think that probably miscalculations were made by our country in assessing in Cuba, but I have no evidence that anyone did it out of any other motive but to serve the United States.”

The Foreign Service consists not only of geniuses. We are fallible human beings, but we are less likely to give bad advice to those in positions of ultimate responsibility if we are free from inhibitions about the limits of what is “safe” to say. Let this be understood also by Congress, lest there be a new tendency to penalize those who have in good faith advocated the taking of risks. To our readers, we say: Speak up! Let there be “daring and dissent.” The President himself has said that he greets healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change.



“It's a pool on where the next 'explosive crisis' will be . . . You can have Union of South Africa, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and there are a lot of South American countries still available . . . !”

Reprinted from the Des Moines Register and Tribune

The Jackson Study and the Conduct of Foreign Affairs

THE JOURNAL applauds the deep understanding of statecraft and foreign policy formulation under the American Presidential system which pervades the recent Jackson Subcommittee study on the Secretary of State. The study reaffirms the traditional role of the Secretary as senior adviser to the President on foreign policy and as his chief agent for executing that policy. It identifies the major problems which must be faced if the Secretary is to perform his duties effectively. These problems have been discussed by the JOURNAL in past issues and need not be repeated.

It is hoped that this new expression of interest on the part of a Congressional committee will inspire the Department to greater efforts. The study has implications that go beyond an expression of concern and interest by a Congressional committee. A special adviser to the President for governmental operations and organization, Richard E. Neustadt is also a special consultant to the Subcommittee. It may be assumed that the essence of the study has been brought to the President's attention. The President's abolishing the Operations Coordination Board on February 18 and his vesting in the Department the major responsibility for foreign policy coordination indicate a close parallel between the President's thinking and that of the Jackson Subcommittee.

The principal problems that demand further, and immediate attention, are the interdepartmental committees and the

State-Defense relationship. To cut the Gordian knot of interdepartmental committees, the study has recommended the "committee-killing outfit" suggested by Ambassador Harri-man. The JOURNAL has long been of the opinion that the indecisiveness, slowness, and compromise of policy that characterize many of these committees serve only to damage the Secretary's capacity to provide efficient and enlightened leadership in the field of foreign affairs. In asserting that close cooperation between State and Defense is the absolute *sine qua non* of an effective national security policy, the study is restating a thesis advocated previously in the pages of the JOURNAL.

The study underlines especially a point that should be supported by the Service, that is, the need for more concentration on the executive management function in the Department and the Foreign Service. It is time that the Service accepts what has been said so well in the Jackson Subcommittee report: that the conduct of foreign affairs is big business and that to run this business efficiently, the politico-economic-military acumen and imagination which are obviously essential must be combined in the same person with the superior management abilities found in skillful administrators. If the Service fails to fill this need, it must face a decline in the prestige and responsibilities it has traditionally enjoyed, and it can expect the President to turn elsewhere for his Ambassadorial appointments.

On Healing Schisms

IN REVIEWING Henry Kissinger's "The Necessity for Choice," Chalmers Roberts wrote in the WASHINGTON POST: "the biggest schism in Washington is that which separates the State and Defense Departments."

If this statement is true, and we suspect there is at least a measure of truth in it, then the launching on January 9 of an exchange of professional personnel between these two Departments was a long overdue step in the right direction. For an understanding by diplomats of military affairs and by military personnel of non-military factors in international relations is increasingly vital if the United States is to develop in both Departments the required competence across the full spectrums of national security policy.

Steps in this direction have been under way for some time in the various War Colleges and in the Foreign Service Institute's Senior Seminar. These efforts will be greatly enhanced by the possibility now offered to professionals in both Departments to rub shoulders on the job. Especially to be welcomed is the fact that the Foreign Service and military officers involved in the exchange will work in the operational and policy planning areas of the two Departments, not in newly created jobs, but in existing positions which have significant responsibilities.

In welcoming this development which forges a new link between the two principal NSC agencies, we hope that it presages an intensification of similar exchanges between the State Department and agencies having important interests in foreign policy. We would hope for further two-way exchanges of professional personnel between ICA and the rest of the State Department, between the Department and other agencies such as the USIA, the AEC, the Treasury Department, and the Bureau of the Budget.

The Forgotten Men

AN UNFORTUNATE aspect of the recurrent outcry over representation allowances is that so much of the discussion on the Hill and in the press centers on the large amounts donated by our ambassadors in London, Paris and Rome to the costs of their embassies' official entertainment. It is altogether fitting that their public-spirited generosity should be recognized, as well as note taken of the anomaly of an affluent, democratic society having to rely on private largesse for support of its diplomatic activities abroad. The situation is nonetheless anomalous because these ambassadors are willing to provide this assistance and able to do so without apparent hardship.

Regrettably, however, in the general bemusement over the high cost of representation in Western Europe, scant attention is given to a greater injustice: the fact that hundreds of Foreign Service, USIA and ICA officers in small consulates and large embassies throughout the world are obligated, by the requirements of their jobs and the inadequacy of representation allowances, to defray from their own pockets a substantial, if not major, share of their representational expenses. Few of these officers have private incomes but most of them have families to support and children to educate.

Foreign Service officers overseas cannot effectively play their assigned role in the conduct of American foreign relations unless they have made friends widely among business men, foreign officials, newsmen, cultural leaders, and other key people. As at home, so abroad, friendly relations are established through exchange of hospitality: dinner parties, luncheon parties and cocktail parties. The necessity of this ought to be easily understood in the United States, where entertaining the out-of-town buyer is a hallowed tradition

and, in large degree, responsible for the growth of the credit-card business to a several-billion-dollar a year level.

In line with the American maxim, "The customer is always right," Foreign Service officers necessarily seek to please their guests. Insofar as beverages are concerned, some guests may wish lemonade, Coke or even lime squash; others may prefer bourbon, scotch or dry martinis. As Congressman Rooney has pointed out, these drinks are "tools of the trade" and lemonade in some countries is more expensive than non-temperance drinks. The important thing is to give the man what he wants. Congressman Rooney's statement of these truths is admirable both for candor and for putting things in their place.

Is This Trip Necessary?

MR. ABBOTT's letter published in the December JOURNAL, strikes us as making two good, if distantly related, points. The first has to do with training, a subject which is mightily cuffed about these days. We will therefore limit ourselves to saying that we think a senior, mature officer could probably profit more from the reading sabbatical suggested by Mr. Abbott than from some of the more highly organized "programs" into which he is currently likely to be "slotted."

Mr. Abbott's second point, "Is this trip necessary," is probably valid as presented but it has broader and more timely applications.

It would be a difficult task to make an accurate estimate of what effect US official overseas travel has on our balance

of payments situation, about which so much has been written and done in recent months. There are other effects, however, which may be even more important:

—The effect on foreign officials who must be confused by the priorities established by the American Government as between not only different groups of travelers but also between such travel and policies, such as tying US assistance to US procurement, concerned with the balance of payments situation.

—The effect on Foreign Service posts which must spend meager resources of funds, time and personnel on escorting and entertaining official travelers. This function works hardships not only on small posts in the newly developing areas, which are attracting increasing numbers of visitors, but also on the older and larger posts. In fact, one of the sources of funds for the African emergency was the allotment used for the reception of visitors in the larger posts in Europe and elsewhere.

We hope that the heads of Government departments and agencies in the new administration and the leaders and Committee Chairmen of the new Congress will tighten their control of this problem and will force all prospective travelers to ask themselves if their trip is necessary. If the trip is necessary, then every effort should be made to reduce the number of people on each mission to the essential minimum and to effect coordination in timing with other official travel. We are confident that the Executive and Legislative branches will recognize that the seriousness of the times does not permit the expenditure of already strained resources on overseas tourist trips by officials of either branch.

Coordination—and the Modern Chief of Mission

Today's Ambassador must be not only a good executive but also knowledgeable in a broad range of activities and operations.

by ELBERT G. MATHEWS

THE PAST DECADE has shown a consistent trend toward delegating greater authority and responsibility for the management of United States Government operations abroad to Chiefs of Mission. This trend reflects two judgments, now generally accepted, about the future of the foreign relations of the United States.

First, those relations will not in the foreseeable future revert to the narrow confines of traditional diplomacy. In order to pursue effectively our basic objective of freedom, justice and peace throughout the world, the United States will continue for an indeterminate period to use programs of economic and technical cooperation, military assistance, information and cultural exchange to supplement and support traditional diplomacy.

Second, whatever the institutional and administrative structure for the management of these various activities in Washington, abroad they must be under a single management in each country to assure maximum effectiveness. All

United States Government activities in a country must be integrated parts of a unified program tailored to the specific situation of that country. Moreover, as country situations are rarely static in these times of change, there must be a focal point of responsibility in each country to keep the total program under constant review so that prompt adjustment can be made to meet new needs.

Against this background, President Eisenhower on November 8, 1960 issued Executive Order No. 10893 restating the authority and responsibilities of the Chief of Mission for the supervision and coordination of all United States Government activities in the country to which he is accredited. In an accompanying memorandum of the same date, the President interpreted and elaborated the provisions of the

Mr. Mathews entered the Foreign Service in 1935 and has served at Kabul, Calcutta, and Istanbul as well as in the Department. Today he is Ambassador to Liberia and writes that he became interested in the management of U. S. Government activities abroad during the every-agency-for-itself days of World War II.

CHIEFS OF MISSION

Executive Order. These documents define more precisely than ever before the role of the Chief of Mission and deserve careful study by all United States Government personnel working in the field of foreign relations.

The issue of this more explicit delegation of authority provides an opportune occasion to review the factors that make for effective supervision and coordination by the Chief of Mission. First of all is his executive and managerial ability. Foreign Service officers will do well to ponder the primacy of this factor. If we wish to see the present high proportion of career Chiefs of Mission maintained, the Service will have to produce officers with executive and managerial qualifications. These qualifications are not suddenly acquired upon being commissioned as Chief of Mission. They must be developed throughout an officer's career. The Foreign Service Institute has recognized this need and provides useful training in management; its activities in this field could well be expanded. The Institute, however, cannot carry the whole load. Heavy responsibility rests on senior Foreign Service officers to encourage and assist junior officers to develop managerial skills.

SECOND only to executive and managerial ability is the attitude of the Chief of Mission. He must be genuinely interested in the full range of official United States activities in his country of accreditation. If he is a Foreign Service officer, he must discard any lingering remnants of Service and Department of State parochialism. The chief of the agricultural division of the United States Operations Mission is as much his man and his responsibility as the chief of the Chancery political section. Unless the Chief of Mission can take this broad view, he will fail. No competent head of an agency mission will have confidence in or willingly accept supervision and coordination by a Chief of Mission who is obviously bored by the agency program or who, despite a superficial display of interest, reveals meager understanding of the program.

A third factor is the proper utilization of the Deputy Chief of Mission in a dual capacity. He must first act by delegation from the Chief of Mission as head of the Embassy Chancery. The Chief of Mission who tries to be his own head of Chancery will almost certainly do so at the expense of his broader supervising and coordinating responsibilities. The Deputy as potential Chargé must also be the alter ego of the Chief of Mission in all Country Team matters. A competent and tactful Deputy can and should carry on much of the day-to-day coordination of United States Government activities and provide an alternative, authoritative source of guidance for all personnel.

Just as the Chief of Mission must take a broad view of his responsibilities, so must the heads of agency missions. These members of the Country Team must recognize that the programs which they direct are but part of a comprehensive United States approach to the country in which they are operating. The overriding criteria for the establishment and continuation of any program are its responsiveness to the essential needs of the country situation and its compatibility with the total United States approach. Primary responsibility for assuring that the heads of agency

missions take a broad view of their responsibilities rests on the parent agencies, including the Department of State, which must indoctrinate their personnel in a national as distinct from an agency concept of their activities.

The Chief of Mission can also do much to encourage a broad view on the part of the heads of agency missions by consulting with them freely and fully. If the Country Team meeting provides a forum in which the basic problems of the country situation and the United States response to that situation can be discussed without restraint, the heads of agency missions will have a sense of meaningful participation in the formulation of a national program and will be stimulated to take initiatives in proposing improvements in the program. The ultimate responsibility for making policy recommendations to Washington rests with the Chief of Mission, but he will be unwise if he does not take full advantage of the talents of his Country Team associates in exercising that responsibility.

THE Chief of Mission cannot supervise or coordinate unless he has adequate information concerning all United States coordination of official United States activities. If he does, he may not become aware of lack of coordination until it has reached critical proportions. He must encourage and if necessary enforce coordination at all levels of the United States Government structure in the country to which he is accredited. There should be close official relationships and a full exchange of information among all United States personnel with related interests. In these circumstances, misunderstandings of policy and tendencies toward uncoordinated activities are more likely to be uncovered at an early stage.

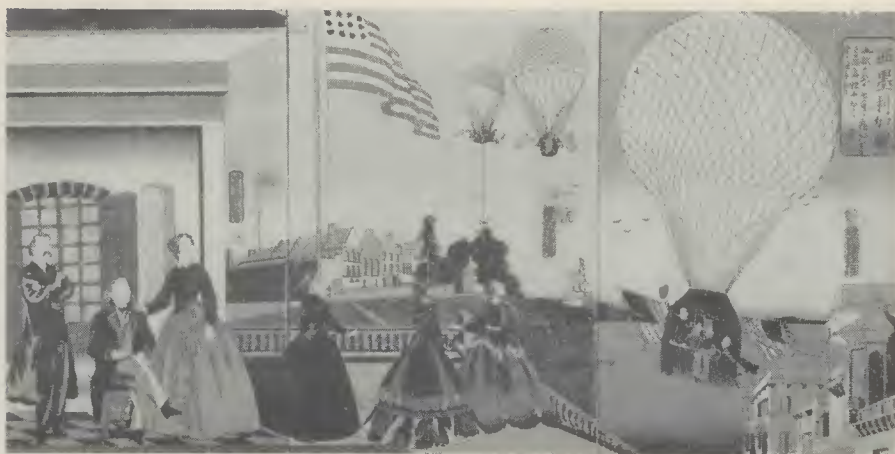
The Chief of Mission cannot supervise or coordinate unless he has adequate information concerning all United States Government activities under his control. He can obtain much of this information of a factual nature from reports and memoranda, but the nuances and atmospherics, frequently more important than the bare facts, can be obtained only by personal contact and oral exploration. The Chief of Mission must accept, therefore, that an essential part of his task is to keep himself accessible to a wide range of personnel from all the agency missions under his supervision.

In some few countries where the United States has very large and widely diversified programs, the Chief of Mission may need special staff assistance and formalized procedures to carry out his supervising and coordinating functions. These facilities and arrangements cannot, however, be permitted to become a substitute for the personal interest and continuing attention of the Chief of Mission. If they have the effect of insulating him from personal contacts, supervision and coordination will suffer.

Some readers will have concluded that this brief review dwells too much on people and not enough on procedures. It should, therefore, be said that procedures are necessary and valuable. Their effectiveness depends, however, on the attitudes, relationships and common purpose of the people using them.

WASHINGTON LETTER

by Gwen BARROWS



"Country of America. This is Called a Balloon and It Flies Through the Air Like a Steamer Moves on Water."
Yoshitora, in 1867.

Balloons still soar in space but in quite different style now, a century later. Distinguished passengers, excepting only Cantinflas, are more likely to be called Abel or Baker or Sam, or even Miss Sam, in America—and Laika, or Strelka, Belka or Chernushka in Russia. The former are very important monkeys, the latter very important dogs. Hector, the French *voyageur*, is a mouse.

History in Animal-land will no doubt record many exploits by distinguished members before the first Astronauts' story is sold for a fabulous sum to Sex and Life magazine. But some of the highly talented chimps, it has already been disclosed, didn't think the trip worth the banana. One, at least, threw it back in the face of his land-bound trainer; no doubt disappointed that his diary was confiscated.

Back from outer space, however momentarily—Washington continued to seethe with activity during the blustery month of March. At NS/E the considerable energy at top echelons seethed down through the building with such effect that one evening, as we were sleuthing about the corridors in search of a black eat or a position paper, through a slightly open door we saw what seemed a typical picture. A group of men bent over a conference table, completely absorbed in their discussion, faces drawn tight with fatigue.

We couldn't but be reminded of the bureaucrat who said he was too busy and too tired. Asked if he hadn't been able to get any leave or respite from the continued drain on his resources he replied, "No, but I do get some rest. Luckily, I faint a lot."

But it was time for parties, too, and the handsome chandeliers donated by Secretary and Mrs. Douglas Dillon burned brightly in the new reception rooms on the eighth floor at State. A round of entertaining permitted Secretary Rusk to meet many of the host of diplomats stationed in Washington.

Adding to the atmosphere of movement was the news that

the Department's research work is being drastically reorganized to cut down on the duplication of effort. In the process a sizable chunk of INR is said to be slated for transfer to CIA. Then there were the continuing rumors of Ambassadorial changes.

On the domestic front, it was a time of year when pictures of far-off sunny places filled the papers, when academic plans were being made for the following autumn. "Study Abroad" and "Vacations Abroad," the comprehensive handbooks of UNESCO, made their appearance. Fodor's handsome new travel books (fifteen of them) all were pored over. At AFSA lights burned at odd times as the Committee on Education

began to get down to cases for its fall Scholarship Awards. Received were more than 200 letters and some 150 subsequent applications, from which the Committee on Education will soon select winners for the forty-six 1961-62 awards.

While forsythia, crocuses, pussy willow, daffodils all began to make bright the landscape outside, Japanese flower arrangements had a special showing at the National Housing Center. This exhibit continues through April 9, and includes settings of stone lanterns and garden ponds, which harmonize well with the annual display of Japanese loveliness around the Tidal Basin. The flower show at the Armory surpassed anything that had been attempted before. After the long, cold winter, spring was welcome indeed.

Peace Corps

Since the first reference during campaign days to a peace corps, few subjects have been so vehemently discussed or applauded from one end of this country to the other. Youth in their usual clear-eyed fashion looked at it calmly, for the most part. Many wanted to sign up immediately.

So great became the ground swell, however, that within two days after the formal announcement last month that it was actually being set up and would be directed by the President's brother-in-law, Sargent Shriver, former president of the Board of Education in Chicago, more than eight thousand letters had descended on the skeleton working staff.

When Mr. Shriver, with Warren Wiggins and others of his staff, spoke before a sizable group of State Department officers, explaining some of the ground rules and guide lines of the corps, he had an attentive and sympathetic audience, though none denied the inherent problems of such a corps. He disarmed his audience when he said it was not planned to send out to an unwaiting and unwilling world a host of callow sophomores with haloes over their heads.

Foreign Service Center

Several of our readers had asked us recently about the current status of the Foreign Service Center, reported on over a year ago in these columns, and we were happy to discover that it hasn't been entirely overlooked in the general rush of affairs.

It now appears that the project may be given an assist by the newly-set-up Public Affairs Unit of the Office of the Chief of Protocol. This unit, by the way, will be concerned, among other things, with arrangements for permanent and visiting missions for housing, recreation, etc.

The Foreign Service Center, it may be remembered, was to be located near the Department and was to have recreational and sports facilities and be available for entertaining diplomats stationed in Washington. Of greatest use, perhaps, to the junior officer, it could nevertheless be of considerable value to the Foreign Service officers who meet too few of their colleagues from other countries while posted in Washington.

We listed earlier some of the specific features we hoped the new center would contain, and these are important, but the atmosphere will be the one most influential factor. If, by careful planning, one can arrive at a beautiful installation which will encourage the informal social life of a Paris café, this is greatly to be desired. In too few countries is one given the many opportunities for good conversation one finds in France, whether for the apéritif or the after-the-meal coffee, at noon or in the evening. And in few countries can one as easily see as many of one's friends during the course of a year—all without the routines of planning or the fixing and consuming of elaborate meals.

An international center for diplomats has worked very well in Rome and elsewhere and it is thought that Congress may provide funds to help put up the actual building. Retired Ambassadors Myron M. Cowen and Robert D. Murphy have already done yeoman service on this project.

More reactions at this time from those who would want to use it could be very useful.

PX Civilization?

In the morning's mail one day last week was a plea that our PX-Commissary Civilization be looked at in the cold light of national purposes.

Life in Germany, the FSO wrote, only convinces one the more that "the system under which Americans live and operate abroad represents an

almost fatal handicap to us in our efforts to achieve our objectives, however ill-defined the latter might be."

The British historian Dr. Arnold Toynbee put the same thing vividly recently, when he wrote:

"Since military warfare means self-annihilation in the atomic age, it is likely that the Russo-U. S. competition for world power will continue to be carried on by missionary instead of military activities on both sides . . . If the Americans had asked the Russians to invent a handicap for America in the missionary war, the PX is the very thing the Russians would have proposed."

Trends and Ends

- "It is amusing that the denunciation of conformity has become a leading aspect of the new conformity everywhere." (pointed out by Charles Poore in the "Books of the Times," the NEW YORK TIMES daily book review).

- *Ça change.* Among the changes in the life of the FSO working in London these days is the fact that he is often five hours ahead of his Washington colleagues: he has already digested what has facetiously been referred to as the State Department's official leak, the NEW YORK TIMES (uncluttered by advertisements but otherwise intact), while alarm clocks in Washington are still ticking off 4 a.m.

- Running around Whitehall these days, we heard, is the latest version of how a diplomat can terminate a conversation: "I couldn't possibly disagree with you less."

"LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE"

by Robert W. Rienden



"I am sorry, gentlemen. The four-year tour in Washington is established Department policy."

Clippings from the Press

Excerpts from column "These Days" by George E. Sokolsky in the WASHINGTON POST, December 22, 1960:

THE ANTI-CASTRO Cubans have been telling me for more than six months that an official of the State Department, William Arthur Montenegro, is responsible for the success of Fidel Castro.

But the State Department records do not show the employment of a William Arthur Montenegro. Is this a personality with two names? Latin American Communists know of two men by the name of Montenegro, one who is actually a Communist Party member, another who was very sympathetic to the Party. Both were journalists. . .

William Arthur Montenegro, under that name and under another name, wrote for the Havana Post from 1933 to 1937. . .

The State Department has a technique for covering up and evading scandals. When a State Department official goes wrong or is caught with bloody hands, the trick is to send him to another part of the world, far from news centers, until those who are interested forget about him, get interested in something else, or die. Then the career official who went away may return to Washington.

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Excerpts from column "These Days" by George E. Sokolsky in the WASHINGTON POST, December 30, 1960:

IHAVE BEEN told that the Eastland committee has been investigating William Arthur Montenegro, by whatever name he goes, for many months and that this committee possesses more information concerning him and his activities than I possess, although I doubt that, for I have the entire story. However, if the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee possesses such data, what is it waiting for?

The new President will need to face many reorganizations of departments, but none is as important as the restudy of the personnel of the State Department and of other departments which deal with foreign relations. For some reason, these departments have been infiltrated and infested with unsatisfactory personnel. It is not so much a matter of the "ugly American," as it is that the information which comes to a President is too often inadequate or

even incorrect and that the day-by-day actions and decisions which cumulatively become policy before a President can act, are not always beneficial to the United States.

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From statement by Secretary of State Herter, September 10, 1960:

IFLATLY REJECT the charge that I and my senior advisers in the Department have not been or are not now fully seized of the problems facing the United States in its relations with Cuba.

While United States relations with Cuba have always been given close attention by the senior officials of this Department, this has been especially true during the past few years under both Secretary Dulles, with whom I was associated as Under Secretary in 1957-58, and myself.

I reject out of hand the shocking and unfounded allegations that State Department personnel have conducted our relations with Cuba without the knowledge of their superiors and on any basis other than our own national interest.

Excerpts from radio interview of Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, on Station WGMS, Washington, January 6, 1961:

IAM NOT suggesting that any more than errors of judgment has been involved here. But I am somewhat impatient with those who say it was just an error and therefore no questions should be raised, no questions asked and we go on from there. . .

These same people who have made these errors and other errors probably, and in some cases not probably but certainly, will be permitted to go on and make new ones. . . I am hoping that we can get at the bottom why this has occurred here in our own hemisphere. How has it happened that a country only ninety miles off our shores, where we had the best contacts and excellent relations, was turned over to the Communists, because that is the fact?

I am not interested in punishing anybody. I will go so far as to say that I am confident these were errors of judgment only. I don't suggest anything more. But I do say we must stop this sort of thing, we must get our people

in the State Department who will not make continually this kind of errors. This is not anything new. This is what happened in China. This is why we lost China, this is why we lost other important places of influence in the world, and I tell you it has got so bad that it must stop.

Excerpts from the Washington DAILY NEWS, February 3, 1961:

THE TENOR of the [Senate Internal Security] subcommittee's line is not that the Red threat is due to some social flaw or failure in the area itself, but that, as the subcommittee's publicity release stated last fall, "Cuba was handed to Castro and the Communists by a combination of Americans in the same way that China was handed to the Communists."

After saying that Americans who "handed over" Cuba were "unknown," the subcommittee then proceeded to say that Roy Rubottom, then Assistant Secretary of State, William A. Wieland, then head of the desk handling Mexico and the Caribbean, and Herbert Matthews of the New York TIMES had a hand in it.

The committee did not notify the State Department of its hearing, nor did it call any of the men named to give them a chance to refute the attack made on them, before publicly reporting its "finding."

Several weeks ago syndicated columnist George Sokolsky in The Washington Post took up the hue and cry, calling for the unmasking of one "William Arthur Montenegro" who was, apparently, hiding under some other name inside the State Department. Mr. Sokolsky wanted this man captured because he was the one really responsible for Fidel Castro's success.

Mr. Sokolsky was pointing at William Arthur Wieland, whose mother was divorced when he was a boy, married a man named Montenegro, whose name Mr. Wieland then took at the time.

Later he was editor of the Havana Post, but never wrote under the name of Montenegro, as a check of the newspaper files in the Library of Congress revealed.

End of mystery.

The libelous attack against the man is carried a step further in a recent

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book called "Red Star Over Cuba," by a reformed Communist named Nathaniel Weyl.

Mr. Weyl finds that State Department "liberals" took advantage of Mr. Dulles' affliction with cancer to frustrate his anti-Red policies and to "appease" Castro. He mentions Mr. Wieland and "an enigmatic figure" called Mr. Rubottom.

Excerpts from column by Roscoe Drummond in the Washington POST, February 26, 1961.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S objective of inquiring into the "Communist threat to the United States through the Caribbean" is proper, welcome, and

valuable. What is unfair and unjust, improper and hurtful, is to release fragments of testimony either without rebuttal or without releasing it simultaneously so that the public can have the full story in one piece. . .

Secretary of State Herter was never invited by the Subcommittee to give the Government's side of the story. Testimony from the accused officials has either never been taken by the Subcommittee or never released.

Such onesided testimony should be read not merely with "some caution," as Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) has warned, but with total reservation until

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the Subcommittee hears and reports the other side.

Without questioning motives, what is really wrong with this performance by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security?

It eagerly takes testimony on one side and reluctantly takes testimony on the other.

It rushes to publicize part of the testimony and withholds other testimony. It does not permit accused officials to confront their accusers, does not invite them to be heard promptly after they have been accused, and does not publish their replies simultaneously with the accusation.

Foreign Policy and the Political Officer

by DEAN RUSK

WE ARE TODAY in a highly revolutionary world situation. Change is its dominant theme. I suppose that the central question before us is how we can properly relate ourselves to these fundamental and far-reaching changes. We are seeing a world in turmoil, reshaping itself in a way which is at least as significant as the breakdown of the Concert of Europe, or as the emergence of the national states in the Western system, or as the explosion of Europe into other continents of the world some three centuries ago.

Older political forms have disintegrated. New international forms are coming into being. We are experiencing enormous pressures to achieve economic and social improvement in all parts of the world, as masses of people who have largely been isolated from currents of world opinion, knowledge and information are coming to realize that their miseries are not a part of an ordained environment about which nothing can be done.

We could be passive in relation to these changes and take our chances. I think the view of the new Administration is that, were we to be passive, we could not expect the institutions of freedom to survive. We could undertake an active defense of the *status quo*. My own guess is that, were we to do that, we would be fighting a losing battle. We can, on the other hand, attempt to take a certain leadership in change itself; certainly the world is not as we should like to see it and the world is not as peoples elsewhere find

tolerable. Leadership of change is a theme which we will be wanting to talk with you about and to have you keep in mind as we go about our daily business. It may, indeed, prove to be impossible to win the so-called cold war unless we develop our thoughts, in collaboration with our friends abroad, about what kind of world we are reaching for beyond the cold war.

I think another important factor for us to consider as we move into a new period turns on the President and his attitude toward the conduct of foreign relations. We have a President with great interest in foreign affairs. We have a President who will rely heavily upon the Department of State for the conduct of our foreign relations. This will not be a passive reliance, but an active expectation on his part that this Department will in fact take charge of foreign policy. The recent Executive Order which abolished the Operations Coordinating Board bore witness to the fact that the Department of State is expected to assume the leadership of foreign policy. In consequence, an enormous responsibility falls upon us here not only in developing policies but in seeing that they are carried out.

With this enlarged role in mind, I should like to make a few suggestions: What we in the United States do or do not do will make a very large difference in what happens in the rest of the world. We in this Department must think about foreign policy in its total context. We cannot regard foreign policy as something left over after defense policy or trade policy or fiscal

policy has been extracted. Foreign policy is the total involvement of the American people with peoples and governments abroad. That means that if we are to achieve a new standard of leadership, we must think in terms of the total context of our situation. It is the concern of the Department of State that the American people are safe and secure—defense is not a monopoly concern of the Department of Defense. It is also the concern of the Department of State that our trading relationships with the rest of the world are vigorous, profitable, and active—this is not just a passing interest or a matter of concern only to the Department of Commerce. We can no longer rely on interdepartmental machinery "somewhere upstairs" to resolve differences between this and other departments. Assistant Secretaries of State will now carry an increased burden of active formulation and coordination of policies. Means must be found to enable us to keep in touch as regularly and as efficiently as possible with our colleagues in other departments concerned with foreign policy.

I think we need to concern ourselves also with the timeliness of action. Every policy officer cannot help but be a planning officer. Unless we keep our eyes on the horizon ahead, we shall fail to bring ourselves on target with the present. The movement of events is so fast, the pace so severe, that an attempt to peer into the future is essential if we are to think accurately about the present. If there is anything which we can do in the Executive Branch of the

Excerpts from the Secretary's talk to policy-making officers in the Department

Government to speed up the processes by which we come to decisions on matters on which we must act promptly, that in itself would be a major contribution to the conduct of our affairs. Action taken today is often far more valuable than action taken several months later in response to a situation then out of control.

There will of course be times for delay and inaction. What I am suggesting is that when we delay, or when we fail to act, we do so intentionally and not through inadvertence or through bureaucratic or procedural difficulties.

I also hope that we can do something about reducing the infant mortality rate of ideas—an affliction of all bureaucracies. We want to stimulate ideas from the bottom to the top of the Department. We want to make sure that our junior colleagues realize that ideas are welcome, that initiative goes right down to the bottom and goes all the way to the top. . .

Further, I would hope that we could pay attention to little things. While observing the operations of our Government in various parts of the world, I have felt that in many situations where

our policies were good we have tended to ignore minor problems which spoiled our main effort. To cite only a few examples: The wrong man in the wrong position, perhaps even in a junior position abroad, can be a source of great harm to our policy; the attitudes of a UN Delegate who experiences difficulty in finding adequate housing in New York City, or of a foreign diplomat in similar circumstances in our capital, can easily be directed against the United States and all that it stands for. Dozens of seemingly small matters go wrong all over the world. Sometimes those who know about them are too far down the line to be able to do anything about them. I would hope that we could create the recognition in the Department and overseas that those who come across little things going wrong have the responsibility for bringing these to the attention of those who can do something about them.

If the Department of State is to take primary responsibility for foreign policy in Washington, it follows that the Ambassador is expected to take charge overseas.

This does not mean in a purely bu-

reaucratic sense, but in an active, operational, interested, responsible fashion. He is expected to know about what is going on among the representatives of other agencies who are stationed in his country. He is expected to supervise, to encourage, to direct, to assist in any way he can. If any official operation abroad begins to go wrong, we shall look to the Ambassador to find out why and to get suggestions for remedial action. . .

The Department of State is entering, I think, something of a new phase in its existence. We are expected to take charge. We shall be supported in taking charge, but it throws upon us an enormous responsibility to think broadly and deeply and in a timely fashion about how the United States shall conduct itself in this tumultuous world in which we live.

I want to transmit to you not only my own complete confidence but the confidence of the President in our determination to back you in one of the most onerous responsibilities in the country, and indeed in the world today, and ask you for your maximum help as we try to get on with this job in the months ahead.

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A Review Sampler of Books On Africa



Festus Idehen in "Art in Nigeria 1960,"
by Ulli Beier

THE SHOW OF NEW flags in Africa precedes anything like a wide knowledge of that great continent, and this fact is not escaping the publishing houses. The latter have begun to re-issue some of the classics of African exploration and empire-building, and to pour forth political tracts, scholarly studies, memoirs, travelogues and journalistic visitations.

At heart publishers are still explorers, as well they might be considering the sweep and strangeness of the African scene and its counterplay of languor and vivacity, all suggestive of the last stronghold of Nature. Thus of my recent reading I found beguiling a little volume called *East African Explorers* (Oxford, 8s.6d.), a selection from the writings of early missionaries, explorers, naturalists and railway builders. The ubiquitous Livingstone ("Her Majesty's Consul for the East Coast of Africa and the Unexplored Interior") and Stanley are represented along with sixteen others who record their perilous caravans and marches through unimagined landscapes and peoples, searching the Nile's sources, getting lost in the Great Rift Valley, enduring what Joseph Thomson in a downcast moment called "the obtrusive, vulgar inquisitiveness or aggressive impertinence which makes the traveller's life a burden to him among native tribes." Oxford has issued companion volumes on West African and South African Explorers. More

The discovery of Africa is at hand. New titles are appearing at a heady pace and the older classics are being rescued and re-issued. Here are the notes of one explorer.

recently the University of California Press has brought out, for the first time ever, a first volume of Livingstone's *Private Journals*.

Many of these same threads of vital human experience have been brought together anew by Alan Moorehead in *The White Nile* (Harper, \$5.95) and woven into an exciting document, close to melodrama, of the queen river of the imagination. The heralds of "civilization" and the trumpets of empire, proclaiming superiority in learning and bloodletting, are endowed with a preternatural aspect when ranged along the course of that mute serenity which is the Nile.

Of the tracts, one of great power is Alan Paton's *Hope for South Africa* (Praeger, \$2.50). This is a calculated understatement of the dignity of man and of the cruel dilemma of a white South African seeking to keep open a safety valve in a political pressure chamber. Paton catalogs, with a restraint all the more compelling, the inexorability with which fear has been written into the laws of the troubled Union. A book just out, *Shooting at Sharpeville* (Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.50), by Bishop Reeves, is an epilogue to the Paton work—and a grim prologue to greater tragedies.

Another book of political significance is *Black Government* (United Society for Christian Literature; Lusaka, N. Rhodesia, 6s.3d.), by Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris. This is a dialogue between black and white in Rhodesia, conducted with civility yet fraught with tension, about the prospects for the rise of a new civilization in multi-racial Central Africa. Less readable but on target politically is Donald Rothchild's *Toward Unity in Africa* (Public Affairs, \$5.00), a study of the major federal experiments so far made in Africa. The centripetal and centrifugal forces, both of enduring validity, are set forth for the student of tomorrow's dynamics.

Of other new titles in the political field I would mention three of pertinence. *Kwame Nkrumah and the Future of Africa* (Praeger, \$5.50) is by a white South African, John Phillips, long resident in Ghana—and now barred there, a victim of the boycott. This is an ambitious and uneven book, sympathetic but penetrating, and in all provocative on a highly provocative subject. To fill a blank space in many bookshelves on Africa, we now have *The Emerging States of French Equatorial Africa* (Stanford, \$8.75), by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Valuable to the specialist, this is a painstaking survey of the institutions and problems of Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Central African Republic and Chad, in which the merits outweigh the impedimenta to be expected in a scholarly work. Of value where there is need for a kind of political primer on main trends, there is Gwendolyn Carter's *Independence for Africa* (Praeger, \$4.50; paper \$1.65).

This brings us to the books which offer a literary approach to Africa and its peoples. The American Negro poet Langston Hughes has brought together, in *An African Treasury* (Crown, \$3.50), selections from thirty-five African writers—articles, essays, stories, poems and, for better or worse in a literary work, a New York speech by Tom Mboya and Nkrumah's address to the United States Senate. The collection had its genesis in a short-story contest sponsored by South Africa's DRUM, and it conveys a special sense of the pride, vitality and restlessness that are finding expression nowadays in the "African personality." "What white writers think of the once 'Dark Continent' we have long known," says Mr. Hughes. "These pages tell what black writers think."

Presumably Mr. Hughes' comment was made as much for political as for

literary effect, and he should have his due in this. It provides occasion to recall, however, that white writers have given the world a few joyful and profound masterpieces about Africa. I was reminded of this lately in coming across Joyce Cary's *Mister Johnson* (Michael Joseph), now out of print, in which the onset of British officialdom is given a hilariously casual reception in a Nigerian district. Fortunately back in print, in paper covers, is Laurens Van Der Post's *Venture to the Interior* (Compass, \$1.45), a minor classic of post-World War II exploration in Nyasaland.

Then there is the incomparable Isak Dinesen, whose *Shadows on the Grass* (Random, \$3.75) has made its way onto current best-seller lists. This is a lyrical echo of her earlier and classical account of life on a Kenya coffee plantation. *Out of Africa*, first published in 1938. Both books are the fulfillment of a discerning imagination, opened to the spell-binding moods and magic of the African land and peoples, leaving us a record of the African soul which still abides in today's political clamor. *Out of Africa* is available in a Modern Library edition (\$1.95).

And for any who may have missed that masterpiece of Africa's full bitterness and beauty, Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*, be it known that Scribner still has it in print, in paper, at \$1.45.

—P. O'SHEEL

"Successful Mission"

"WHERE NO FLAGS FLY" is a novel about an American agent planted in Soviet Russia to investigate the development of nuclear weapons and to ascertain when and if a surprise attack is to be made on the United States. It is a well-written dramatic story, interspersed with humor and three juicy romances. Its exciting and breathtaking end, filled with the horrors and tragedy of a successful mission, is impressive and prophetic. The author, a nephew of General George Patton, was an FBI agent and, later, an intelligence officer at SHAEF after D-Day. His book is hard to lay down. It is, if ever there was one, a cover-to-cover, non-stop thriller that makes one shudder at the tragic world in which we live. Though a novel, this is a plausible story that most FSO's will find highly entertaining and thought-provoking.

—ROBERT L. BUELL

WHERE NO FLAGS FLY, by Frederick Ayer, Jr. Henry Regnery Company. 417 pp. \$4.95.

Three Lucid Books on Indians

An American, an Indian-American, and an Indian present new ideas about an old civilization.

WITH HIS USUAL conciseness and lucidity, Frank Moraes has produced a stimulating book on India today. And since India today is in some measure an India of the past, Mr. Moraes has included four chapters on India's yestercenturies. Other penetrating chapters deal with India's "new class" which Mr. Moraes finds presents "many interesting, if disturbing, parallels with the 'new class' of the Communist system," and with the efforts exerted toward Indian unity by Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel and Nehru. Less illuminating is his chapter on planning, for it lacks depth regarding manpower and other labor problems, community development, and living standards. Judicious are his chapters on foreign policy and the perennial question of Nehru's successor. On the whole, the current social context of Indian politics is treated too lightly.

The Maulana's first-person narrative of the struggle for Indian independence is also a concise, lucid and candid book. So candid is it, indeed, that its first edition sold out in India with a rapidity which made it command a collector's price. The author is an eminent thinker and statesman, a Moslem who became the youngest president of the Indian National Congress and for seven years held that position. He was intimately involved in India's independence movement and, on behalf of the Congress, conducted the negotiations with Cripps and took part in those with Lord Wavell at Simla and the Cabinet Mission in 1946. His report in this book of Nehru's responsibility for the partition of India is one of the objective pieces of reporting which has made this book a sensation.

The autobiography of D. S. Saund is as illuminating of the United States as of India, for Mr. Saund, though born

in the Punjab, came to the United States as a young man for graduate work and remained here. With a Ph.D. degree in mathematics, he turned to farming, had his ups and downs, acquired American citizenship, ran for judge of the county court, was defeated, ran again and was elected, and later was elected Congressman. He is the first Indian national to become a member of our Congress. His life is a saga of intelligence, tolerance, persistence and dedication to the principles which unite men everywhere. The lucidity and candor with which this saga is recounted equals its conciseness. It is the briefest of the three books but it is not the least significant. His is a living example of how well the East and the West can get to know and understand one another. —R. SMITH SIMPSON

INDIA TODAY, by Frank Moraes. Macmillan, \$4.00.

INDIA WINS FREEDOM, by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Notes and Introduction by Louis Fischer. Longmans, Green, \$6.00.

CONGRESSMAN FROM INDIA, by D. S. Saund. E. P. Dutton, \$3.50.



From "Art in Nigeria 1960" by Ulli Beier

Cambridge University Press

The Soviets and Eastern Europe

BRZEZINSKI's book is certain to become the standard volume for any person interested in the development of relations within the Soviet bloc. Dispassionate, literate, steeped in both the documents of the trade and the lore of the social sciences, Brzezinski presents a comprehensive review of the post-war developments in the relations of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. He is perhaps at his best in discussing Soviet and Polish developments, but his sources and his treatment cover the other regimes as well, including the Yugoslav. The treatment is less satisfactory as to Communist China, where differences with the USSR have sprung into prominence since the book was written. Sino-Soviet relations are treated somewhat cursorily, and it might have been better to exclude them from specific consideration in a book focussing on the European bloc.

The picture drawn in "The Soviet Bloc" is such as to emphasize the complications inherent in the working out of Soviet plans in Eastern Europe, complications reflecting a variety of impulses within the Soviet Union itself, as filtered through the personality of Stalin and successors, and within the nations subject to Soviet and Communist domination for the first time. Due emphasis is placed on ideological factors, although these are minimized wrongly in the discussion of Sino-Soviet relations (p. 133).

One's quarrel with Brzezinski concerns specific points rather than the treatment as a whole. He takes too seriously for my taste (p. 165) the rather meager signs of a heavy industry-light industry quarrel in the USSR in the fall of 1956, and consequently misinterprets, I think, the real

nature of Khrushchev's policy line. In justly rejecting throughout the book, by implication, the idea that leadership disputes are devoid of policy content, I fear Brzezinski sometimes suggests that they are devoid of anything but policy struggle. In other words, he skimps on "the struggle for power."

In contrast to "The Soviet Bloc," with its broad coverage of an extended period, Carr's latest volume brings another small time span into the scope of the collection he has been laboriously building up. It is bound to have limited appeal, which in a way is a pity, because Carr shows again his mastery of the art of writing vivid history. In the present volume, the second of a threesome on 1924-26, (after four volumes on 1917-23) Carr is dealing with the period of consolidation within the Soviet Party apparatus and the state structure. It is the period of Stalin's maneuvering and growing ascendancy in a struggle against rivals and opponents. As in the post-war period treated by Brzezinski, the conflicts were often fought out on ideological issues, though the outcome settled the fate of the Soviet society as a whole, including the millions who understood little and cared less about the seemingly esoteric issues at stake.

While Carr's volume is more for the specialist than the general reader, it fills an essential need in the field of Soviet studies. The task will not need redoing until and unless sources now unavailable come to light.

—THOMAS B. LARSON

THE SOVIET BLOC, by Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, Harvard University Press, \$7.75.
SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY 1924-1926, Vol. II, by E. H. Carr, N. Y., Macmillan Co., \$7.50.

Modern Iran

MR. UPTON'S RECENT work on Iran, one in a series of Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, is a welcome and needed addition to material available on that country. It is not just another general history of Iran but presents much new material, especially in the Reza Shah period, and approaches known historical developments in an arresting manner. The author has been a student of Iranian affairs since 1928 and has had about fourteen years of intermittent residence in Iran. The book's incisive analysis of Iranian history since 1900 makes it very valuable to the student of Middle Eastern Affairs and diplomacy.

The general approach of the book is indicated by the titles of its seven sections: Introduction; Sources of Disunifying Pressures in Modern Iran; the Emergence of Reza Khan in 1921; the Reign of Reza Shah, 1925-1941; the Impact of Reza Shah's Regime on Peasants, Townspeople, and Tribesmen; Developments since 1941; and Iran in 1958.

According to Mr. Upton, the two persistent features in the history of Iran since 1900 are the effort to establish a constitutional government and to raise the nation to the plane of a modern industrial state. With the assurance of an expert, Mr. Upton shows how these aims have been promoted or retarded by the Iranian Government (in his view characterized by government by individuals or groups of individuals rather than by law), by the interaction of various elements of Iranian society, and by foreign intervention.

The sections on the emergence and reign of Reza Shah, father of the present Shah of Iran, are particularly well handled and are considered by this reviewer as the best published material available on this period. It is hoped that these findings can be expanded into a longer study.

—ELAINE DIANA SMITH

THE HISTORY OF MODERN IRAN: AN INTERPRETATION, by Joseph M. Upton. Harvard University Press, \$4.00.

"Egotism and Despondency"

ANY ATTEMPT to introduce the Soviet poet Mayakovsky to a non-Russian public is at best a difficult undertaking. Mayakovsky's reproductions of the moods of a revolutionary era and his disjointed passions are not easily understood by those who have not experienced the turmoil of refashioning an entire society. Despite such inherent difficulties, the editors have done well in translating a number of important works of this unconventional artist whose poetry reflects a strange blend of egotism and despondency. For those with knowledge of the language, the Russian text of the poetry is reproduced as well. The volume concludes with a translation of "The Bedbug," a play popular in Moscow's theatre repertoire during the past few years. This is the story of a Russian Rip Van Winkle who, after a fifty-year-freeze, comes back to life and discovers an Orwellian-type society.

—JAMES RAMSEY

THE BEDBUG AND SELECTED POETRY, by Vladimir Mayakovsky, edited by Patricia Blake. Meridian Books, \$1.55.



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Heard on the Hill

Senator Sparkman. Mr. Crockett, from time to time we hear criticism of the State Department for alleged timidity in asking for appropriations to carry out the work of the Department.

It has been alleged, for instance, that the Department has tended to request what it thinks the House Appropriations Committee will agree to, rather than courageously asking for what the Department believes is needed.

Mr. Crockett. Senator, I have heard the same criticism. I have had the same criticism from my colleagues who tell me the same thing.

As a matter of real fact, in our way of government, there is one hurdle to get over before we get to the Congress, before we get to the Appropriations Committee, and that hurdle is the Bureau of the Budget; and never in my experience since I have been here have we ever gotten over that hurdle with as much money as we, perhaps, felt we ought to have or felt we could use in a worthwhile way.

Our system of government, as you know, is a system of ascending levels of responsibility, and one of the levels of responsibility is the Executive Office of the President, where the Bureau of the Budget decides various levels that the agencies can go in for appropriations each year; and certainly we have always put forth our case, I think, in a conscientious and strong manner.

But we have gone forward to the Congress with, in every case with, the maximum amount that we could convince the Bureau of the Budget that we could spend usefully and well, so that I think that the criticism belies the real facts, and they overlook some of the facts in our whole system of government.

Senator Sparkman. Do you believe that, on the whole, persons handling personnel and administrative matters in the Department have adequate background and training for such responsibilities?

Mr. Crockett. Senator, I would say, on the whole, I do believe this. I think that it would be foolish to say that there are not things that can be done. I certainly am not wedded to the status quo.

I have no criticism of the past, but

I think that my job is going to be to find new answers and new methods, and, if necessary, new people, and I think that, I certainly think that in the operation of the Department, whether it be in the administrative field per se or in the substantive field, that we must find the very best persons for the job, regardless of whether it is a Foreign Service officer or a civil servant or someone we take in from the outside, because the problems of our day transcend narrow limits of whether a person belongs to a certain service or not.

Senator Sparkman. In its report on the most recent amendments to the Foreign Service Act, this Committee expressed criticism of the Department of State because of its designating so many positions as requiring staffing by Foreign Service officers in such areas as intelligence, economic affairs, and the exchange program.

What methods will you use to ascertain whether or not a proper balance of Foreign Service and Civil Service positions exist in the Department of State?

Mr. Crockett. Senator, a few years ago, I am sure you will remember, the situation that existed in the State Department where we had people abroad for years and years and years on end without any experience of living in the United States or serving in the United States, simply because most of the policy jobs in the Department, or administrative jobs, were frozen by Civil Service incumbents.

And then we had the Wriston Program, and the program of re-designation of jobs where numbers of Foreign Service people were brought back to the State Department, so that they could participate in foreign policy decisions, but even more importantly, I think, so that they could experience living in the United States again, so they would not become expatriates.

Certainly there are places in the Department, I am sure, I have seen them in my own operation, in our budget and finance operation where, perhaps, there are jobs that make no sense to have a Foreign Service officer in them.

I think that it is going to take a

serious and careful study, and it has to be—some of the criteria, perhaps not all of the criteria, but some of the criteria have to be what a Foreign Service officer needs to know, in his background in doing his best job abroad, he should have those kinds of experiences in the Department; and there are some policy fields in the Department, both administrative and substantive, where it takes foreign experience, where the background is needed, to make the best decisions.

So I think we are going to have to search out and study every position on almost an *ad hoc* basis, and it is something that will never be static. It can never be static, because the State Department organization structure changes all the time, and the problems change, so that it cannot be static.

There have to be jobs today that are designated as Foreign Service, and maybe that will change then, and they will become Civil Service, and vice versa.

But certainly I think we have to stand steadfast to the proposition that there have to be enough positions in the Department to permit a reasonable flow of Foreign Service officers back to the United States for orientation and for training.

Senator Sparkman. One of the perennial questions coming before this Committee is that of the establishment of the Foreign Service Academy.

Do you have any fixed views on that?

Mr. Crockett. No, sir; I do not.

In my previous job this has really not come within my competence, and I have not looked into it yet in anticipation of this assignment. But this is certainly a subject that we should look at from all points of view.

It has many problems attached to it, and I think many worthwhile aspects, and they have to be carefully weighed. I do not have any fixed opinion on this.

Senator Sparkman. Senator Morse.

Senator Morse. Mr. Secretary, I just have two questions:

First, I want to congratulate you on the nomination, and second, I want to congratulate the Kennedy Administration on nominating you.

Mr. Crockett. Thank you, sir.

Senator Morse. I think with your background it assures us of very able

administration of your division on your part.

Will your duties include jurisdiction, exercising jurisdiction over problems of housing, foreign embassies, and foreign dignitaries in Washington?

Mr. Crockett. No, sir. That does not come under my jurisdiction.

Senator Morse. Will your jurisdiction include authority to set any policy or make any recommendations with respect to budgetary funds for representation of our Foreign Service officers abroad?

Mr. Crockett. Yes, sir. That does come within my jurisdiction.

Senator Morse. Is it your opinion that at the present time in many areas of the world we follow a rather parsimonious policy in regard to representation funds for our Foreign Service staff?

Mr. Crockett. Senator, representation is a very, very knotty question, as you well know.

Senator Morse. You are telling me. *(Laughter.)*

Mr. Crockett. Representation, as you know, in the public mind has the connotation of whiskey, and I think that everyone is sensitive to this. . .

It is my personal opinion, and one of the things that we really plan to look into, that representation needs to be used more as a tool than it has in the past.

In the past, too often representation has been used as a social allowance to compensate officers for entertainment that, perhaps, was not conceived in the first place for any particular, any possible goal or accomplishment, and it seems to me that one of our first things to do before we decide or before we say ourselves that representation in any place is too little or too much, is to actually decide what this tool can do for us, that is, to use it like a target rifle, rather than like a shotgun.

If we are going to, if we want to concentrate on a particular segment of the society or group or a person, then the embassy, the ambassador and his officers, decide how best this can be accomplished through all their tools, and one of those tools is representation, the use of representation for lunch or dinner or whatever it is; but that these things should be decided very carefully in advance, just like we would decide whether we were going to use any other tool or not; that this is the best way of achieving our goal with that particular man or that particular segment of the society.

We map out a real campaign for that, and then we assign responsibilities to officers, and give them the money

to carry out those specific responsibilities.

But in the past too frequently—not always, but too frequently—the approval of a representation voucher came afterward. They sort of divided this up and said, “You have this much and somebody else has this much,” and you go about your job without any planning as to what that job should be and what the contacts might be and what the type of occasions might be for the accomplishment of that.

We entertained a tremendous number of people last year. We entertained almost a half million last year out of representation, and I would be the last one to say that we ought to make that enough to entertain a million people. I do not know that this is really the answer. . .

Senator Morse. Mr. Secretary, I certainly would not dissent from any observation you just made. I certainly would strongly support you in your program for advance planning for the expenditure of representation funds. . .

For some years now I have functioned almost every year as one of the rebuttal speeches against our annual striped pants speech, or speeches that are always made in the Senate, you know, in criticism of our Foreign Service officers.

I have always thought it was exceedingly unfair because wherever I have been in the world, I have made it a point to gather information and data that would help me in my insistence here in the Senate that we do a better job of representation abroad.

I have been in India where I have seen agricultural attachés paying out of their own already too limited salaries the expenses of representing the people of the United States in the villages of India where representation is sorely needed and ought to be increased.

To represent the people of the United States in the villages of India there are certain niceties, protocols, and representations that need to be done.

I get a little upset to find that the Russians are never lacking in representation funds. In fact, I get a little upset when I think of some of the embassies and consulates from countries that we have economically rehabilitated since World War II that have never been lacking in representation funds, and I have jocularly said that they are using our own money for their representation programs.

I have been in Madras where I found a consul general who has been without representation funds for six months and my investigation showed

that he had never wasted a dollar of the funds that he did have in the preceding six months, that his expenditures were necessary.

I do hope that your Department or your division will give very thorough re-examination to this matter of representation, because I am convinced that we are not holding our own in the world with regard to representation.

We are a very democratic people. A ham sandwich and a picnic lunch, that is fine with us. But we have got to face up to the fact that we are doing international business in many parts of the world with people who have not reached yet our sense of values and are inclined to place a false value on the very things that some other countries do for them, with a negative reflection against us because we do not do it. . .

I have not the slightest idea how much Mrs. Mary Lord and Ambassador Wadsworth paid out of their own pockets to represent the United States in the United Nations last fall in connection with the African delegations. They did not get one cent of reimbursement, and they would tell you if they were here, they did not begin to do the things we would have liked to have done.

Now, we just have to face up to the fact that representation does make an impression on representatives from foreign countries, whether they are in this country or we are with them in their country.

Although I would scrutinize with you with as much of an eagle eye as you possibly could look at the budget figures to see to it that there is no waste or any unnecessary expenditure in a representation budget, I do want to, most respectfully, urge upon you a re-examination of this matter, because it is my honest judgment, based upon many years now of making this part of my special interest on this Committee, that we have been parsimonious in many places of the world in regard to our representation budget, and the result has been great damage to the prestige of the United States in many parts of the world.

I want you to know that I am at your service in any way I can be of help to you in pleading the cause of a representation budget that will be substantiated on the facts.

Mr. Crockett. We appreciate very much your interest, and I am sure the Service will appreciate these words, and I sincerely agree with you.

But our problem is to present a budget that can be supported and will get general support.

Service Glimpses

1. **Hong Kong.** Staff Sgt. and Mrs. Gerald J. Rauch leave St. Joseph's Church after their wedding. Mrs. Rauch, FSS, is the former Virginia Joanne Leneek, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lencek. Staff Sgt. Rauch is NCOIC of the Marine Detachment at Hong Kong.

2. **Damascus.** Consul General Ridgway B. Knight, center, is shown taking part in the ninth annual Syrian Region, UAR, "Arbor Day" reforestation ceremonies. During the day a total of 120,000 trees were planted under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Agriculture. At left is Mr. Wajih Ahdab, Director of Foreign Relations for the Ministry of Agriculture.

3. **Washington.** Between four and five hundred ladies attended the Foreign Service Women's Association's tea in honor of Mrs. Dean Rusk. Shown here are (foreground) Mrs. Christian A. Herter, left, and Mrs. Dean Rusk. In the background are: (l. to r.) Mrs. James M. Byrne, President of FSWA, Mrs. Raymond A. Hare, and Mrs. Oleott H. Deming.

4. **Manila.** The four-oared crew of the American Embassy, Manila, recently defeated a strongly-favored Standard Vacuum Oil crew in a regatta of the Manila Boat Club. The Embassy crew, shown here in action, is composed of Grove Richardson, coxswain; Donald Richardson, Second Secretary; Jorma L. Kaukonen, Labor Attaché; Lt. Angelo Semeraro, USN, Assistant Naval Attaché; and Carl H. McMillan, Third Secretary.

5. **Bangkok.** The cast of the Bangkok Amateur Theater Group's production of "Arsenic and Old Lace" takes a curtain call. The group, heavily supported by the American Embassy staff, donated the proceeds of its production to the Thai Red Cross. Pictured are: (l. to r.) FSR Ralph Marston, Roger Tademan, Lorraine Strauss, FSO Ben F. Dixon, FSS Jeanne L. Norins, FSO J. Marsh Thomson, and Mary Connors of the Office of the American Naval Attaché.

6. **Accra.** During his farewell rounds, Ambassador Wilson C. Flake was helped into native dress by Krobo Edusei, Ghanaian Minister of Transport, while Mrs. Flake, wearing a stole of similar material, watched the change. The newly-appointed Ambassador to Ghana is Francis H. Russell.

7. **Karachi.** After the presentation of trophies, the participants in the Embassy-wide Tennis Tournament posed with Ambassador William Rountree in front of the Embassy Staff House.



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Grassroots Diplomacy

by JOHN M. CABOT

THERE ARE undeniably many real controversies between free nations. These controversies are the subject matter of classical diplomacy—the diplomacy which seeks to eliminate even the most aggravated sources of dispute between nations acting in good faith. There are many occasions when rulers and people do not really want to eliminate controversies, and then diplomacy is helpless. But when there is a will to peace on both sides, a way to peace can generally be found. Contrary to popular belief, diplomats almost invariably work overtime for peace.

Many controversies exist, however, largely or wholly in the minds of opinion molders and people; the controversy itself could be solved by normal diplomatic means if public opinion on one or both sides had not been needlessly inflamed. How often have we thought of suitable solutions “if only public opinion would permit.” The problem is to get people to understand what the score is.

More and more in democratic nations the major decisions of diplomacy are made, not by the government or an elite of diplomats who determine the course to be followed from an intimate knowledge of the factors involved, but by a public which may be very badly misinformed. In a democracy it is clear that basic policy must be decided by the people. But that is all the greater reason why the people must be well informed. It is, incidentally, a reason why diplomats should know what people are thinking, not just what a noisy minority is saying.

How many misconceptions and misunderstandings arise simply because people have never really listened to the other side of the dispute! Some international controversies have arisen from nothing more substantial; most have been greatly exacerbated by it. Given the control of policy by the people, it is clear that it is not enough for the diplomat to have a good solution for the problem; he must also condition public opinion in the countries involved in the dispute to accept his solution. I frankly fear that that involves techniques with which the professional diplomat is all too often not familiar, and with which he should be in these changing times.

The diplomat is indeed becoming increasingly familiar with the speech, the press release, and the press conference. These techniques can accomplish a good deal. But to be effective, they must be noted, and that by people whose incli-

nation it is to be critical. Too often those who pay any attention to them do so because they already agree with them. Even when a critic notices them, it is generally more in a mood of picking holes in them than of seeking enlightenment.

It was with these thoughts in mind that I sought when Minister to Finland to find some technique which would permit us to get our message across to a sector where criticism of us was particularly disturbing—the Finnish labor movement. Labor is powerful in Finland, as it is in all the northern countries. Though a great majority in all the labor movements in that area is probably anti-Russian and a smaller majority pro-U.S., criticism of some aspects of American life is very widespread. So often these criticisms seemed so grotesque that I would feel “If I could *talk* to them!” And then one day I thought: “Why not?”

Let no one think I did not recognize the dangers of such a departure. There was the danger that I would make a fool of myself, or that hostile listeners would make a fool of me. There was the danger of nasty incidents. There was the danger that I would find myself hopelessly caught between the Scylla of saying nothing with all reservations and the Charybdis of saying something all too indiscreetly quotable. Etc. And yet the possible gains attracted me and persuaded me the risks were worth running. Although it was obviously a departure from classic diplomatic techniques, I did not think that should discourage me. In today's unusual battle we need a little imagination.

My technique has been simply to sit down with a group and let them ask me whatever they will. My usual meetings in Finland and later in Sweden had thirty-five to seventy-five labor leaders at them. Since the labor movement is highly organized in both countries, it was fairly simple to arrange meetings through it. I early discovered it was helpful to serve light refreshments (such as coffee and a sandwich) at the meetings; it helped the atmosphere and I doubt I have ever used representation funds to better advantage. In Finland I made several trips, each with a series of meetings; in Sweden, I systematically covered the country to visit practically every industrial town with over 10,000 people. In Colombia and Brazil I have used almost the same technique with student groups, and my only regret is that I have not been able to do more of it. I think it is suitable for almost any intelligent group critical of us. And I may add I have gotten extra mileage rather than trouble by admitting the press to my meetings, provided this was agreeable to the group. I have been misquoted, but my thoughts

Mr. Cabot has been in the Foreign Service since 1926 and has been Ambassador to Finland, Sweden, and Colombia. He is now Ambassador to Brazil.

have reached many people not at the meetings. We do not accomplish any thing worthwhile by refusing to take risks.

Naturally, my techniques evolved with experience, but my original thoughts have in the main stood all tests. The meetings should be as informal as possible. I should not tell those present (as in a speech) what they should think; except for a few preliminary remarks to explain what the meeting was all about, my comments should be directed only to questions asked me. My remarks would generally be pitched in a low key, and I quickly discovered that candor in admitting faults made my listeners more receptive of my other points. I had to be careful never to lose my temper and never to rant or bluster; sweet reasonableness awoke a clearly echoing sentiment. By questions and answers one feels much closer to one's audience than in a speech; it is a curious bit of psychology that people listen more attentively and are more inclined to be swayed.

In Sweden people thought I would never get labor leaders to start asking questions; Swedes have a horror of making themselves conspicuous. But I had already evolved in Finland a solution to that problem; the organizers of the meeting were strictly enjoined to have two people prepared to ask questions—any questions so long as they were asked. Once the ice was broken, the problem always was to break the meeting up at a reasonable hour.

People have often asked me how I could be prepared to answer all the questions that might be asked me. My answer is that they have always followed an extraordinarily consistent pattern—it was rare to get something which hadn't been asked before. And when a question is asked many times, one naturally tends to improve one's answer to it. I always had my labor attaché with me to answer technical questions, but it was not wise to have too many people on my team—generally the only other man on it was a translator. People have also been surprised to learn that there were Communists at many meetings. Personally, I always welcomed having them; they made the meetings livelier. When the questions were blunt, one could make a blunt answer. But the best of it was that the Communists were so frequently the victims of their own propaganda. They would smugly ask some question to which the answer was perfectly easy—for example, "Why is the United States opposed to the control of the atomic bomb?" And when I described the early efforts of the United States to establish controls (to be blocked by the Russians—something which those present had half, but only half, forgotten), one could almost hear the snickers of the Social Democrats present at the discomfiture of the Communists. Communist questions were also so much in a groove that it was easy to be prepared for them.

I have never had any real incidents in the course of over a hundred meetings. I have, of course, had many hostile questions—sometimes harangues masquerading as questions. But the more extreme the question, the more likely it was to prove self-defeating. I always let the haranguers rant on as long as they would; the longer they went on, the more people they turned against them and the easier they made it to puncture their more violent sallies while remaining discreetly silent about their better points. There is also a certain restraint which arises from the host-guest relationship.

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GRASSROOTS DIPLOMACY

The meetings have more than justified themselves from the information which I have derived from them. It is impossible to be at one without getting a pretty good idea of what people are thinking—from the questions asked, from the way they are phrased, from the reaction to them and to my answers.

Needless to say, the meetings gave rise to numerous amusing incidents. I recall one in a town in north Sweden at which the Communist who headed the labor organization insisted on presiding. Since there were many Communists at the meeting we expected the worst and, indeed, we had a lively evening. At the end, the Communist rose to say that when he had heard I was coming he had been sure I would just spout propaganda—but (as our mouths opened wider and wider) he went on to say that it had been a most informative evening, and he wished to compliment me for coming! Or the time in another town when one man got up to say he couldn't understand why he, the President of the local Swedish-American Society, couldn't get an American visa. The fact that he was also head of the local Communist organization was surely not pertinent.

I do not wish to exaggerate the impact of this technique. Obviously it is limited. Few people are going to change their opinions radically no matter how cogently I answer questions. And yet I do believe it has an impact. It makes people think, it exposes Soviet mendacities, it reminds people of things they had forgotten in the deafening roar of Communist propaganda. I am not one of those who subscribe to the doctrine that propaganda is no better than the policy behind it. Soviet propaganda is much more effective than the policy behind it should permit—and we should never forget it. We must devise techniques to get our message across in the sectors where it will count. I shall be very pleased if I have made a modest contribution to this.



"Moslem Women"

by

Mary Betts
Anderson

Salute for a Sultan

THE Message to Garcia was delivered. The Canadian Mounties got their man. And when Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General at Muscat was asked for a copy of the elusive anthem, "The Salutation and March to His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman," he did not fail.

This latest epic of Mission Accomplished is recited in Consul General John F. S. Phillips' despatch to Foreign Secretary Lord Home and was published in the "New York Herald Tribune."

My Lord,

I have the honour to refer to your lordship's despatch No. 8 in which you requested me to ascertain on behalf of the Lords commissioners of the Admiralty whether the B-flat clarinet music enclosed with your despatch was a correct and up-to-date rendering of the national salute to the Sultan of Muscat and Oman.

I have encountered certain difficulties in fulfilling this request.

The Sultanate has not, since 1937, possessed a hand. None of the Sultan's subjects, so far as I am aware, can read music, which the majority regard as sinful. The manager of the British Bank of the Middle East, who can, does not possess a clarinet.

Even if he did, the dignitary who in the absence of the Sultan is the recipient of ceremonial honours, and who might be presumed to recognize the tune, is somewhat deaf.

Fortunately, I have been able to obtain, and now enclose, a gramophone record which has on one side a rendering by a British military band of the "Salutation and March to his Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman."

The first part of the tune, which was composed by the bandmaster of a cruiser in 1932, bears a close resemblance to a pianoforte rendering by the bank manager of the clarinet music enclosed with your Lordship's despatch.

The only other testimony I can obtain of the correctness of this music is that it reminds a resident of long standing of a tune once played by a long defunct band of the now disbanded Muscat Infantry, and known at the time to non-commissioned members of His Majesty's forces as (I quote the vernacular) "Gawd Strike the Sultan Blind."

I am informed by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs that there are now no occasions on which the "Salutation" is officially played.

The last occasion on which it was known to have been played at all was on a gramophone at an evening reception given by the military secretary of the Sultan, who inadvertently sat on the record afterwards and broke it.

From Richard C. Wald's "Sad Song of the Sultan's Anthem," New York Herald Tribune. Reprinted with permission.

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The Lady Sniper

by HARRY RAYMOND TURKEL

“A LADY SNIPER is coming in tonight from Cairo,” said Colonel Cox, Chief of Staff.

“A lady what?” I said. “Please pass the ketchup.” I had half an avocado in front of me and was feeling slightly irritable. The Quartermaster Corps had shipped to the Ferry Command base on the African Gold Coast a consignment of frozen pork and, until next month’s ship arrived, there’d be nothing but pork; and I don’t eat pork. A steady diet of avocado and ketchup or avocado and mustard is not conducive to good humor.

“A lady sniper,” repeated Colonel Cox. “She is the girl who manned the defenses of Sebastopol and killed 356 Germans herself. She is going to the States to be put on tour by the Treasury Department to help sell War Bonds. Of course that won’t stop the Germans heading in on Stalingrad, but it’s good for the bond drive.”

Conversation lagged for a moment, and I remarked idly, “I once studied Russian at Stanford for a year. That’s a tough language, fellows, a tough language for tough people.”

Colonel Cox shot me a quick glance under bushy eyebrows and took another bite of fried pork chop. The conversation shifted to another subject.

Thirty minutes later I found myself in the presence of the Commanding General of the Africa-Middle East Wing, Ferry Command. General Fitzgerald twirled his pencil and there was an anticipatory gleam in his eye.

“Turkel,” he said, “I hear you know Russian.”

“No, sir,” I said emphatically and somewhat alarmed, “I never heard a word of Russian until I was twenty years old. I studied Russian for just one year at Stanford University, and that was fifteen years ago.”

“Well,” said the General, placing the pencil firmly on his blotter, “that is 15,000 percent more Russian than anybody else in this command knows. A party of Russians is coming in tonight. They will leave tomorrow night for Ascension Island. You are relieved of other duties and designated liaison officer and interpreter for the period of their stay. That is all.”

“Very well, sir,” I replied, indicating by my tone that it certainly was *not* very well. I saluted and left.

Russian is a very difficult language. Learning it isn’t, for example, like beginning to learn Italian after you know French or Spanish, or have had Latin in high school. Russian is a Slavic language; the roots are quite strange; even the alphabet is different, being Cyrillic. Although I studied hard, I had found that year at Stanford rough going.

Nor had I been fortunate in trying to keep up with the language. In 1929, when I was in the Treaty Division in the Old State-War-Navy Building, I heard that the Chief Archivist next door, Mrs. Natalie Summers, had been born in Russia. Before World War I, she had married the U. S. Consul General in St. Petersburg. The Consul General had died, and in those days widows had no right to survivorship pensions. In any case it was the custom for the Department to take care of its own, and Mrs. Summers, like a few other widows, was given a genteel job.

Eager to pass a few moments in keeping up my Russian, on my third visit to Archives I stopped at Mrs. Summers’ desk, bowed slightly, and said, “*Zdravstvuy, gospodina Summers.*”

“Vah-ah-aht?” she asked as she looked up in puzzlement.

I flushed, for I had used the familiar, second person singular in saying “How do you do?” I quickly shifted to the plural.

“*Zdravstvuyete, gospodina Summers.*”

“Vah-ah-aht?” she repeated, her eyebrows rising in dignified inquiry.

I flushed crimson. There was nothing to do but to return to the singular form. Slowly and carefully I separated the rather explosive enunciation of the Russian greeting.

“*Z-dra-v-st-vuy, gospodina Summers.*”

“Oh,” said Mrs. Summers in evident relief, “you-r-r-re, tr-r-rying to speak R-r-r-roshin!”

Never again did I attempt to speak Russian. When I told the story later to someone who really knew Russian, he snorted, “Of course, she couldn’t understand you. You were mixing your Russian and Spanish. There’s no such word as *gospodina*; it is *gospozha*.”

II

That evening, waiting for the DC-4 to settle down for its landing on the long Accra runway, I tried to run over the remnants of Russian in my mind. It sounded like a GI phrasebook.

“How do you do?” “Well, thank you.” “What is this?” “This is good.” “Yes, No.” “One, two, three, four.” “I love you.” Then utterly useless things crowded my mind; there are two kinds of silent letters in the Cyrillic alphabet, the *tvorydy znak* and the *myagky znak*, and if you use one and not the other, you will be recognized as a Czarist and shot.

While my mind was hunting for the phrase “How many pieces of baggage have you?” up would pop a whole sentence from the first page of *Kapitanskaya Dochka*—“The Captain’s Daughter” by A. Pushkin. In the third term, that was what we were supposed to translate.

Harry Raymond Turkel entered the Department of State in 1929. He is now Ambassador on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council.

The DC-4 swung on one tire on the stanhard, and the pilot cut the motors. The door opened and out came a stocky girl of about twenty-five, followed by a lean man in black clothes with a bullet-shaped, shaven skull. Then came two squat guards, obviously Russian, because of their sharp shoulders and bell-bottomed trousers.

"*Zdravstvuite*," I said, using the plural form. "Kapitan Turkel," I added and bowed.

"Ludmilla Pavlechenko," said the lady sniper, showing her square, white teeth in a smile. Then, spouting a torrent of Russian, she pointed to the pale death's-head in the black clothes and said, "*Meeneester Kanada, Snock, snock*," then, pointing at the two guards, one of whom was manacled to a bulging briefcase, "*Mumble, mumble*" in a way to indicate they were of no importance.

For a moment or two, as she spouted, I tried to size up the lady. She was short, fair, and muscular, with high cheek bones set in a broad and powerful face. She was good-looking; that is, if you are partial to draft horses. What impressed me most about her was her air of authority.

I had seen that expression before. It is not blustering; it is not challenging. It is simply the outward expression of complete confidence in an ability to handle large groups of people under any circumstances. I have seen that expression on some generals, some captains of industry, a criminal, and now on Ludmilla, the lady sniper.

For a few more seconds I breasted the torrent of Russian with *Chto, chto*, "what, what," or *Ya nye znayu*, "I don't know." As soon as we got clear of the passengers I wheeled around. I had two choices; I could do what my little boy, William, later did when he was in the Nicolas Cusanus Gymnasium in Bonn, Germany, and say "*Ich weiss nicht*" to everything, like a faithful soldier under interrogation, or I could swing to another language.

"*Govorite-li-vuy po-angljski*?" I asked.

Ludmilla's smile faded and she said, "*Nyet.*"

"*Nyemnogo*," said the Minister to Canada, reluctantly. "Not much."

I pointed to the two couriers.

"*Nyet*," they chorused.

"*Govorite-li-vuy po-frantsuski*?" I asked.

The lady sniper shook her head sullenly. The others said "*Nyet.*"

"*Govorite-li-vuy po-nemetski*?" I asked.

Ludmilla snapped angrily that she knew no German. "*Nyet*," said the Minister.

"*Nyet*," said one guard.

"*Nyemnogo*," "Not much," said the other guard.

In sixty seconds the tone of the reception had changed from one of guarded welcome to one of injured hostility, or, at best, indifference. The three men in the car spoke in low tones to each other in Russian. The lady sniper sat silently, her lower lip thrust out. The score was: one reluctant or feeble English speaker, one reluctant or feeble German speaker, and myself both ignorant and rusty and beginning to get a headache.

Somehow, in Russian, I asked them if they wanted to freshen up and then have dinner. They agreed. How was that done? I confess that I'd say any key word, in any language, add a Russian ending and gesture, and that would do the trick. These are my specialty in case of desperate



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emergency. "Portmanteau" words, I call them. A Brooklyn friend called them "kurned woids."

At the mess hall, fortunately, the other officers had already cleared out. In the center of the table was a pile of left-over fried pork chops and soggy french fries. They wolfed these down with relish, broad jaws chomping. The guard who was handcuffed to the briefcase in his lap, held a pork chop in one hand and ate by biting into the chop and slinging his head back. I shuddered. The hump of a pistol in his pocket was knocking against my knee.

After coffee, we went to their barracks and as soon as we sat down, I took my wallet out and showed Ludmilla a photograph of my wife and the two little children.

"Krasivye, nyet?" I said, "Pretty?"

The lady sniper gave a conversation-ending snort and handed it back. Flaming crimson, I put it in my wallet and left the room.

III

I worked at my office the next day and did not come to see the Russians for breakfast. Just before lunch a news bulletin was posted in the operations room announcing the landing of Allied troops at Dieppe in Northern France. There were few details. The date must have been August 20, 1942.

As I came to the officer's mess, the four Russians were coming out chewing toothpicks. In a mixture of Russian and English I explained about the landing. They were all galvanized alert.

The lady sniper grabbed the front of my shirt in her powerful fist and shoved her face close under my jaw, her gray eyes slitted and nostrils flaring.

"Third Front?" "How many men, planes, ships?" "How much armor?" she hissed as she twisted the shirt. "Third Front?" she insisted.

"*Ia nye znaiu,*" I said, shaking my head. As the lady sniper let go, her five fingernails flicked my chest in a gesture of supreme contempt.

Again my face flamed as I glanced at the wrinkles in my shirt front.

IV

That afternoon I did not go to the office. Take-off time for the Russian party would be at 1700, say in three hours' time. By the time I had finished another lunch of avocado and ketchup, bread and coffee, another bulletin had been posted, giving considerable detail about the Dieppe landing. I stayed in my room translating it into German. There was no German dictionary available in either A-2 or G-2, but the job was not very difficult. Where my vocabulary failed, there was enough time to concoct a circumlocution, and I was not above taking liberties with the text to cover my inadequacies. I had thought that I knew German pretty well, but I learned that nursery German plus Lessing, Schiller, Goethe and Heine at college is not precisely the best preparation for military translation. Reading, I discovered, is easy; it requires only a recognition vocabulary, but writing, writing indeed "maketh the exact man."

At the airport I stayed discreetly up in the control tower until I knew from the pilot's report to the controller that he

was about to embark his passengers. I walked to the foot of the gangway where the group of passengers was gathered, saluted, and drew a paper from my breast pocket.

"Die Wehrmacht gibt bekannt!" I announced slowly and distinctly, pointing my finger at the Russian guard who had said that he knew German. Slowly but very exactly came the Russian translation.

Those who have heard official war communiqués at the front will remember the spine-tingling first words. The German has that, too. It is like the boom of Big Ben in the British radio reports. And when you hear one of our communiqués in the language of the enemy, somehow the effect is very greatly enhanced.

I continued reading, "Preceded by heavy aerial and naval saturation, powerful units of the British and Canadian armies landed in force at Dieppe last night. . ." I spoke the German in what I thought was the snarling, gnashing-of-teeth manner of a Prussian officer. The Russian guard translated the sentence steadily in low tones.

When I finished, Ludmilla shook hands. She was smiling, her left hand was on my ribs. As she turned, she made a double-clucking noise with her tongue, one eye winked hard, and I felt a stab of pain as her hand closed in the flesh of my armpit in a tearing nip and shake.

The lady sniper flashed up the gangway, all the passengers streamed after her.

Alphabet Soup for Jr. FSO's

by ROBERT BLACKBURN, ANTHONY DALSIMER, AND FRANCIS McNEIL

"JFSOC" "Jiffsoc"
"IJDIW," "Idgedew?"

Alphabet soup? Obviously. A new area in the Department? Possibly. Unpronounceable? Certainly. What is it? JFSOC is the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club, an organization dedicated to the relaxation and recreation of the Department's junior set; and IJDIW is the International Junior Diplomats in Washington, an international group which has similar goals for all junior officers of both the Department and the foreign missions in Washington.

While the spawning of new organizations in an already overcrowded bureaucracy is often a less than noteworthy accomplishment, the Departmental club can claim to be the proud parent of the international group. JFSOC has existed, with varying degrees of success, for a number of years and most of the Junior Officers who have newly entered, been newly assigned or newly returned to Washington, have either become members or had some brush with the organization. The history of the club is somewhat nebulous, and while JFSOC has a constitution and theoretically a formal structure, it is a fluid organization whose policy of the moment is in fact dictated by the hierarchy of the day rather than by hard and fast rules. Membership policies during the past year, for example, have followed no less

Collaborating on the above were three members of the JFSOC Board: Mr. Blackburn, JFSOC president, is studying Indonesian at FSI; Mr. Dalsimer is at FSI while waiting for travel orders; Mr. McNeil is with the U. S. delegation to the Organization of American States.



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ALPHABET SOUP

than four patterns, trying generally to incorporate two concepts—that of balancing the budget and that of achieving maximum participation.

While the organization is open to all Junior Officers assigned to the Department, the size of this group has proved a definite barrier to communication and participation. A more or less concentrated effort is made to establish liaison with each newly arriving A-100 class and a representative has generally been on hand to explain JFSOC and attempt a mild form of extortion to collect a "membership" or "mailing list" fee. This has varied from one dollar to three dollars and has included various inducements such as free entry to the first social function. (Since the cost of said social function has often been identical to the entry fee, the reverse has also been used, and anyone attending a social event has automatically paid his price.) For a brief period recently this was discontinued in the belief that new Junior Officers couldn't afford to pay anything until their first paycheck arrived. JFSOC discovered, however, that when the check did arrive it had already been spent for other things, or that the class had scattered and that any attempt to seek them out would be fruitless. This period of largesse no longer exists, as such items as stationery, auditoriums, etc., require certain modest funds.

A concomitant indication of the "fluidity" is found when one attempts to trace the recent history of JFSOC's formal structure. Not too many months ago, officers of the Board of JFSOC were chosen by a Department-wide ballot among the Junior Officers. This resulted in a thoroughly democratic but rather inefficient and discontinuous way of accomplishing things. Now all is "democratically" centralized. In one masterful stroke a committee of one rewrote the constitution to provide for an appointive and self-perpetuating Board of Directors which, while sounding somewhat authoritarian, has resulted in a functioning club which has accomplished more in the last few months than in any given period of its past.

At the present time the organization and policies run something like this: A president and a fourteen-man Board of Directors are responsible for planning activities, for requisitioning the necessary stationery on which to have the announcements mimeographed, for addressing by hand the more than 250 announcements, and for committing these to the intra-department mailing system, among other functions. Some members of the current Board were chosen in the last election which took place in the fall of 1959. Junior Officers from nearly every area of the Department are represented. When one member of the Board is assigned to the field, he is asked if there is someone in his area who would be interested in working on the Board. (The term working is stressed rather than serving inasmuch as the housekeeping chores behind any function are numerous.)

Among the ideas listed in the preamble to the JFSOC Constitution was the thought that the club should encourage contact between its members and junior officers assigned to the foreign missions in Washington. Until recently this effort consisted of sending invitations to a few junior officers from various embassies to attend the JFSOC activities. Only

. . . for Junior FSO's

marginal success was achieved in bridging the distance between 21st Street and Embassy Row, although each JFSOC board has hacked at the problem. As every Junior Officer knows, one of the disadvantages of being assigned to a first tour in Washington is the large gap between him and the "Foreign Service." Also, Junior Officers who return from the field suddenly find that their work precludes contact with foreign diplomats, and that unlike the field their social contacts are suddenly extremely limited.

JFSOC believed that this problem of interchange at the junior level was a mutual one. Last October, the Board compiled a list of the Junior Officers assigned to the missions in Washington. Because of past experience regarding acceptance of invitations, only a small coffee was planned in the home of one of the Board members. To make the invitation more personal, each of our Embassy counterparts was called by a member of the Board. The response was far greater than anticipated, and two days before the weekend coffee it was obvious that a crisis approached. The house wasn't big enough, and JFSOC had no money to rent a suitable place. The question of Department facilities was explored, but despair followed as it appeared that GSA concurrence had to be sought, no one knew what the coffee was all about, and it certainly would not be possible to get clearance in one day.

As a result of a previous program some of the Board had met with Mr. Lov Henderson, then Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, and Mr. Aaron Brown, of Mr. Henderson's office. Knowing no one else, JFSOC called Mr. Brown, explained its predicament, and tossed the whole thing at him. JFSOC doesn't know how it was done, hasn't asked, and won't, but the final result was our being able to host the coffee in the new Delegates Lounge which had been completed only three days before.

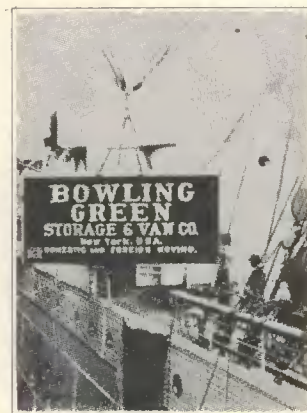
A frantic last-minute scramble ensued to let each Embassy know of the change, and in the course of these proceedings several oversights occurred. The UK, the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria were somehow overlooked in the confusion and on the Saturday afternoon preceding our Sunday coffee, a JFSOC member found himself begging the duty officer at the UK Embassy to "get hold of anyone" and attempting to communicate, quite unsuccessfully, with the German Embassy's switchboard operator. As a final desperation measure, a sign was tacked on the East Capitol Street door indicating the new site of the function.

Further complications developed when it was discovered that the handsome new lounge could only be reached through a labyrinth of uncompleted corridors from the heretofore unused entrance to the new auditorium on 23rd Street. Fortunately, the building guards arrived to provide trail-blazing service about five minutes ahead of the scheduled coffee. Finally, the JFSOC contingent was scheduled to arrive forty-five minutes early to review its suggestions which were to be presented during the course of the coffee. Foiled! A number of the guests arrived an hour early as the particular Sunday of the coffee was the day on which daylight saving time ended.

In an agreeable atmosphere with an august gathering of some one hundred Embassy personnel and a slightly lesser number of our Foreign Service, a spokesman for the JFSOC

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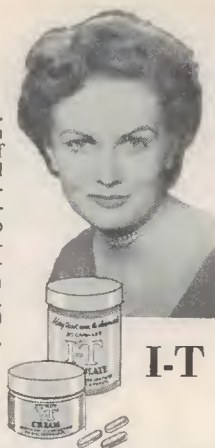
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group proposed that this coffee be considered the first in a continuing series of international get-togethers sponsored by various participants. A resounding unanimity was registered upon receipt of this idea and it was quickly decided to strike "while the iron was hot" and call a meeting within the week of interested participants to discuss formal organization.

At the planning session, JFSOC ceased to be the prime mover and what later became known as the "working group of the International Junior Diplomats in Washington" took over, with representatives from Belgium, Chile, Sierra Leone, Iran, Japan, the Netherlands, and Switzerland present along with three JFSOC members. A representative of Canada was present only by phone, but to the JFSOC members it was the most welcome telephone call ever received. The whole problem of getting the rotational plan in operation depended upon some foreign mission offering to invite the group for a second function. With the Canadian phone call, this hurdle was overcome and JFSOC was confident that other missions would come to realize that a continuing operation had been launched.

In discussing the administrative aspects of who was a member and to whom invitations would be sent, the problem of a name for the group arose. The working group nearly foundered at this point. The term "foreign service officer" sounds American to foreign representatives while "diplomat" seemed a little presumptuous at the present stage in the careers of the officers involved. A secret ballot was taken after the suggestions had been narrowed down to a choice incorporating either one or the other of these ideas. With nine people, there were nine different suggestions. Of the total, however, five included the word diplomat. Thus the unmanageable concatenation of letters, IJDIW, was chosen. Another problem arose when some members of the foreign missions tactfully wondered about the number of JFSOC members who would attend any function. While the idea of meeting with other junior officers was endorsed, the thought of being inundated by the more than 200 JFSOC members was appalling. JFSOC had anticipated this problem and suggested that the host group of an activity let JFSOC know how many Americans were desired. From JFSOC's membership list, the Board would provide the names of those to be invited.

Following this first meeting, the working group composed a short memorandum which described the purpose and informal nature of the International Junior Diplomats in Washington. This, along with JFSOC's best information as to who was a junior officer, was sent to each foreign mission on the diplomatic blue list. If the mission had any corrections to its list it was to let the working group know. There have been calls from the missions, including one from a kindly, retired US Foreign Service officer who insisted upon discussing "the circular instruction." Also, a U.S. citizen who is serving as the social secretary of a small embassy called to insist that the memorandum should have been sent to her rather than to the protocol officer and "yes, thank you," she would like to be added to the membership list. Explanations were in vain, and apparently one member will be a U.S. citizen who is serving as a Junior Diplomat from a foreign country.

Following the Canadian Embassy reception, JFSOC invited all members of the IJDIW to a lecture by Mr. Alfred Friendly, managing editor of the WASHINGTON POST. In

mid-January a well-attended tour of the Library of Congress was held and later in the month the Soviet Embassy hosted the group. Scheduled for the spring are a special tour of the National Gallery, receptions at the Indonesian, Swiss, and Czechoslovak Embassies, and a talk by Secretary Rusk to JFSOC and IJDIW.

The Secretary and Interdepartmental Committees

TRADITIONALLY, Presidents have turned to the Secretary of State for their principal help in initiating and executing foreign policy. However, the breadth and complexity of foreign policy today, together with departmental fragmentation of responsibility for dealing with it, have created new problems for the President and also for the Secretary.

The means for meeting our foreign policy objectives now go far beyond those of traditional diplomacy . . .

Both in its making and execution, moreover, foreign policy has become interdepartmental . . .

This situation has provided fertile soil for the exuberant growth of inter-agency coordinating committees. These include the complex committee substructure of the National Security Council and the multitude of formal coordinating groups operating outside the NSC system. Rival claimants from different executive departments with different missions are introduced into the policy process, requiring power to be shared even though responsibility may not be.

Mr. Robert Lovett calls this the "foulup factor" in our methods. He told the Subcommittee: . . .

"The idea seems to have got around that just because some decision may affect your activities, you automatically have a right to take part in making it . . . there is some reason to feel that the doctrine may be getting out of hand and that what was designed to act as a policeman may, in fact, become a jailer."

In operation, coordinating committee mechanisms have proved to have severe limitations, and they have exacted a heavy price in terms of loss of individual responsibility, excessive compromise, and general administrative sluggishness . . .

The Secretary's ability to exert foreign policy leadership is closely related to the way in which interdepartmental committees are organized and handled.

Inter-agency committees are the gray and bloodless ground of bureaucratic warfare—a warfare of position, not of decisive battles. State commonly sees them as devices for bringing "outsiders" into matters it regards as its own, and resists encroachment. The older departments and agencies use them as instruments for "getting into the act."

In some cases the chairmanship of foreign policy committees has gone to other agencies.

On other committees, State may sit as one among equals though it is mainly responsible for solving the issue in question. The price paid for committee agreement may be heavy in terms of policy compromised, time wasted, and decisions deferred. Filtered through committees, the Secretary's voice becomes muted, his words blurred. His responsibilities to the President remain, but his power and authority to exercise them diminish.

Excerpts from "The Secretary of State and the National Security Policy Process," third report of the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery whose chairman is Senator Henry M. Jackson.

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Letters to the Editor

"Black Thursday"

YOUR EDITORIAL, entitled "Black Thursday," in the February issue of the JOURNAL is so important in its content, and the bureaucratic sin of omission, to which it calls attention, has become so taken for granted, for such a long time, that I am moved to repeat in writing what I have often said verbally to any one who would listen.

My close association with the State Department and the Foreign Service goes back to 1934 when I went to El Salvador as U. S. Minister. My relations with the Department and the Service have been increasingly pleasant during the ensuing years. Having been previously engaged in research and diagnosis in the field of medicine, my approach to this new profession, and I quickly realized that it was a new profession, was naturally from the background of my former scientific training. My teachers were the Foreign Service officers with whom I came in contact in the field and able officials that I knew and worked with in the Department. The stabilization of the Foreign Service by the Rogers Act had brought into our diplomatic service as fine a body of men, able, patriotic Americans, as our history has even known. The treatment that they have received, on which your editorial is based, touches on but does not point up the relief of the evils to which you call attention. The need for staffing the new Missions to Africa, which should have been started six years ago, only makes them more flagrant. During all the years that I have been associated with the Service and the Department there has never

Bruce Scholarship

PARENTS of children eligible for Foreign Service Association scholarships will be pleased to know that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce and Mrs. Bruce have in recent months made two sizeable contributions to the Association's scholarship fund. The proceeds of these generous gifts will be used to finance an annual scholarship in the amount of \$500, to be known as the Bruce Scholarship. The first such scholarship, which will be available for children at either the secondary or college level, will be awarded for the 1961-62 academic year.

LARUE R. LUTKINS

Washington

been a year in which the funds allocated were sufficient to permit what I would call a rhythmic operation of the Foreign Service. By that I mean assignments, vacations, transfers, promotions, consultations, etc.—all being carried along without strain and without the need of looking over the shoulder to see where the funds were to be obtained.

The trouble has been due to a failure to appreciate the fact which you mention in your editorial. "Experience has shown that there is *never a year* when major political crises do not occur in some area of the world." The italics are mine. Why is this well-established fact not taken into consideration in the allocation of funds? The first to feel the effect of these political crises is our first line of defense and source of accurate information, the Foreign Service. Men and funds are needed but they are not available, and a financial stringency develops, due to a failure to appreciate that what is an emergency situation in most governmental activities is a normal and inevitable recurrence in the Foreign Service. Budgetary officers may be well-intentioned but not well-informed about this salient fact. It should be presented clearly. Our Foreign Service is exotic by its very nature. Handling of recurring political crises by its members is a normal operative procedure for which funds should be always available without having to have recourse to emergency financing. A relatively small contingent fund would straighten out the whole matter.

FRANK P. CORRIGAN

New York City

"I Fear the Greeks—"

THE MARCH issue of the JOURNAL is a rich issue. But "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" (page 6) does not mean "I fear the Greeks and their gifts." It means "I fear the Greeks even bearing gifts" or, more freely, "I fear the Greeks even when they are bearing gifts." The translation in Mencken's "New Dictionary of Quotations" is "I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts."

WILLIAM GERBER

Washington

Transport of Foreign Cars

EARLY IN JANUARY a joint State—USIA—ICA message stated with very limited exceptions that no foreign made motor vehicle purchased by employees of those agencies after March 1, 1961, would be transported at Government expense when the employee is transferred. While we are in full sympathy with sensible measures taken to reduce effectively the expenditure of gold dollars abroad, if this is necessary, we believe this regulation unfairly circumscribes our decisions on how an important part of our income is to be spent, and imposes direct and indirect financial penalties upon us without promising any substantial contribution either to the economy of operation, of the agencies involved, or to solving the problem cited as the justification for issuing it.

To those whose tastes are confined to American cars, and who feel their salaries can stand the expense, the new regulation poses no problem, but many will be forced to bear additional and, to them, uneconomic expenses in any effort to comply with it, or to face the penalty of transport costs or speculation in the used car market every tour if they decide otherwise. The initial cost of even the so-called low priced American car is higher than that of many foreign cars capable of providing adequate transportation. American cars are designed for operating conditions which do not exist in most other parts of the world, and the fuels, oils and spare parts required by them for long life and good performance are often obtainable only at premium prices, if at all. Anyone owning an American car abroad is presumed able to afford a well-padded repair or service bill, and we may find that even the local cabinet ministers or other ranking officials are unable to afford the expense of owning and operating the cars which all employees are now apparently expected to own.

Poor maintenance and lack of suitability to local conditions will certainly shorten the life of automobiles which are admittedly designed by their makers for comparatively frequent replacement. Who is to decide when the shipment of a replacement is justifiable? In all fairness, only we can determine the point at which it will become uneconomic to retain our cars any longer. One can foresee some heated discussions on this point.

Continued

Letters to the Editor

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Transport (cont.)

There are a number of individuals to whom the lower cost, suitability to local conditions and preferences, and other features of foreign cars may have a temporary or permanent appeal. Among these are a large number of employees who do not enjoy diplomatic privileges and thus have to pay customs duties on their automobiles. Costs for them will be greatly increased by this regulation, which thus penalizes the group least having the ability to pay.

It must be presumed that the agencies concerned have carefully calculated the costs of transporting new American cars to the distant parts of the world to each employee at least once each four years. We suspect that this will be much more expensive than was the case before. But perhaps the new regulation is intended to insure that Americans abroad drive only American cars for reasons of representation or advertisement. In this case it would seem only just that the agencies involved arrange to pay the difference between local and U. S. prices for spare parts or other costly services, and to take the other similar steps to insure that the individual employee is not forced to bear personal expense in fulfilling official requirements. As an alternative, it would be more economical for all concerned if the Government maintained fleets of vehicles at each post for direct issuance to each employee, to be maintained and insured at his expense during the time he used it. In transporting personal vehicles, the Government now

frequently pays more than the cost of the items transported in multiple transfer charges.

If, on the other hand, the purpose of the regulation is limited to the conservation of gold dollars without incurring additional internal expense, why not give employees in the market for a foreign car the opportunity to purchase from the U. S. Government some of its blocked or locally generated currencies? This would not only give us greater personal liberty, in lieu of the new regulation, but would also save gold dollars and make more use of those currencies. Only a relatively small number of persons abroad in the service of their country are affected by the new regulation, which leads one to wonder whether or not their meager contribution is expected to compensate partially for the outflow of gold which occurred, for example, in the recent purchase of British interests by the Ford Motor Company, or which occurs elsewhere in the form of overseas expenditures made within the context of certain American policies. We believe that it would be far more just and appropriate to modify the policies to make better use of tax dollars, or otherwise to distribute the costs equitably to the American public at large than to send the bill to relatively small groups who notoriously lack supporting constituencies in the halls of Government.

R. H. MUNN, STATE; ROGER P. DAVIES, STATE; J. L. HAMILTON, USIS; DR. P. H. ENGLE, STATE; H. A. HORAN, STATE; W. H. FAULKNER, ICA.
Baghdad

Flagellatism?

IN RESPONSE to your February editorial on the American Assembly in which you quote Mr. Acheson's description of Foreign Service officers as "cautious rather than imaginative," I venture a few incautious words.

The editorial is cautious. You applaud critics of the career service when what we need is an outspoken advocate. We do not fail to see ourselves as others see us; we are told incessantly what they think of us. The time has come to express our views. Caution springs from other founts than the FSO ranks, and incautious career officers departed swiftly from the scene during Secretary Acheson's incumbency as well as in later days. In current terms, I wonder whether imaginative men will be attracted to the Service by pressures from without the Department to tell us what whiskey to drink and what automobiles to drive. I find it ironic also that Dr. Wriston is among the oracles you quote.

It is correct, if platitudinous, to say that we need constructive criticism such as that provided by the Assembly. But we have never suffered from a shortage of criticism, constructive or otherwise. Is it not equally proper to reply to some of our detractors? Will no one say that Foreign Service officers can be imaginative given the chance? Many of us hope that more such chances are forthcoming. When they do, flagellatism will not serve our purpose.

Washington

T. D. QUINN

"In Norway — at Winter's End"

EDITOR'S NOTE: We asked Paul Child about his photo of snow on fields in Norway last month and received in reply the following:

MY PHOTO, published in the March JOURNAL, was taken on April 15, 1960, at a place in the mountains called Sjaeringfjell during Easter vacation, when everybody who possibly can leaves the city for a final week of skiing. Over 200,000 citizens left Oslo (more than half the total population) last year! This spot is just at the timber-line. The buildings (all log cabins) were originally part of a *seter* (a mountain farm used only in the summer when the herdsmen move the cows up to the high pastures) now adapted for skiing. The snow was about a meter deep on the level.

The Norwegians love cross-country ski trips. Jumping, downhill racing, and slalom are only incidental and usually require ski-lifts, chic hotels, snappy clothes, etc., none of which mean much here. There's a continuous and passionate love affair between most Norwegians and Nature. Skiing is their way of staying in love all winter long. There's nothing at Sjaeringfjell but these huts (around 7,000 feet up), mountains, forests, and snow, plus fifteen to twenty wonderful Norwegians who love to do forty to fifty kilometers a day, cross-country, with a map, a compass, a pack, and a friend. No ski-lifts, no bar, no movies, no dancing—just fine solid food, fine solid people, and fine, snow-covered scenery.

Oslo

PAUL CHILD



Champoluc Val d'Aosta

by Lynn Moffly

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Letters to the Editor

Tennis Balls au Vapeur?

I SHOULD BE most grateful if you could authenticate, reconcile or correct the two similar but partly discrepant stories concerning your Moscow Embassy which have recently been published in two popular American magazines.

In CORONET of September 1960 (p. 47), Kay Halle relates that when Mrs. Edward Page Jr. gave her first diplomatic dinner in Moscow, where her husband was First Secretary at the U.S. Embassy, everything went off beautifully until the meat course arrived, accompanied by what appeared to be boiled potatoes. But when the guests tried to spear the potatoes they kept skipping off the plates and bouncing on the floor. Poor Mrs. Page subsequently learned that her maid had served boiled tennis balls. That part of the meal certainly went off beautifully!

But in HOLIDAY, February 1961, on page 93, Nathaniel Benchley gives an alternative version:

"A story has been told about the first state dinner given by the late Joseph E. Davies, after his arrival in Moscow as United States Ambassador. Not

knowing what to expect from Russian food, he and Mrs. Davies had taken with them great quantities of American canned goods, and the kitchen staff had been given a quick briefing on their use. At the dinner in question, there was an ominous delay in the announcement that food was ready, and when Mrs. Davies enquired what the trouble was, she was told that the chef couldn't get the dumplings to soften. When, finally, she decided to check for herself, she went into the kitchen and found the chef frantically stabbing the fork into the soup kettle, in which were bobbing, fresh out of their cans, two dozen tennis balls."

Unless the accident happened twice, in two different households, which version is more authentic?

W. D.

Ottawa

Editor's Note: As related in "Bears in the Caviar" by Charles Thayer, the tennis balls were served at the dinner party given by Mrs. Edward Page, Jr. James B. Stewart in his "Twenty-Five Years Ago" column of last November also ascribed the incident to Mrs. Page's household, but kept the balls in the kitchen.

Games—and Cold-War Diplomacy

I WAS INTERESTED to see Professor Oskar Morgenstern's, "The Cold War Is Cold Poker" in the NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE early in February. I agree with Professor Morgenstern's premise that the cold war is far more closely analogous to poker than to chess. His evaluations of the cards held by the players, and of the various pots won and lost by bluffing, during the past ten years, are exemplary. He must be a terrific poker player.

I take issue with him, however, on two points. In his first paragraph he dogmatically, if not contemptuously, brands as falsehood the popular theory that "Russia's disturbingly frequent successes" may be attributable "to the national preoccupation with chess." The theory may be false, but Professor Morgenstern certainly hasn't given us anything in this article to prove its falsity. His evaluation of the factors of chess is excellent, with one glaring mistake. He says "there is no possibility of bluffing." He may know his political economy and his poker, but I fail to find his name in

the list of rated chess players of the country, and the above statement indicates that he doesn't know much about club or coffee-house chess. To bluff, in poker, when the opponent doesn't know what cards you hold, doesn't require half the nerve and the skill necessary for a chess player, with all his pieces visible on the board, to bluff his opponent. Yet such bluffs are frequent at all levels of chess. And the bluffs sometimes pay off to the extent of permitting the bluffer to draw or to win a theoretically lost game. The late Frank Marshall, for many years champion of the United States, was famous for this brand of tactical success, and now, years after his death, such a game is likely to be classed by the master annotator as "a typical Marshall swindle."

It is my personal belief that while poker tactics may be more successful in the cold war than chess tactics, they will be still more successful if the poker player is also a master chess player. Dr. Emanuel Lasker, chess champion of the world for twenty-seven

"Our Neglected Colleagues"

I COULD NOT agree more with the statements expressed in the editorial entitled "Our Neglected Colleagues." I especially favor the idea of trips to the United States for selected FSL's.

At my last post I had the privilege of serving with an FSL of thirty-five years service. This man had through force of circumstances been left in charge of the post when the Germans occupied the country. He subsequently spent nearly a year in German captivity during which time it is my understanding that he conducted himself in a highly creditable manner. His ability in reporting on complex economic subjects has won for him a well deserved fine reputation both in the Department and in the Department of Commerce. A dignified individual with considerable poise he is accustomed to dealing with high ranking government officials and important American businessmen. What a pity he could not have been sent to the U.S. at Government expense ten or fifteen years ago and what a greater pity that there exist no funds to send him at this date.

SLATOR C. BLACKISTON, JR.
Washington

years, was also in the top rank of contract bridge players, and one of the few non-Orientals to have been classed as a master of the Japanese game of "GO." And he said that a knowledge of each of these games had increased his skill in the others.

The FSO, therefore, may follow Lippmann's advice and learn chess, or he may emulate Professor Morgenstern and take up poker. My advice would be to acquire the chess player's ability to evaluate and analyze positions and material, to perfect the science of the bridge player's finesses and cross-ruffs, and place less emphasis on the poker player's bluffing tactics. It would be ideal if we could become expert enough in international poker to gain a reputation as the nation which never bluffs, but which calls all bets, just to keep the opponent honest.

May I add to my list of ambitions, this one: to play chess with Professor Morgenstern for fun, money, or marbles!

FRED M. WREN
Ex-editor of "CHESS LIFE"

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