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August 1964
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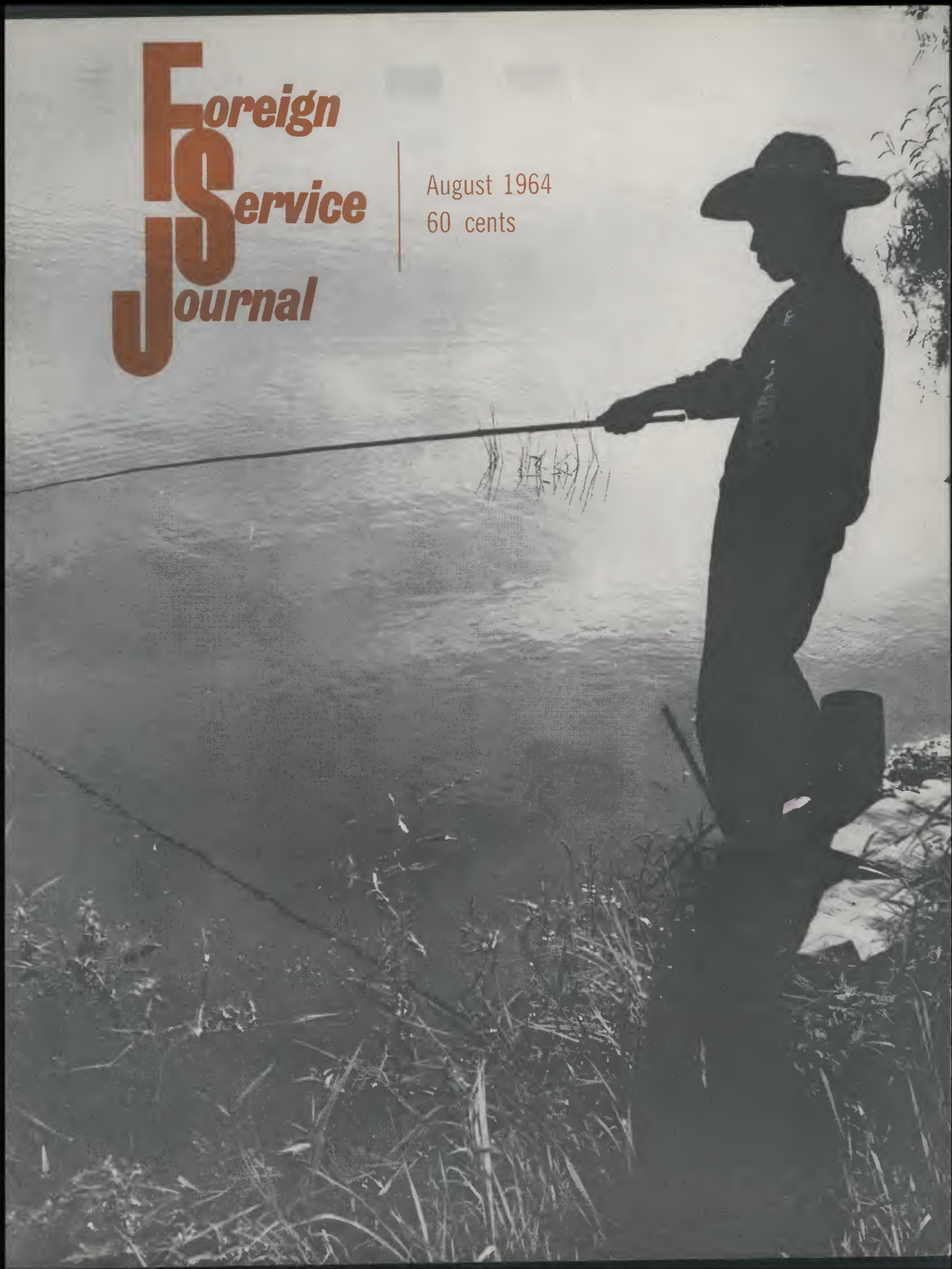

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The American Foreign Service Association is composed of active and retired personnel who are or have been serving at home or abroad under the authority of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended. It groups together people who have a common responsibility for the implementation of foreign policy. It seeks to encourage the development of a career service of maximum effectiveness, and to advance the welfare of its members.

The dues for Active and Associate Members are either $13 or $10: For FSO's in Class V and above the rate is $13 and is the same for FSR's, Staff officers and Civil Service personnel in corresponding grades. For Active Members in lower grades the dues are $10. The annual dues for retired members and others who are not Active Members are also $10. Each membership includes a subscription to the Foreign Service Journal. Those interested in membership or in a separate subscription to the Journal ($6.00), should write to the General Manager, AFSA, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., 20006.

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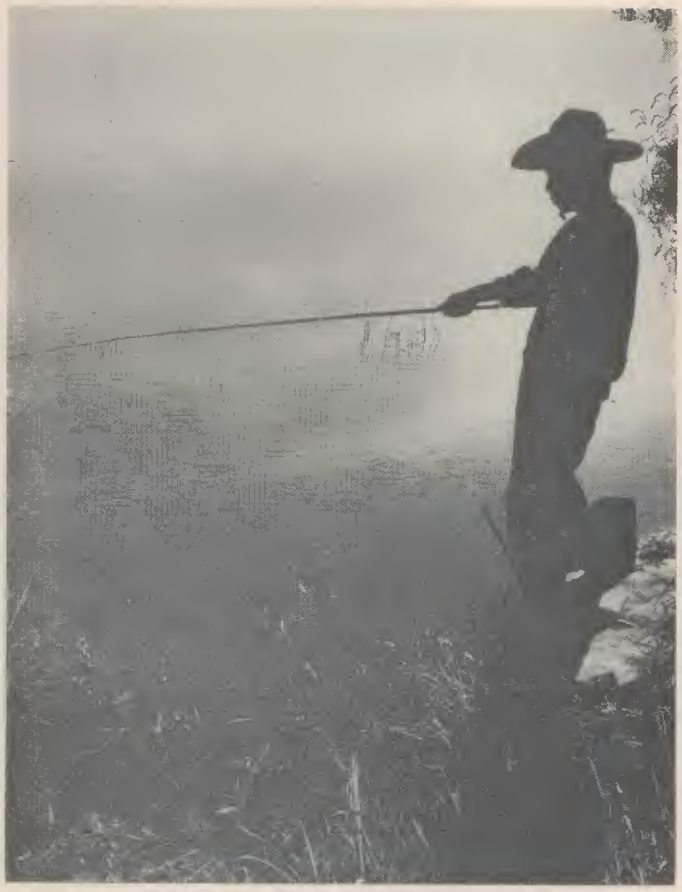

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Ambassadorial Appointments

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U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, as Deputy Ambassador, to the Republic of Viet-Nam

RANDOLPH A. KIDDER to the Kingdom of Cambodia

CLINTON E. KNOX to Dahomey

GENERAL MAXWELL D. TAYLOR, U. S. Army retired, to the Republic of Viet-Nam

Marriages

LAMOITIER-DAVIS. Miss Marie-Therese Lamoitier and FSO Allen Clayton Davis were married on June 6, in Saint John's Church, Washington. Mr. Davis is presently assigned to the Bureau of European Affairs.

NUGENT-COATES. Miss Julie Provost Nugent and James Houston Coates were married on July 7, in St. Alban's Episcopal Church, Washington. Mrs. Coates is the daughter of FSO Julian L. Nugent, Jr. and Mrs. Nugent.

Births

BROWN. A son, Alan Henry, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Alan Brown, on May 30, in Singapore.

CHAPMAN. A daughter, Maureen Lee, born to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond E. Chapman, on June 10, in Madrid.

MATTHEWS. A daughter, Pamela Morgan, born to Mr. and Mrs. Wade H. B. Matthews, on February 13, in Salvador, Brazil.

TREMBLAY. A son, John Joseph, born to Mr. and Mrs. Donald R. Tremblay, on June 12, in Eagle Pass, Texas.

Deaths

COLEMAN. Mrs. Martha Jane Coleman, mother of Edwin S. Coleman, FSO-retired, died recently in West Cape May at the age of 96. Mrs. Coleman was also the mother of the late Walter H. A. Coleman.

DAVIS. Mrs. Mary Isabelle Davis, wife of John Ker Davis, FSO-retired, died at Vancouver on June 9.

GOODYEAR. John Goodyear, FSO, died on June 23, in New Haven, Connecticut. Mr. Goodyear entered the Foreign Service in 1938. He served at Vancouver, Guatemala, Panama, Dakar, Tangier, Zurich, Singapore, National War College, the Department, Ankara, Lisbon and Tokyo, where he was assigned as Counselor for Political Affairs at the time of his death.

STELLE. Charles C. Stelle, FSO, died on June 11, in Washington. Mr. Stelle entered the Department in 1946 where he had several tours of duty. He served abroad in Nanking, Tehran and Geneva on special detail at the Geneva Disarmament Conference with the personal rank of Ambassador.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Negatives and color transparencies are not acceptable.

Please include full name and address on all material submitted and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

The JOURNAL also welcomes letters to the editor. Pseudonyms may be used only if the original letter includes the writer's correct name. All letters are subject to condensation.

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FOREIGN POLICY IN AN ELECTION YEAR

by McGeorge Bundy

The following is the speech given by Mr. Bundy to members of the American Foreign Service Association on May 28.

It is a great pleasure for me to be here. I have all kinds of personal reasons for pleasure in coming here. The work of the Foreign Service and its meaning have been clear to me since I was a quite small boy living with a relatively junior Assistant Secretary of State, my father. And I learned more from Colonel Stimson and more still later from Dean Acheson, two of the long line of Secretaries of State who have understood and cherished the traditions and values of the service. So it is for me a real pleasure to have a chance to talk with you.

I thought, at first, I might talk with you a little about the problems of organization and management in the conduct of our foreign affairs, as seen from the White House basement. But then I had a feeling, which I daresay many of you share, that these problems of organization and management probably get too much of our attention. I don't mean to say anything offensive to the people who actually have to organize and manage—and we all do. But everybody is always eager to tell the White House, the State Department, and the Executive Branch as a whole that it should reorganize itself. I don't myself believe that there are any panaceas, any holy prescriptions in the processes of executive action.

I'm quite sure that in the particular area that I happen to be working, the area of the Presidency—the President's own responsibilities and actions in foreign affairs and national security—that the actual ways and means will and must depend very much upon the taste, temper, habits of work, directions of interest and concern that characterize the individual who at a given moment holds this enormous office. I don't believe, therefore, that it is a very fruitful debate to go back and forth over ground that we all are familiar with. One man will organize his work one way and another man another way. At least insofar as I have seen it, differences among men in this area are not really central. Our problem and our task are to assist and support the work of an individual, whoever he may be, in trying to execute this enormous institutional responsibility which is that of the President of the United States. This is nothing strange or peculiar to members of the Foreign Service whose sense of immediate responsibility to the President of the United States is one of the clearest and proudest traditions of the Service.

Perhaps one of the ways in which White House staff officers can be useful is that they necessarily become familiar not only with the institution of the Presidency, but in a measure with the taste, temper, and ways of transacting business of an individual. And it is in that sense I think that they have a utility for people concerned with the conduct of our foreign affairs which, under the Constitution, rests so much in the President's hands. We have an additional obligation which we share with the Department of State—the responsibility for trying to connect the different parts of this enormous government, one with the other. I think it is fair to say that in the last three years real progress has been made in this effort. It is a particular pleasure to say this in the presence of Alexis Johnson, who is one of the most effective masters of the process of organizing the government—and not just one branch of the government—who has held responsible office in this city. And this is not just a personal judgment—it is one which is shared throughout Washington.

What I'd rather talk about, having made you one non-speech, is a topic which has a certain sensitivity, but on which I have some strong feelings. I'd like to speak about it quite personally and not engage, in any formal way, the Executive

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Branch, the White House, and still less the President. It is a topic I can talk about with assurance, because it's one with which I have had no direct experience from within the government. It is that of foreign policy in an election year.

I want to talk about this subject because I think there are two important fallacies about foreign policy in an election year and two obvious propositions to be measured against these fallacies. And those two propositions, while so obvious as to be banal, have nevertheless some real importance both for you as permanent professional officers trying to conduct the business of the United States in the world, and for us who are transient but who, while we are here, have both a political and a national allegiance. And these two fallacies are, on the one hand, that it is right and good to keep foreign affairs out of election politics and, on the other hand, that election years require, and indeed impose, a standstill on new departures and a standstill on rising to new opportunities in our foreign affairs. I would assert that these propositions are both wrong and that the correct propositions are that foreign policy is, should be, and must be an issue in the quadrennial process of democratic choice in the Presidential election and, on the other hand, that there is no need for a premise of paralysis in considering how we will and ought to respond to new danger or new opportunity in an election year.

Let me take the first proposition first. I suggest to you that on every ground it is simple nonsense to suppose that we can or that we should remove the great issues of international affairs from the field of the national election. History suggests that it cannot be done. If we take the modern history of American engagement in the affairs of the world as dating from the fall of France—it seems to me a sound proposition—we find that there have been six elections. Every one of them, in one way or another, has been heavily affected by the estimate placed by our national electorate upon the relative competence and effectiveness of the candidate in the defense and advancement of the interest of the United States in the world. And surely this is as it ought to be.

In any event, it is a historical fact. In 1940 it is self-evident—1944 again. In 1948 you have a curious situation in which very great events were going forward and in which a deliberate choice was made by the Republican candidate to conduct a campaign with a minimum of explicit differentiation and argument on foreign issues, perhaps with the exception of China, and with the further exception of the special interest which does occur in quadrennial years in affairs in the Middle East. The exception, in my judgment, proves the rule in that I believe that Governor Dewey failed of election, against all expectations, in large part because of failure to communicate clearly a picture that he was in fact concerned with effective foreign policy and able to improve our work in the field of foreign affairs. I can say that with the more confidence because I was a humble but very busy member of his staff in that campaign. We were deeply engaged in the statesman-like endeavor of choosing up candidates for the ambassadorial jobs which you prefer to hold.

The election of 1952 is certainly a clear case. One may argue, and indeed one should argue, about the way in which issues were posed in 1952; but that they were bound to be posed, that Korea was bound to be subjected to a referendum, is I think beyond argument. In 1956 we saw it again in another context. Certainly in both of those elections the commanding reputation of the Republican candidate in the field of foreign affairs was an enormous positive factor in his electoral effectiveness. In 1960, by conviction and also by clear political judgment, the two candidates spent a very large part of their time in trying to demonstrate their respective qualifications and the advantages of their respective parties and positions on the world scene. It seems to me ridiculous to suppose that it will be different in 1964.

But I think there is another reason for this than simply the appeal to history. It is, I think, a fact that, barring a great

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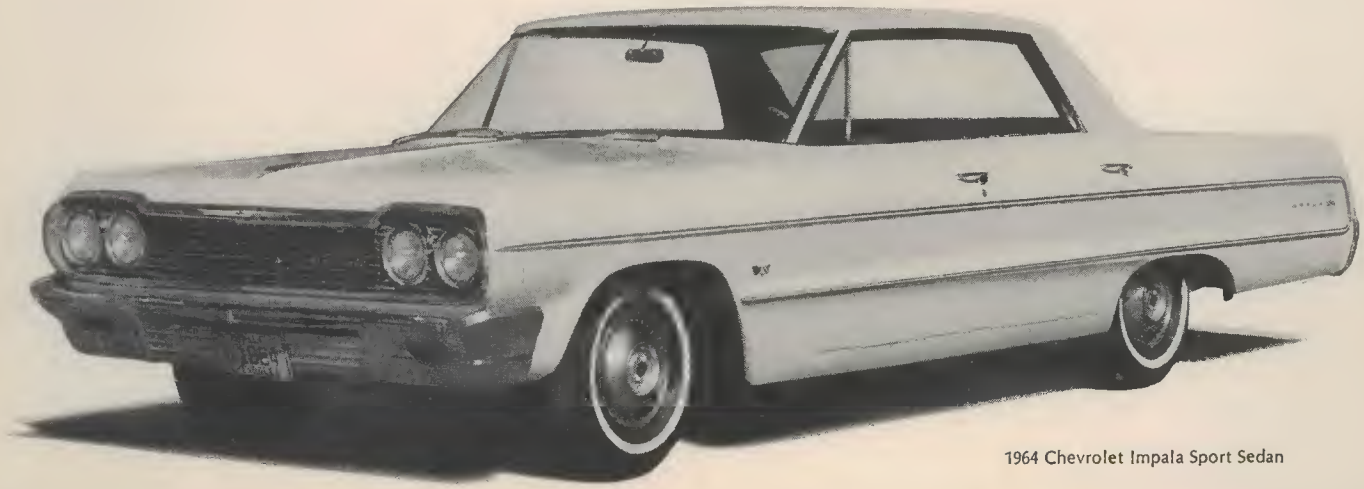

1964 Chevrolet Impala Sport Sedan

national eatastrophe in the domestie eeonomie field—or a split within the country more serious by far even than the one which we are trying to prevent in the morally decisive field of civil rights—the thing whieh does matter most to the ordinary eitizen in the nuclear age is the prospeet of peaee. Now that is not immediately translated into the day-to-day issues whieh you and we wrestle with, or at least not into all of them, but it seems to be inevitable that the voter will concern himself with what he thinks eaeh candidate is good for in this area. It is inevitable that men who are seriously in seareh of the highest politieal offiee will address themselves to that concern. And so I think that observers and students who would somehow sweep these matters from the electoral board are talking about an unreal world, both in historical terms and by the logic of democratic politics (I'm speaking with a small "d").

I have had this argument directly with my friend, George Kennan, and perhaps many of you have. It seems to me that his view, which is that these matters are really too sensitive, too eomplex, too recondite, to be placed in this hurly-burly, is simply unmanageable in terms of the realities of life. I go further, I think it's wrong. I believe that we are committed to conduct our affairs in a society in which in the main we must be able to present and to defend the activities of the government to the voting population. We should accept this not only as historieally neeessary, not only as a logical requirement of our proeess of politics, but as a legitimate moral imperative for a country which calls itself democratic. So it's wrong, I would say, to think the other way; it misleads everyone. We cannot complain if people make issues in an election year. The question we have to ask is whether they do it well or badly. And if they do it badly it is the job of those opposing them to point that out, to make the ease, to reverse the arguments, to fight back. Those who are themselves engaged in the search for politieal offiee, and those who have an obligation of immediate loyalty to sueh individuals, cannot expeet immunity under the cloak of the holding of offiee, cannot expect to make the case by avoiding the issue.

We must hope for responsibility and accuracy, in attack and in defense. For that reason it is right to try to make sure that eandidates for these offiees do have aecess on a responsible basis to responsible information. We eannot expect to win them all, nor ean we expect that every blow will be aimed above the belt. In a hot, hard fight, hot things can be said, and hard things can be done. But the way to meet this contest is to engage in it and not somehow to suppose that it is illegitimate.

Now that poses a very interesting set of problems, whieh I will put on the table and leave there, for the Exeeutive Branch of the United States. Beeause professional officers are not partisan in polities, they should not be required to engage in partisan polities. And yet they are neeessarily bound in a different kind of obligation of professional and institutional loyalty to Administrations, as they come and go. This requires restraint, good sense, and forbearanee on both sides—a recognition that the problem exists rather than a pretense that it does not. The problem is by no means insoluble, but the beginning of the solution is to see that it is there.

My sccond proposition is that there is no need for paralysis because of the grand eleetoral inquest. It is true that there will be a difference of tempo and a difference in levels of attention. Presidents who seek reelection, espeeially if they are experienced and determined professionals do not very often work on a part-time basis. They take the matter seriously. But even Presidents—and they are a special race of men in terms of the energy which they have, the information they eommand, and the ability that they have to find things out that their staffs are trying to hide from them—even Presidents have limited time and, whatever appearances may suggest, limited energy. So there is a difference in tempo and a

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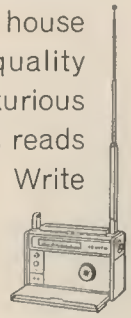

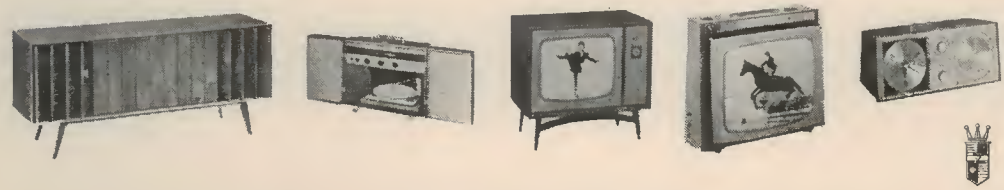

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difference in levels of attention. There is a rhythm in the wider kind of international affairs, as of national affairs: the first year may be a year of new proposals, new programs, task forces and legislation; you then have two operating years; and finally, in a sense, you have a year of defense and accounting. In that wider rhythm, detached from immediate danger and immediately opportunity, there is a clear difference between the fourth and the first year of any Administration.

But history does not stand still, and the history of the world is not rhythmically quadrennial; and there will be in election years special moments, sometimes of danger, sometimes of hope. And I believe that both history and logic once again suggest that it is right to be ready to act, that it is wrong to assume that one must wait, and that it is a very dangerous business to accept as gospel the commonly heard notion that an election year "is not a year in which"—and you finish your own sentence. I don't say that it won't sometimes be so. There are places where delay is better than haste, even in non-election years. But I do say that this notion is historically not correct, it is logically wrong, and that it is very dangerous for two kinds of people to get it fixed in their heads. One is foreigners, whether they are friends or adversaries. Here too, history has demonstrated the hazard—it is a great mistake for people to think that they can step up thievery in the night merely because the United States is engaged in a great national referendum.

But the other kind of people who make this mistake are closer to home: you and me. It is very dangerous for anyone with a professional responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs to write into his own observation, reporting, assessment, and recommendation, his assumptions about the meaning of American domestic politics. I don't mean that one can live in a political vacuum or make recommendations without any relation whatever to public opinion and the state of the nation's own mind. I do mean that to pre-empt the judgment that this is no time to act is to pre-empt a judgment which does not belong to staff officers, whose concern is to report the troubles or the opportunities which they see, and the courses of action which they believe to be required in the national interest.

In the largest sense I suggest that it is a better guide, at least until we are reversed by those with a more final responsibility, to assume that it is possible to make good policy turn out to be good politics. This I think to be as true for those seeking office as for those holding it. I recognize that one can make no such sweeping statement without thinking at once of exceptional cases or exceptional problems, and that in all such assertions of good intention or harmonious relation there is a slippage between the ideal and the reality. I recognize also that the process of our national politics is not without cruelty, not without very rough edges, and not without abrasive disconnections between what may make an immediate appeal politically and what the hard realities are.

But I need not plead the case for those limitations in this forum. No one is more familiar than you, gentlemen, with the degree to which trials and tribulations, which grow out of the entire world, are condensed and laid at the door of the poor old Department of State. And no one knows better than you how radically erroneous such a condensation and allocation of final responsibility is. But these things we must live with. We don't need to take them lying down; we can hammer back, and the good old Department is increasingly able to fight back and to defend itself. When it does, people sit up and pay attention. And this, it seems to me, is the proper stance for the proud professional. The cruelties are endurable; the country has endured them before foreign affairs became so central for 150 years and since they became central for nearly twenty-five. We can get past these hurdles provided we do not wish them away and provided we are not afraid to jump.

So it *is* an election year, and it *will* be full of politics—and that might be a good thing. ■

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25 YEARS AGO

IN THE JOURNAL

by JAMES B. STEWART

AUGUST, 1939

Interdepartmental Rivalry Ends

An important event of 1939 was the incorporation into the Foreign Service of 105 officers from Commerce and 9 from Agriculture. Their names are listed in the August, 1949 JOURNAL. Lester D. Mallory was one of those who came over from Agriculture and he makes some observations regarding the eventful reorganization Act of 1939: "To go back a few years: In 1934 I found myself in the Embassy in Paris, an assistant Agricultural Attaché. An interdepartmental struggle developed about 1936 and we in Paris were the point of focus. Wilbur Carr was still in the Department and had built the consular service into a strong and serviceable body. George Messersmith had come up the consular line and upon becoming Assistant Secretary in Charge of Administration, undertook to overcome duplication and to keep Trade Promotion as a sort of experiment. Uncle George tried to work it out by appointing senior consuls general who would by force of effort and personality encompass the trade promotion and reporting. The Commercial Attaché was Can Regan, the Treasury Attaché Merle Cochrane. The Consul General would maintain that his instructions were from a senior Cabinet Officer, the Secretary of State. Regan promptly replied that he had every desire to be cooperative but was bound by orders of his superior, another cabinet officer, the Secretary of Commerce. We of agriculture sat on the side lines. . . .

"Under President Roosevelt there had been no timidity about government reorganization and this held true in 1939. Executive Order No. 2 was issued effective July 1 and it transferred the staffs of the Foreign Commerce Service and the then Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations to the Foreign Service within the State Department. . . .

"Henry Wallace was Secretary of Agriculture in 1939 and felt there should be less emphasis on Europe and more on Latin America. I was transferred from Paris to Mexico City as the first Agricultural Attaché. . . . In 1947 I was sent to Havana as Counselor and was immediately immersed into the Caribbean political tides—even then Castro was part of the Cayo Confites expedition against the Dominican Republic. . . .

"I retired in 1960 and joined the rather new Inter-American Development Bank. During three years I worked on their program of technical assistance and recently came to Panama as Bank representative. . . ."

Four Arduous Days then "Auld Lang Syne"

Stanley Woodward, Assistant Chief of Protocol, has an article in the August JOURNAL titled "Program for the British Royal Visit." On the Committee accompanying Secretary of State and Mrs. Hull on the train to Niagara Falls to welcome the King and Queen were George Summerlin, Chief of Protocol, Cecil Gray, Michael McDermott, George Renchard, and Robert Bannerman, Chief Special Agent, Department of State.

After four arduous days in the United States, the royal visitors were bade farewell at Hyde Park by President and Mrs. Roosevelt to the strains of "Auld Lang Syne."

From Jane to Shirley

The JOURNAL announced the appointment of Jane Wilson as Secretary to the Editorial Board, and in active charge of the editorial desk.

Comment 1964: When Jane retired to marry FSO Jack Pool, she was succeeded by Joan David. Then came Lois Jones and Gwen Barrows. Jane, Joan, Lois and Gwen contributed their special talents to the JOURNAL throughout the years and so to them a tip of the hat and affectionate greetings. And now a salute to the JOURNAL Editorial Board for our new Executive Editor, Shirley Newhall.

Of Voting Age

A daughter, Dorothy Walters, was born on June 11 to Mr. and Mrs. Aaron S. Brown in Washington where Mr. Brown was assigned to the Department.

Comment, 1964: Dorothy and her husband, Don Kilgore, are now living in Billings, Montana where Don is gaining experience with the Continental Oil Company. Their son, Don, Jr. (Rusty) was born on Labor Day, 1961, and Dottie was present for the happy arrival of their grandson. Barbara, the second daughter, graduated from Middlebury College last May and is spending the summer with her parents in Managua where Aaron is our Ambassador.

A daughter, Patricia Ann, was born on June 18 to Mr. and Mrs. Ivan B. White in Tokyo. Mr. White is Vice Consul at Yokohama.

Comment, 1964: Patricia was born in St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo. "It was a bit unusual as hospitals go," says Ivan, "because in the pre-war era they provided suites with meals for expectant fathers at the rate of $2.00 a day. When I tired of hospital fare, Jim Espy would invite me over to his quarters for a free meal. I well recall that when Dr. Okubo, head of the hospital's obstetrics division, who ushered into the world many Foreign Service children, informed me of the birth, he was most apologetic that I had acquired a daughter instead of a son.

"While at Stanford, Patsy met her husband, John Talbert Jones, who is completing medical work at Vanderbilt University. Diane (Washington 1950) and Christine (Madrid 1951) attend the Rockcliffe School across the street from our Government owned house in Ottawa. Previous occupants in chronological order were Julian Harrington, Don Bliss, Tyler Thompson and Bill Armstrong."

A daughter, Nancy, was born on May 18 to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Austin Acly in Johannesburg, where Mr. Acly is Consul.

Comment, 1964: After Bennington College, Nancy became an actress and has had success in a number of plays including "The Living Room," "Moon in the Yellow River," and "A Month in the Country." Barbara, who is older than Nancy, is married and lives in Paris. Peter, who is younger, is a freshman at Yale.

A son, Anthony Maurice, was born on April 15 to Mr. and Mrs. Maurice W. Altaffer at Zurich, where Mr. Altaffer is Consul.

Comment, 1964: After finishing at a Quaker School in Pennsylvania. Anthony attended the Zurich Arts and Crafts School, completing its course in commercial photography. He is now a professional photographer specializing in musical personalities and events for the Press. He is official photographer for Zurich Symphony Hall. Tom, the oldest son, who was with the AF of L in Paris, is now heading the new Insti-

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tute of African Affairs which the AF of L is maintaining together with the Department of Labor at the UN in New York.

Recent Service Items

Princeton's Class of 1939: Hendrik van Oss, Charge d'Affaires, a. i. Brazzaville, refers to the challenge posed by Princeton's Class of 1930 in the February column, and offers the record of Princeton's Class of 1939. He lists the following 39ers in the Foreign Service and two now resigned:

Gardner Ainsworth—Dept.	David G. Nes—Saigon
Findley Burns, Jr.—London	Alan P. White—Dept.
Edward W. Clark—B. A.	Hendrik van Oss—Brazzaville
John W. Coffey—Dept.	Larry Ralston—Now resigned
Richard Funkhouser—Moscow	Al Ulmer—Now resigned

Mr. van Oss states that research into the archives might dig up another 39er or two.

► Shirley Newhall of the JOURNAL, came across the following Lincoln story when in the course of moving last spring to the JOURNAL's new address: "Senator Charles Sumner (R., Mass.), following Lincoln's first election in 1860, put up this kind of plea for a young protege of his: 'Mr. President, this young man is the son of a great friend of mine. I know him to be dependable and energetic. He has studied German at Harvard and Heidelberg, knows a great deal about German politics and customs. He would make an excellent secretary to the American Legation at Berlin, and I wish you would do me the great favor of appointing him to that post.'

"Lincoln replied: 'Senator, I have no doubt of the young man's attainments. But I'm not going to appoint him. I'm going to appoint the son of a judge in Fayette county, Ind., as secretary of legation at Berlin. The young man knows no German, and doesn't speak English too well. But his father runs the Republican machine out there. We have no diplomatic relations with Berlin. We have diplomatic relations with Fayette county, Ind., and we want to keep it in the Union. Sorry, Senator. . . .'"

► 90! A Happy Birthday and affectionate greetings to Francis Stewart in Miami.

► **Yarn:** BOB MCGREGOR, recently retired, tells this one: A certain staff member for a Senate Committee on Immigration accompanied a Senator to Venice for a conference with FSO's engaged in refugee matters. I arrived just in time to witness the staff member in a state of high indignation setting off for a soothing stroll around the streets and bridges of that well-watered city. During lunch at the Hotel Danielli, where the delegation was staying, the member returned, flushed and obviously much put out. It seems he had got lost in the maze of canals and finding himself in a strange part and not remembering where he had come from he extracted his hotel room key from his pocket and went up to the first person he saw. He pointed to his key and tried by signs to show he wanted direction. The person he accosted with this human request happened to be a very personable young lady. He got a resounding slap for his attentions and came flying back. He said, "It just shows how ungrateful these foreigners are!"

► **Anecdote:** Retired FSO JOSEPH BALLANTINE shares this anecdote: In the course of a lecture to my Around the World Group, I happened to mention that in the sixteenth century when Europeans first came to East Asia from overseas the standard of literacy in every country of East Asia was higher than in any country of Europe. A lady, she was a college graduate, looked at me in apparent disbelief and then a gleam of enlightenment came. "You mean, in their own language, don't you?" she said. ■

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Target: the MASSES

by ARTHUR GOODFRIEND

Readers of John McKnight's argument for choosing the classes as the target for the USIA may recall the little story with which he ends his article. A touring Congressman once asked him: "What would you do if we gave you just $20 in program money for the entire year?" Mr. McKnight replied: "I'd take the Minister of Education out, give him the best lunch $20 could buy, and try to persuade him to install courses in American civilization in all the universities."

By not so odd coincidence, I too was once confronted by the same hypothetical question. (In my case, the Congressman upped the ante to $50.) Shooting from the hip, I said I'd invest $5 in a weeklong bus tour of the boondocks, living off the land, and talking to the people. On the basis of what I learned, I'd try to figure out how USIS, within the terms of its mission, could sensibly meet their felt needs. The test of whatever I proposed would be whether the officials to whom I presented my findings would pick up the tab. The remaining $45 I'd turn back to the Treasury.

It would be puerile to base the case for mass versus class targeting on two disparate answers to the Congressmen's questions. But the answers may cast a laser's light on certain differences in attitude between those who agree with Mr. Knight's conclusion that "USIA has to take the classes over the masses," and those who disagree.

One side advances a program emerging essentially from American self interest. The other side sets out to study the situation at its base, probing for opportunities to communicate in areas where America's self interest and that of the host country converge.

One side assumes that a $20 lunch can influence a responsible official of another country. The other side believes that a responsible official is more likely to be influenced by substantive facts deriving from the predicament of his people, leading to programs aimed at ameliorating that predicament.

One side premises that all power resides in a small, educated, dominant class; that this class acts independently of public opinion; and that American objectives can most easily be achieved by persuading elites. The other side responds to the evidence that few officials with a political future in their country act without regard for the best interests of the masses; that sensitivity to public opinion underlies their thoughts and actions; that easy acquiescence to the proposals of an alien power is politically dangerous when it touches the neo-colonial nerve of newly independent nations; that such proposals have their best chance of acceptance when they impinge upon the people's felt needs.

One side assumes that knowledge of the people's felt needs can be gained through comunication with the classes. The other side believes that elites are often removed by education, wealth and other advantages from the masses, and that a working knowledge of their anxieties and aspirations can best be acquired by direct contact with the masses.

One side acts in the expectation that today's Minister of Education will continue to be the Minister of Education tomorrow. The other side believes that power, especially in developing countries, tends to shift, and that the United States might be wiser to identify with popular impulses than with individuals who come and go, stranding the American position on the ebb tide of receding regimes.

One side sees "two billion of the three billion people now alive as functionally illiterate, or politically unconscious, or so unsophisticated as to be unreachable in ways available to the Agency." The other side believes that though people may not know how to read and write, they nevertheless are functioning members of cultures which (however bizarre by American standards) are real, rich and viable. It believes such people are exquisitely sensitive to social and political nuances within their immediate environment, and increasingly aware of the national and global scene. It credits these people with a wisdom and wit that, unsuspected by those who do not take the trouble to comprehend them, create the national character, color life at every level, and provide the stuff of effective communication. It believes the Agency's job is to find ways of reaching these people.

One side would agree with Mr. McKnight that "as of now, it is probably true that the majority of 'them furriners' don't vote . . . . and in the global election currently taking place between two ways of life, USIA may—for the moment at least—be able to leave them out of its calculations." The other side avers that whether by direct franchise or by certain pressures they exert on the social order,

"them furriners" do indeed vote, influencing the decision making process even in dictatorships. It believes that the global election eurrently taking plaee is precisely a ehoice betwecn a way that lcavcs people out of its ealeulations, and a way that includes cven the humblest. It believes that to leave these masses out of its ealculations may be as fatal an error as USIA ean make, espeeially now, when the stirrings of the masses, from the paddy fields of Viet-Nam to the slums of our own cities, send forth a single message: "People eount."

The divergeneies in philosophy and approach suggested by the two answers to thc Congressmen's questions affect the entire spectrum of Ameriean operations, diplomatie, cultural, military and eeonomie. USIA is a part of these operations. It eannot aet independently of other elements in our overseas arsenal. It eannot divorec itself from Ameriea's intent.

If it is our national purpose to exalt elasses over masses; if this is the aim of our aid; if our diplomatic endeavors and military power are employed to single out and deal with edueated, wealthy and omnipotent oligarehies; then USIA has no ehoiee but to go along. If, on the other hand, America abides by its belief that the best government is government of, by, and for the people, and if our power is deployed to insure a world in whieh "them furrincrs" have the right to vote, then it would seem that USIA might reconsider the means whercby it can coneert its actions with the national will. Indeed, as the psychologieal instrument set up to elueidate our polieies and aetions, USIA has a paramount responsibility to set an example for its sister agencies.

Now the issue narrows down. How can the psychological arm of a government that professes to bclieve in popular sovereignty implement so noble an ideal in the real life world in whieh it works? Proponents of the elass approach allege this is impossible. To condensc their argumcnt: "The ageney does not havc the men, money and materials to reaeh mass audienees overseas with consistency . . . The effectiveness of propaganda deereases in direet proportion to increases of the size of the audienee . . . Unless the Publie Affairs Officer identifies the (ruling) classes within a given society, his output will bc diffuse, unrelated to the frame of referenee, the thought and eoneeptual patterns, the eommunieations habits, the hopes and fears of his audiences . . . He will not establish empathy unless he delimits and defines his publie and knows it thoroughly. The smaller the publie, the easier it is to know it."

"How impossible the mass approach is, most of thc time, for USIA," writes Mr. McKnight, "was brought home to me sharply when early in 1957 I took over as PAO in Brazil . . . I found that my program funds for that vast country amounted to just $600,000. A quiek calculation told me that I did not have enough money to send a penny posteard to every Brazilian, even if it wcre possible to send a posteard for a penny . . . Pinpointing," Mr. Me-Knight coneludes, "thus beeomes of the essence."

While Mr. MeKnight does not specify what he did with his $600,000 (aside from dropping the idea of sending every Brazilian a penny posteard), his eoursc of action seems elear. A ehoice of audienee is made, explieitly the classes. Though Brazil is vast, these are somehow pinpointed. Empathy is sought with these elasses. Their frame of referenee, thought and eoneeptual patterns, hopes and fears are delimited and defined. So, in consequence, USIA output is delimited, defined and aimed at the privileged classes. Empathy with the masses is unsought. *Their* hopes and fears, communications habits, etc., are exeluded from American consideration.

If a better case has ever been made for the class approaeh, I have failed to find it. Neither have I found a better explanation of why our polieies and aetions are so often suspeet, our propaganda so often inept.

The elass versus mass dispute, as Mr. Knight points out, has plagued the Ageney sinee its ineeption. It remains unresolved, it seems to me, because of a misunderstanding about the nature and funetion of the elasses, espeeially within developing lands, and speeifieally within the eommunieation proeess.

Some individuals are advantaged by birth. They inherit their status and possess the speeial interests of a privileged elite. Remote from the hopes and woes of any eonstitueney except their group, their influenee is singular, forlorn and generally bereft of any future. They are slender reeds on whieh to lean.

Other individuals fight their way to the top. Often laboring in hidden villages, or at the lower rungs of the politieal and eeonomic ladder, building little by little the following upon which they will someday stake their claim to status, they are hard to pinpoint. These, the provineial politieians, the wardheelers of the paddy field and the bush, the obscure teachers, funetionaries, unionists, party workers and tribal ehiefs, may not always be above parlaying their gifts into personal fortunes. But whether sineerely or cynieally, they identify themselves with the masses, among whom they sustain their roots.

Thc lines overlap. Many of today's most eharismatie leaders are of the upper elasses. But these are usually ehampions of popular causes, of which freedom is often the first. Whatever their origins, governors who govern by eonsent of the governed share a common charaeteristic: a bond with the masses. Their frame of rcferenee, their thought and eoneeptual patterns, their hopes and fears are delimited and defined, not by the narrow interests of any advanced elass, but by the broader interests of the masses. They communicate with their peoples in their loeal idiom. Indigenous proverb, myth, folktale, epie and song eome as rcadily to their lips as to their audienees' ears. Though thcy ean deal with the outside world in English, Spanish or French, their strength at home springs from an ability to voiee their people's griefs and hopes in the vernaeular.

If this bc true of established leaders, so it is true of potential leaders. To segregate students (by any reekoning a primary target) from the masses, to sec them as some special eategory separate and distinet from their kinfolk who constitute the country's population and epitomize its problems, and to deal with them as a defined and delimited class, is to cultivate thc deadbeats, selfscekers and snobs, and to alienate others who envisage education as an instrument of their people's salvation.

To those who favor the mass approach, the elasses are not an audienee per se. They are a ehannel to a larger eonstitueney. Thcy arc not an end. They are a means. To delimit, define and deal with classes outside the perimeter of the larger publie is to waste their infinite power for good, and to cxaeerbate their power for evil.

The elass versus mass dispute remains unresolved for

another reason. Its adversaries conceptualize the mass approach as an effort to reach, personally and directly, every human being in the land. They see its practitioners as nuts, gone native, consorting with witch-doctors and fakirs, as blind to bilharzia as to Agency budgets.

True, protagonists of the mass approach make frequent forays into the field. The purpose is not to make individual contact with the millions of people, a palpable impossibility —but to gain some sympathetic understanding of the conditions with which the host country (and we) must cope. They also seek some understanding of indigenous communications. They cram their notebooks with local allusion, allegory, adage, song and story. They spend a lot of time in schools and in as many popular assemblies as afford a welcome. They grope for the people's spiritual and political viscera.

Thereafter, they use their knowledge to concert American objectives with local aspirations, and to express the American message in ways that ordinary people are apt to understand. They allude to indigenous heroes and history as well as to their own. They relate American values, experiences and aspirations to nationalist drives toward dignity, prosperity, peace and independence. They contrive a message with meaning for the many, rather than fragmenting their resources into innumerable parochial appeals to pinpointed interests. They see ideas as seed, rooted in the people's plight, and pushing upward from below. They surmise that only such seed, suited to the local soil and climate, can successfully be spread and nourished by elites.

Research, concentration, repetition, the orchestration of media behind a few thought-through themes—these characterize the mass approach. Its practitioners utilize all available channels; newspapers, exhibits, radio, films. But if, as the cartoon illustrating Mr. McKnight's article suggests, the local preference is for seeing the film backwards, that is the way they write and shoot the script. Most emphatically, the educated classes are not excluded from the mass approach. Reliance rests, however, on a simple syllogism: A message delimited and defined to the classes excludes the masses. A message of sufficient sensitivity and depth to encompass the masses, includes the classes. Only when it does can the classes fulfill their proper function in the communication equation, serving as channels to the mass.

Lack of money, men and materials is not, as its adversaries claim, an impediment to the mass approach. It costs not a penny more to use our vast VOA facility to broadcast a message with popular appeal than to delimit and define its message to the classes. A million pamphlets cost $10,000, whatever their target. But what the pamphlets contain can make the difference between copies yellowing on the shelf, or being passed from hand to hand.

Mass targeting, indeed, can cost many a penny less. By actual count the number of delimited and defined audiences pinpointed by the Agency is in excess of a thousand. To customize materials for so many publics is prohibitively expensive. Not until nationalism is recognized as the common denominator of innumerable class interests can the Agency maximize rather than customize the production process. The broader the market the lower the cost. The American economy itself rests on no other rationale.

As for personnel, hundreds of USIA employees need no more than release from current class-restrictive policies to demonstrate their true talent in cross-cultural communication. Lecturing at the Agency's Training Division, I have been impressed with the young men and women who seek overseas assignments precisely to establish a community of ideas with farmers, workers, housewives and students, and not simply with the upper classes of other lands. The experience of the Peace Corps should dismiss any residual doubts about either the efficacy of the grass roots approach to foreign affairs, or about the abundance of available manpower.

Such is the mass thesis. If ever it faced a challenge, it is in Africa. It was here that I took my most recent tour of the boondocks, listening to village gossip, rich in parable and earthy humor, and witnessing the revolution wrought by the transistor, its tintinnabulations following me from rainforest to desert. It was here that I rediscovered how attentively the educated classes listen to the tom-toms in the bush, signaling popular pleasure or discontent. It was here, once again, that USIA faced its perennial problem—whether to project a message defined and delimited to western educated elites or an African-oriented message responsive to the miseries and dreams of the masses.

It was here that the challenge rang clear. To associate these newly independent people with the United States in the exaltation of common values and the achievement of common aspirations. To express these values and aspirations in the context of other cultures and not simply in our own. To leave not even the least literate out of our calculations. To honor elites by granting that their actions are more likely to be influenced by their people's predicament than by American propaganda. Above all, to be faithful to our best ideals in the pursuit of our purposes.

Lyndon Johnson returned from his first visit to Asia troubled by "America's failure to put across to millions of people overseas its desires and real objectives." Echoing the often-voiced lament that "a nation that knows how to popularize commodities ranging all the way from cornflakes to luxury automobiles should be able to tell the rest of the world the simple truth about what it is doing and why it is doing it," Mr. Johnson called for "a straightforward analysis of the reasons for our failure to communicate with the rest of the world."

The class versus the mass issue may supply a useful clue. ■

John McKnight, whose April article, "Target: The Masses or the Classes," triggered this response, given a peek at Arthur Goodfriend's *riposte,* said:

"In this, as in most matters, there are two sides to the question. I am glad that Arthur Goodfriend has been moved to argue the other side. He does it ably—as is to be expected of an author of his oft-demonstrated excellences.

"I dare say that the two of us are not as far apart as the neat series of antitheses Arthur has constructed suggests. Perhaps the title itself, with its strong implication that one approach excludes the other, has caused us insensibly to take in print somewhat extreme positions. With much of what Arthur has to say, I fundamentally sympathize. But I more than he, I expect, have come up against the hard realities of the limitations imposed by the USIA budget; and this has inevitably conditioned my thinking."

An Outside View of the Plowden Report

Problems of the

by ZARA STEINER

How to keep the Foreign Service attuned to the swiftly changing demands of our times is as much a problem in Britain as it is in America. The British government some time ago appointed a committee headed by Lord Plowden, a man of diversified talents, somewhat along the lines of Averell Harriman, to examine all sides of the Foreign Service situation and to make suggestions for improvements.

The main suggestions contained in the report will have a familiar ring to readers of this JOURNAL. All the key words—amalgamation, specialization, career planning, training—turn up in their customary sequences. Although there have been press laments about the size and terminology of the new report, many of our readers will be impressed by the relative lack of jargon, the practicality of the suggestions for change and the common-sense view of highly complex programs. Some of the information gathered by the Committee, moreover, might prove useful to those of the Department who must face the Appropriations Committee.

There is a large gap between the questions which confront the two countries in this field. There are the basic differences in governmental structure which present entirely different problems of direction and coordination. There is the disparity in size, both in terms of responsibility and personnel, which enables the British to deal more flexibly with existing resources. While there are some 3,700 Foreign Service officers, the British Branch A generally consists of about 700 men and women. The Foreign Office admits between 20 and 30 new applicants annually; the Department aims at over 200. The contrasts between American and British operational programs overseas hardly need elaboration. Finally, both diplomatic services have their own professional legacies which have created special problems for the present. Although since 1917 it has been possible to serve in the British diplomatic service without private income, the "F.O." has preserved an elitist quality which has been the subject of continuous criticism. Contrasting elements in the social and educational structures of the two countries have resulted in distinctly different problems of recruitment and training. This list can be extended. Nevertheless, the parallels are numerous and enlightening.

The main problem which confronted the Committee is one peculiar to Britain. There are at present two overseas groups, the Foreign Service and the Commonwealth Service (backed by a separately recruited Trade Commission Service). The changing nature of the Commonwealth has made this dual system an anachronism (the State Department has already divided the Commonwealth countries among its regional departments) and the division of authority in such places as West Africa among Foreign Office, Colonial Office and Commonwealth Relations Office has created an administrative tangle. For fear of offending Commonwealth sensibilities, complete amalgamation has been postponed but the Committee does recommend that the two Whitehall offices be serviced by a common overseas staff. This suggestion (which has been adopted by the government) represents an all-but final step in a series of twentieth century amalgamations.

The staffs of the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service were united in 1919 and 1920; the Consular and Commercial Department Services were absorbed in 1943. But the British had their own "Wristonization" problems. They have found it difficult to carry out all the 1943 reforms and some of the Committee's recommendations deal with these questions. The immediate result of the reforms has been a dilution of expertise and a shortage of functional and regional experts. One way of handling this shortage has been to use Branch B ("Executive Class" corresponding in part to our FSS cate-

*The Plowden Committee, or the Committee on Representational Service Overseas was appointed by the Prime Minister to review the operations of the British overseas services in the Commonwealth and in foreign countries. In addition to the chairman, Lord Plowden, the members included: A. D. Bonham Carter, Viscount Harcourt, The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Lord Inchyra, Sir Percivale Liesching and Sir Charles Mott-Radclyffe. The Report (Cmd. 2276) was laid before Parliament in February 1964.

BRITISH FOREIGN SERVICE

gory) personnel to cover a wide range of substantive positions particularly in the consular, commercial, information and administrative fields. As might be expected, Branch B has expanded in size and in the range of its responsibilities and difficult morale problems have arisen.

The Committee has faced the crucial problem of non-political work and like the Wriston and Herter Committees has insisted that the great majority of such posts must be staffed by Branch A officers. In its new unified service, the Plowden Committee has devised a career ladder which would separate its three classes (Administrative, Executive and Clerical) in terms of recruitment, entry points, pay scales and promotion ladders but permit in certain grades (4, 5 and 7) both administrative and executive ranks to hold office. It will also be possible to "bridge" classes in these grades when executive officers show outstanding talents. In this way existing tensions may be reduced and a whole series of positions now held by Branch B (Executive class) should revert to Branch A. A good many of the Committee's proposals are aimed at preparing general-purpose officers of Branch A for these responsibilities.

A second method used by the Foreign Office to avail itself of specialist support has been to attach to many embassies experts who report to different Whitehall departments but are responsible in the field to the ambassador. These assignments (in the fields of finance, science, aviation, agriculture, etc.) do not present all the difficulties of coordination in London which exist in Washington but difficulties have arisen at some overseas posts. The committee has suggested that these attachés should in future serve on "secondment" terms and be known by normal diplomatic titles. These changes in nomenclature will, the proposers hope, integrate civilian advisers more fully into the embassy team.

Neither of these two methods will offset the shortage of specialists created by the proliferation and increasingly technical character of overseas problems. The highly specialized British consular services were broken up after 1943 and a move away from area specialization begun. The Foreign Office has already begun to reverse this practice. The Plowden Committee has gone even further; it suggests that all general-purpose officers should acquire one or more specialist qualifications—regional, linguistic or functional. About half the Executive Branch and some Administrative Branch entrants should be trained in hard languages each year and must expect to spend about half their careers in their area of concentration. The members of the Committee still believe that a well-educated and well-selected officer can handle any kind of diplomatic problem in any part of the world. But they have clearly seen (though not to the extent of our own Department) that diplomats today must be provided with more specialized skills.

The need to encourage new officers to enter the non-political fields is fully recognized.* The Committee has obviously been anxious to stress the enormous importance of commercial and economic work for all British diplomats. "We look forward to the day, in the not too distant future, when every ambassador and High Commissioner will have served in a commercial capacity and have acquired at first hand a detailed knowledge of export practice and what it entails." To give time for longer periods of training and to make the whole system of staffing and transfers more rational, the Committee recommends that the service create a ten percent reserve of officers above its normal complement. One wishes them Godspeed!

The discussion of training will strike readers as highly sensible. The British still lean to the view that the best way to learn is on the job and have no equivalent to the French L'Ecole Nationale d'Administration or our F.S.I. What the Committee would like to see is a three month pre-post training

*Because of the increased importance of economic problems, the Committee believes that the consular staff will have to be enlarged. While much of this work can be handled by executive officers, some posts should be held by administrative officers as they provide excellent training grounds for future chiefs of Mission.

period for all officers going overseas and an improved language and functional educational program. The language problem is a pressing one. Further instruction in European languages is recommended (candidates need no longer pass an examination in two languages and there has been a fall-off in competence as a result) as well as increased facilities for hard-language training.

The Committee has concentrated on the difficulties involved in amalgamating two overseas services of a different order. Nevertheless, on the general question of specialization, it is clear that the Plowden Report takes a far more conservative line than parallel American studies. While proposing conditions which will encourage officers in the direction of specialization, the main emphasis will remain on the generalist. Top-ranking ambassadorial and Foreign Office openings (of key importance in the British system) will continue to be filled by men of varied backgrounds. The object will be to see that such men have some area of expertise as they proceed up the career ladder. Little is said in this report about some of the practical problems already faced by the Department of State in recent years. There is, for instance, no reference to the degree of specialization required or any detailed reference to questions of promotion and career management programs. The smaller size of the administrative class (though it is steadily growing) and the better means of inter-departmental coordination in London may make these questions somewhat easier to solve for the British. The Foreign Office will not need to create the complicated administrative structure now being developed in Washington but it will have to initiate its own methods of attracting men into fields which they still tend to avoid.

It is when it comes to the question of recruitment that basic differences between the two systems become most distinct.* Obviously, both services want the best men they can get. They both want officers who can observe accurately and write intelligible and precise reports. The British have been far more open about their insistence on intellectual excellence. The exact subject studied is unimportant (though more science students are needed) but the results obtained are all-important. Both British examination methods are more detailed and exhaustive than our own and demand a higher level of academic achievement in terms of undergraduate education. This level, however, is very much geared to the Oxford and Cambridge Honours system and hence has been strongly attacked by those wishing to democratize the diplomatic service. Those character and personality traits sought are also, according to these critics, associated with a particular class and education.

The ratio for successful applicants for the Foreign Service in 1962 was 17 for one place. In the past ten years, 70 percent of the successful candidates to Branch A came from "public schools" though in the last three years this preponderance has been somewhat reduced. For the same period, nearly 60 percent of these candidates had been to Oxford and 35 percent to Cambridge. The narrowness of this recruitment, in social as well as intellectual terms, seems out of place in 1964. But the Committee, while agreeing that the pool of applicants needs to be widened, does not anticipate much change. "A major factor is the power of Oxford and Cambridge to attract a high proportion of the most promising young men and women, especially on the arts side." Until these universities attract a wider range of students (a process already beginning) and the Diplomatic Service includes a higher proportion of men trained in science, the present bias of the service will not greatly alter. The Committee, without any compromise, rejects the suggestion that present standards are unrealistically high.

On the negative side, this Report makes a number of critiques of existing practices. There is too much time spent on unproductive paper work. In particular, there is too much routine reporting from both the political and economic sections abroad and too much departmental minuting at home. It is, moreover, not at all clear whether the distribution of work abroad corresponds to present needs. The Committee would like each Head of Mission to review the work and staffing of his post annually. Unnecessary work (and officers) could then be jettisoned and a list of priorities for work to be done established.

The Committee's comments about work within the Foreign Office show to what degree both diplomatic machines face the same problems. While admitting that there must be functional as well as geographic departments, the Committee urges that primary responsibility rests with the latter which should include economic and commercial as well as political officers. The Committee is concerned, as every Washington observer has been, with the absorption of senior officials in the "ceaseless round of discussion of day to day problems." Officials at the Deputy Under Secretary level fail to delegate sufficient authority to their heads of department.

The major part of the report contains specific proposals for improving the conditions of service for officers faced with the vagaries of a nomadic career. No diplomat ever joined the Foreign Office to make money or to enjoy a safe and comfortable career but no man in 1964 should need to dig into his personal reserves (if he has any) to pay for the honour of being a diplomat. The Committee has faced the problem of appropriations and its recommendations will probably cost the country an additional £2 million as well as some £25 to £30 million for the purchase of staff accommodation abroad. A salary system based on a series of levels is proposed with special allowances for officers serving overseas and increased allowances for school fees and childrens' travel. Special incentives (financial, annual leaves, pension privileges) are suggested for those men serving at difficult posts. Many of the individual suggestions are ones which have either been proposed or adopted by the Department of State though certain items will strike Americans as unusually generous and eminently practical.

How will the future British Foreign Service look? The emphasis, judging from this report, will still be on the general-purpose officer though he will have had a good deal of experience in a functional field or in one particular area of the world. He should, in the future, wherever he is, have spent some time in economic and commercial work though the degree of specialization may not be as great as our own. He will be given some kind of introductory training and will be detached for courses on a wide range of subjects, some of a technical character, others of a more general nature. He will perhaps be better administered and he should, without using his own means, enjoy a better life abroad. In tone and accent, the future British diplomat will still evoke the image of a more aristocratic past.

The student of the State Department will find certain aspects of the Plowden Report sharply relevant to his own concerns. Such American problems as the degree of specialization, the quality and kind of recruitment, and the proper division of work done in Washington and overseas are illuminated by parallel British dilemmas. A comparison of difficulties and of solutions offered provide fruitful insights. ■

*The main emphasis is on recruitment from the bottom. The British make only limited use of their special over-age competitions though some members of the Oversea Civil Service have been brought in through these means. There is, moreover, no Reserve category (though temporary appointments are made) and the Committee has urged that a greater effort be made to attract university and business talents for temporary (two year) periods.

TENANTS OF THE ORPHANAGE

by RICHARD S. PATTERSON

EARLY in 1963 a four-alarm fire ravaged a Washington landmark that had once been the home of the Department of State, and late in the year a wrecking company obliterated it.

On Sunday afternoon, January 13, 1963, more than half of Washington's fire-fighting force, including nearly 200 men and 44 pieces of apparatus, battled a spectacular blaze at 14th and S Streets NW. Touched off by vagrants, the fire gutted the top floor of an abandoned warehouse on the southeast corner of the intersection. Known as the "Merchandise Building," this four-story structure extended along 14th Street from Riggs Street to S Street and bore street numbers from 1729 to 1735. Until a few years ago it had housed several business establishments, among them Brinson's Furniture and Decorating Company, the Lucky Strike Bowling Alley, Redman & Brown Furniture Company, and offices of the Diamond Cab Company. More recently it had been vacant and slated for demolition.

Although the next day, January 14, 1963, both the Washington Post and the Evening Star published aeeounts of the fire, each with a pieture, neither paper mentioned the distinguished early history of the building.

The story begins a hundred years ago. Turning baek the pages of time, we find the Department of State in the elosing years of the Civil War housed in the "Northeast Exeeutive Building." Named from its loeation northeastward of the White House, and identieal with the Northwest Exeeutive Building, whieh housed the War Department, the Northeast Executive Building stood near the eorner of 15th Street and New York Avenue NW., where the north wing of the Treasury Department Building stands now. A two-and-a-half-story gray-painted briek-and-stone structure with a elassieal portieo and eolumns graeing its northern front, it harmonized with the White House and matched the Northwest Exeeutive Building at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.

In the Northeast Executive Building the Department of State had conducted its business under seventeen Secretaries of State, from John Quiney Adams in 1819 to William H. Seward just a eentury ago. This building was the home of the Department during the whole of the Civil War. At that time the massive gray Treasury strueture pressed against it from the south, the unfinished northern end open like a mouth ready to devour the frail old building. Contemporary reeords suggest that in 1863 a tin-roofed passageway eonneeted the two buildings and that the Department of State was then overflowing into two or three rooms of the Treasury Building.

In 1866 the Northeast Exeeutive Building was seheduled to be torn down to make way for the north wing of the Treasury Building. A joint resolution of the Congress approved July 3, 1866, authorized the Seeretary of State "to hire a suitable building or buildings for the temporary aeeommodation of the Department of State" and appropriated $25,000 "towards defraying the expense of such hiring, the transfer of the public archives, and the fitting up of the building or buildings." On November 1, 1866, the Department began to vaeate the old building.

At this time the prineipal offieers under Secretary Seward werc the Assistant Secretary, Frederick W. Seward, son of the Seeretary; the Seeond Assistant Seeretary, William Hunter, who had served eontinuously in the Department sinee May 22, 1829; the Examiner of Claims. E. Peshine Smith, whose offiee, then new, evolved eventually into that of the Legal Adviser; the Chief Clerk, Robert S. Chew; and the Disbursing Clerk, George E. Baker, an old friend of the Seeretary and the editor of four volumes already published of "The Works of William H. Seward." Aeeording to payroll reeords of November 1866, personnel of the Department numbered 47, ineluding thirteen extra or temporary clerks but exeluding laborers and watehmen.

The statement has been made in print that in 1866 the Department moved briefly to a building on the southwest corner of 13th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. The source cited for this statement is a eontemporary Washington eity direetory. While "Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory" for 1866 does give the address of the Department of State as "Penn. Avenue, eorner 13th Street," here the figure *13* is a typographieal error for *15*. The Department of State moved directly from the old Northeast Executive Building at 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. to the then newly erected Washington City Orphan Asylum Building, located on the southeast eorner of 14th and S Streets NW. Contemporary aecounts records of the Department establish this fact, and Washington newspapers of the time verify it in items such as the following:

> "The Protestant Male and Female Orphan Asylum, on Fourteenth Street, was eompleted and turned over to the building committee on Tuesday last [Oetober 30] by Mr. James G. Naylor, the eontractor for building the same, to their entire satisfaction. Aceording to the terms of the contraet the time for its eompletion extended to the 1st of April next; but, in order to enable the managers of the asylum to give the State Department possession on the 1st of November, hy the extraordinary exertion of the contraetor the building is eompleted, and they are now moving into it."—Daily National Intelligencer, *November 1, 1866.*

The removal was carried out under the direction of George E. Baker, the Disbursing Clerk. Assistant Secretary Frederick W. Seward later mentioned it in his two-volume work entitled "Seward at Washington":

> ". . . a judieious plan prevented any lapse from order to ehaos. At the closc of business one afternoon, eaeh bureau officer and clerk was instrueted to remove the papers under his own espeeial eharge. Workmen and earts enough for the purpose were placed at his disposal. A single night suffieed to make the transfer, though the new and old quarters were a mile apart. The next morning every official was at his post, and every paper in plaee, and forthcoming at call."

Writing twenty-five years after the event, the younger Seward may have remembered imperfeetly. Contemporary accounts records suggest that the movers worked with less speed and efficieney than Seward would have us believe. Two weeks after the move began, Disbursing Clerk Baker wrote in a letter dated November 14, 1866: "The eonfusion of removing the Department to a new Building has eaused delay in remittanee and prevented me from preparing an order . . ."

The Washington City Orphan Asylum Building was a somewhat ornate red-brick strueture, of three stories and basement, whieh had the general appearanee of an urban public-school building of the timc. Set baek a few yards from thc sidewalk on both streets, it had its main entranee on 14th Street. Before and after moving into the building, the Department of State had extensive alterations made in the interior arrangement and in the plumbing and gas-fitting; it erected a stable and a flagpole on the premises; and it spent a considerable sum of money for sueh items as masonry, grading, paperhanging, painting, upholstering, hardware, furniture, and earpets.

For nine years the foreign relations of the United States—not to mention various domestie responsibilities as well—eentered in this building at 14th and S Streets. For nine

years the great and near great in the National Capital—Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet officers, representatives of foreign governments, and leaders of industry, commerce, and finance—descended from their carriages at the door and climbed the stairs to the Secretary's office. This building was a cradle of historic decisions and a stage for historic events. Of the 29 formal treaties signed within its walls, some were of major importance and two were among the great treaties of the Nation. The two were the Alaska Treaty, with Russia, of March 30, 1867, negotiated and signed by Secretary of State William H. Seward, and the Treaty of Washington, with Great Britain, of May 8, 1871, negotiated and signed by Secretary of State Hamilton Fish.

From November 1, 1866, until October 31, 1875, the Department paid rent for the building to the treasurer of the Washington City Orphan Asylum at a rate of $1,250 a month or $15,000 a year. Despite this high figure, the building was unsuited to the needs of the Department, both in size and in quality of construction. On January 27, 1869, Secretary Seward wrote, "the building is much too small for the necessary uses of the department." Two fires that broke out there during the Department's occupancy "came near proving disastrous."

In these makeshift quarters Seward concluded his eight years less one day of service as Secretary of State—a period exceeded only by that of Cordell Hull, from 1933 to 1944. In this building Seward's successor, Elihu B. Washburne, served as Secretary of State for twelve days—the shortest term on record. And here Hamilton Fish commenced on March 17, 1869, a period of service as Secretary that was to be only three days shorter and no less brilliant than Seward's. On December 20, 1873, while in this building, personnel of the Department numbered 38, excluding laborers and watchmen.

While located in the Orphan Asylum Building the Department for the first time admitted women to its clerical staff. Five received appointments as temporary clerks there at $900 a year on July 1, 1874. Their names were Charlotte L. Adams, Kate Goodall, Nellie M. Joselyn, Mary G. Markoe, and Sue Hamilton Owen. One of them, Miss Markoe, whose father had been a clerk in the Department from 1832 to 1861, served until her death on February 11, 1907.

Of the staff under Hamilton Fish in the Orphan Asylum Building, two persons remained with the Department until their retirement on June 30, 1922: Thomas Morrison, who had been appointed a temporary clerk and the Department's first telegrapher on March 7, 1867, and Thomas John Newton, who had been appointed a temporary clerk on July 1, 1874. Of the custodial staff in the Orphan Asylum Building, Edward A. Savoy, a Negro who had been appointed a laborer on July 1, 1871, remained with the Department for sixty years and two months—one of the longest periods of employment in the history of the Department. Promoted to assistant messenger in 1884, to messenger in 1898, to chief messenger in 1901, and to clerk in 1915, Savoy served every Secretary of State from Hamilton Fish to Henry L. Stimson. He retired August 31, 1931.

Because of the shortage of space and the hazard of fire in the Orphan Asylum Building, the Department of State rented a building across the street, on the southwest corner of 14th and S Streets, "for the storage of Books, Maps, papers, archives &c." This building is described as a "three story brick house and premises." Rent at the rate of $62.50 a month covered the period from July 1, 1870, to March 31, 1875. This house has long since been torn down, and its site is occupied by a service station.

The high rent plus the danger from fire led the Government in 1869 to begin planning for a new building. The site chosen was the block directly west of the White House, where the War and Navy Department Buildings then stood. Following enactment of legislation and approval of architect's drawings, laborers broke ground for the south wing on June 21, 1871, and masons laid the first granite stone on February 2, 1872. By the latter part of June 1875 construction had progressed to a point where the Department could begin moving in. This edifice, when finished, was known as the State, War, and Navy Building.

Hamilton Fish referred to the move in letters of the time. On June 29, 1875, he noted: "for the past week we have been gradually removing Documents &c, &c." On July 17 he wrote: "On Monday [July 19] we open shop & transact business in the new Building." On July 20 one can almost hear his sigh of relief as he penned the following words:

> "We have just moved into our new State Dept. Building. I experience a freedom from the anxiety which the Combustible nature of the old building kept ever present in my mind. We now have a fine, commodious, & elegant building."

On Saturday, July 17, 1875, at the close of business, the Orphan Asylum Building ceased to be the headquarters of the Department of State. From that time until 1927 the building seems to have been used for the purposes for which it was built. Some years after the Department moved out, the Orphan Asylum authorities extended the building eastward along S Street in a matching style of architecture. Over a doorway on S Street toward the eastern extremity of this extension they placed the following inscription: "Washington City Orphan Asylum Building Instituted in 1815. Erected 1881."

In 1927 the Orphan Asylum removed to other quarters. Subsequently the new owners converted the building to commercial purposes. They extended the front to the edge of the sidewalk, so that the façade on 14th Street bore no resemblance to that of the original building; they added an extension southward along 14th Street; and they renamed the whole enlarged structure "Merchandise Building." The front of what had been the Department of State, on the street level, became the show windows of a furniture store. On S Street near the corner, however, the wall, windows, and roof line of the side of the original building remained recognizable to the last.

By 1964 the only memorial to the old building was the business placard of the Federal Wrecking Company standing on the cleared site. ■

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM

Responsive to the growing complexity of foreign affairs in a rapidly changing world, the Animal Kingdom has evolved its own Foreign Service. Portraits shown here were made at a typical mission by Earl J. Wilson of USIS. Can you identify the following: Ambassador; DCM; Chief of the Political Section; Chief of the Economic Section; Chief of the AID mission; PAO; CAO; Military Attaché; F. S. Secretary; wife of any of the above? *Answers on page 45.*

EDITORIALS

PRIZEFIGHTER OR COAL MINER

In the July JOURNAL we printed an article on Foreign Service officers in residence by Carl Marcy. In his capacity as Staff Director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Carl Marcy has a long and intimate acquaintance with many Foreign Service officers. He both understands and sympathizes with our problems and, therefore, his article deserves serious and thoughtful consideration.

The principal issue which Carl Marcy's article raises is whether the Foreign Service officer with his deep and intimate involvement with issues abroad is also able to keep abreast of political developments at home in such a manner as to properly and adequately represent the dynamics of the U.S. system. In discussing the various procedures which the Department has devised to meet this problem, Marcy raises the basic issue as to whether the Foreign Service officer should be trained like a prize fighter or learn on the job like a coal miner.

The Department has tried various devices to relate the Foreign Service officer's home assignment to his experience abroad. One aspect of this is to give him the opportunity to talk to many people at all levels about his relationship to foreign policy issues. Deputy Under Secretary Crockett has established a new office under Katie Louchheim to promote and facilitate this kind of broad contact between the returning Foreign Service officer and people in his own community as well as elsewhere in the United States. The fact that an FSO now spends an average of forty percent of his career in the USA makes this exchange more frequent and more fruitful. The whole program of the Foreign Service Institute is oriented toward training an officer in broad aspects of American culture and life both before he goes abroad and during his return for mid-career or senior training courses. In addition the FSI has been sending 30 to 40 officers a year for university training to all parts of the country. All of these efforts indicate an interest in meeting the problem posed by Marcy's article, but no one would claim that the present arrangements are entirely satisfactory. Deputy Under Secretary Crockett indicated as much in his testimony before Senator Jackson's sub-committee. Once again this appears to us to be an issue on which the members of the Association should have very useful ideas. Many of us have acutely felt inadequacies in our background and training when serving abroad. Others of us have profited enormously from our own experience in training programs or in home assignments which brought us into continuing and intimate contact with all segments of the U.S. public. The JOURNAL would be glad to use its columns for suggestions as to how Antaeus might make his landings and take-offs more effective. ■

SELECTION OUT—CURSE OR BLESSING?

The annual joys and sorrows generated by the selection boards are behind us. The promotions became effective April 12 and those officers to be selected out have finally been notified. Promotion up or selection out is a source of great strength for the Foreign Service. While it is not an unmixed blessing, we feel strongly that selection out authority is a necessary and vital ingredient to a strong career service. It is an essential element of growth and only through judicious use of this authority will we prevent stagnation.

We would like to emphasize that selection out is no disgrace, nor a derogatory reflection upon the officer concerned. An officer in the Marine Corps who reaches the rank of colonel and is selected out rather than promoted to general is not disgraced. To reach the rank of Marine Corps colonel is no mean feat. To have been a senior Foreign Service officer is no less an achievement.

Although certainly not a disgrace, selection out can never be anything but an unpleasant experience for the individual concerned. The Service should bend every effort to decrease the shock and embarrassment of the situation.

Early notification of the decision of the annual selection boards would eliminate the long agonizing uncertainty of those officers who know they are in the low zone. Officers recommended for selection out this year were not informed until May. While we appreciate the need for a thorough administrative review, it seems that a carefully considered judgment could be rendered immediately after the promotion list is announced. We feel equally strongly about the letters to officers found to be in the bottom ten percent of their class. It is ludicrous for an officer to receive a letter in April advising him that his performance is deficient and that he should "pull up his socks" prior to the next rating period (only eight weeks away). This is especially true since officers no longer review their efficiency reports prior to submission to the Department. The "ten percent letters" should be mailed in January if they are to achieve their primary purpose—to advise an officer of his weaknesses so he may improve his effectiveness and avoid being selected out the following year.

And although we realize that the increase in size of the Service necessarily increases the use of mechanized processes the human element cannot be disregarded. An individual letter, specifically tailored to his case, to each officer selected out should be prepared. The receipt of a standard letter pounded out by the trusty Flexowriter stating "if you are eligible for voluntary retirement you should do this and that and if you are ineligible for voluntary retirement you should do thus and so" does little to convince the officer concerned that the Service has a genuine interest in, and sympathy for, his predicament.

In short, we feel that selection out is a necessary, though sometimes seemingly stringent, authority for the maintenance of a strong, viable, and effective Foreign Service. In a sense, we each live under this sword of Damocles—we welcome the challenge. We would only ask that the operation be speeded up and not dehumanized. The officers and the Foreign Service will be better served. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

Diplomatic couriers have long merited an explicit tribute and now they have got one. This is a photograph of the recently completed Couriers Mural, the work of a young Chilean painter, Camilo Henriquez Van der Borght. The mural was installed in Regional Office in Frankfurt and the Consul General Henry H. Ford presided at the ceremony. The acting Regional Courier officer in Europe, James H. Lessiter, says of the mural, "Couriers remain as indispensable to the Department of State as Mercury was to the gods of Olympus, the Chasqui runners to the Inca Empire. It will always be so. This is the theme of the mural. It's arresting display of powerful colors and bold lines combine to suggest harmonious movement."

"WASHINGTON," said the taxi driver, "used to be a eool eity till they put up this here National Gallery. All the marble attraets the sun and hinders the breezes that used to float up from the river."

It is always a pleasure to meet a scientific thinker who can trot out new facts but the explanation of Washington's heat did nothing to mitigate the torture of the eab's interior—97°. The temperature is pushing people into odd forms of behavior. For example:

A man walked up to another man in a theatre lobby queue and said, "If you are willing to sit in the baleony, you can have this ticket free." He had changed his mind, he said. It was too hot to sit through a play and too hot to stand in the queue to get his money baek.

A froliesome drug store proprietor put up a huge sign on his plate glass window: "Ballyhoo Strawberry Festival." The details were given in small print below: "Double strawberry sundae . . . 25 eents; strawberry soda . . . 20 eents." Well, on further refleetion everyone has the right to a festival—particularly in the dog days.

A grim proprietor of a Laundromat on 18th street has put up this sign: "Dying in these vats is forbidden." This seems somewhat arbitrary but we should get used to the faet that our liberties are being taken from us one by one.

By the Way of Atonement

Now back to that villainous National Gallery. It must be said that it handsomely redeems itself with its speeial show, "7000 Years of Iranian Art." The Shah of Iran thought this one was so important that he made a speeial trip to Washington to inaugurate it. And he was right. Every member of the Foreign Service who has a single day to spend in Washington should dash to see it. The whole historieal span of 7000 years is symbolized in a superb, seleetive colleetion of paintings, pottery, weapons, prints and textiles. High spots of the show are a figurine of 3000 B.C., a gold bowl of the Fifth Century B. C., painted pottery going back to the Hisar III and Elamite eultures, weapons from Luristan and exquisite spoons and forks used during the Sasanian dynasty. Altogether it is one of the most suceessful general exhibits sinee the great Chinese show organized by Burlington House baek in 1935.

Thank God for Air Conditioning

Despite the heat, business in the Capitol maintained a lively tempo in the days just before July 4—the eritieal days for bill HR 10700 whieh proposed a $540 million rise in federal salaries. Only the air eonditioning and possibly a few judieious words from the White House eould explain that legislative hurly-burly during the dog days. The wage inerease was passed by the House and subsequently by the Senate but owing to divers differenees, the measure will now have to go to eonferenee for re-tailoring operations. Thus, it is too early to gloat. It is also too early for meditating on a yaeht, an air-eonditioned Zis, or even an electrie eorn popper for the patio. (For those of you in the field, it should be explained that the stay-at-homes are patio mad, although most of us don't know what the word means.) If the proposed pay rise becomes a reality it will be good news for everyone in the Foreign Serviee. Here are some examples: The entry rate for elass 8 FSOs would be $6,050; the eeiling

$7,250. The ceiling for a FSS-1 would be raised to $19,495. FSO-1s who have lived in limbo for some time with their fixed top of $19,650 would under the new scale be able to reach $24,500. The upper echelons would also benefit. The Secretary of State's salary would go up from $25,000 to $35,000; the two undersecretaries would go up from $22,000 to $28,000, the deputy undersecretaries and assistant secretaries would move up from $20,000 to $27,000. The new schedule would also boost a career ambassador's salary from $20,000 to $27,000 and a career minister's from $19,800 to $26,000.

After 175 Years

Representative Samuel L. Devine (R., Ohio) is a non-admirer of the Department of State. Indeed, he likes it so little that he introduced a bill, HR 11070, "To abolish the Department of State and transfer its functions and responsibilities to a new department." The new department would be called the Department of Foreign Affairs, the name chosen by the First Congress on July 27, 1789, at a time when there was a project afoot to set up a companion department, the Department of Home Affairs. When Home Affairs was dropped, the First Congress, on Sept. 15, 1789, changed the name of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Department of State.

The kicker in Bill 11070 lies in these words. "No person whose salary or annual compensation is at a rate in excess of $8,000 per year may be transferred from the Department of State to the Department of Foreign Affairs . . . unless a determination has been made, on an individual basis, that his transfer is necessary."

Congressman Devine objects to the "upper echelons" in the Foreign Service because "they are untouchable by reason of time in service." He added "no power is taken away from the President whatsoever; but to the contrary, this legislation removes the shackles from the Chief Executive and gives him an opportunity, for the first time in generations, to have a free hand to create a Department to deal with our international relations. He will not be burdened with the career, sedentary, odd-ball, self-satisfied, empire-building bureaucrats that have infested the State Department to a point where, rather than the executive or legislative branch of the government, they dictate U.S. policy and direction."

Not all Foreign Service officers have exhibited a thoroughly objective view on Congressman Devine's bill. Not a few have exhibited quiet satisfaction over the fact that the bill will perish in Committee.

After Forty Years

If the Department of State has endured for 175 years, the career Foreign Service is only 40 years old. To commemorate the date, July 1, 1924, when the Rogers Act setting up the Foreign Service went into effect, Secretary of State Dean Rusk presided over a stately ceremony in the South Court of the Department on July 1, 1964. The Secretary, having observed the momentous results of the Rogers Act, then dedicated the South Court as a Memorial Court. A bronze plaque now carries these words: "This Court is dedicated to the memory of those who gave their lives for the cause of peace and friendship among nations." After the ceremony on the ground floor, eight elevators with remarkable efficiency moved almost a thousand guests to the eighth floor where the Secretary was host at a reception. The guests included Congressional and White House dignitaries, representatives of other government departments, all retired Foreign Service officers and their wives, and widows of Foreign Service officers.

An Ambassador's Griefs

It might have been called "Anatomy of the Ambassador." It is a 16-page booklet put out by the Senate subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations under the chairmanship of Senator Henry M. Jackson. In preparing its report on the role of the Ambassador in contemporary life the committee consulted ten active and retired ambassadors: Ellis O. Briggs, H. Freeman Matthews, Edwin O. Reischauer, David K. E. Bruce, Samuel D. Berger, George F. Kennan, Lincoln Gordon, Livingston T. Merchant, Edmund O. Gullion, and Foy D. Kohler.

On what ambassadors put up with:

"The practice of commuter trips by special emissaries (i.e. from Washington) is now clearly overdone and a serious consequence is to erode the prestige and authority of an ambassador in the eyes of the local government."

"Back door approaches to Washington." "Sometimes when a foreign government has taken a matter up with the American ambassador without receiving satisfaction, it has used its Washington embassy to press its claim . . . the maneuver has sometimes worked."

The tendency of "touring juniors" to talk can be "extremely disruptive."

Some proposed remedies:

Ambassadors should remain longer at their assignments. The present average tour of two years and ten months is too short.

Adequate funds for maintenance, allowances, representation, etc. so that no ambassador need draw on private means.

A close relationship between the President and his ambassadors. "Hopefully the President will come to know his key Chiefs of Mission at least as well as he does his top Washington officials and chief military leaders." ■

Life and Love in the Foreign Service — by Robert W. Rinden

"Did you, or did you not, travel FIRST-CLASS?"

London. Max Grossman, CAO, watches two young handicapped children playing at the new John F. Kennedy Centre at West Ham in London's East End. The Centre was opened by Miss Jennic Lee, Labour M. P. for Cannock, at right. In the center is Alderman Mrs. Margaret Scott, J. P., Mayor of West Ham.

SERVICE GLIMPSES

Baghdad. Ambassador Robert C. Strong briefs a group of retired Americans who are touring the Near and Far East in a fifty trailer caravan. The briefing was held in a bedouin tent set up by the Iraqi Department of Tourism. Shown with Ambassador and Mrs. Strong are two members of the Tourism Department and FSO Richard Bogosian.

Kampala. American artist and illustrator, Elton Clay Fax, currently on a tour of African countries under the Cultural Exchange Program, addresses a youth forum audience in the USIS Auditorium on "Art and Life." Mr. Fax produced quick drawings, including sketches of individuals in the audience, to illustrate his lecture.

Manaos. Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs Alfred Boerner presents the terms of award to Teacher Development Grantee Isabel Gomes da Silva.

Bandung. Kansas University Brass Ensemble Dircetor Kenneth Bloomquist presents a record and a photo of the Ensemble to General Mustopo, vice rector of Pedjadjaran University, after the Ensemble's performance for 2500 students.

Kamakura. Brian Izenberg, son of FSO Ivan Izenberg, gazes at the Daibutsu (Great Buddha) and a parade of sightseeing middle school students.

Hong Kong. PAO Earl J. Wilson, right, discusses painting with Mr. and Mrs. Sheng-haa Hong, USIS Chief of the Chinese Language Program, left, and Mr. and Mrs. Bung Howe of Hong Kong. Mr. Wilson's paintings appear frequently in the JOURNAL's pages, see page 28 of this issue.

Kayunga. The Honorable Wayne J. Fredericks, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, talks to the Kennedy Boys Club in Uganda. Mr. Fredericks also spoke at the dedication of the Kennedy Library at Kayunga as did Ambassador Olcott H. Deming.

Berlin. U. S. Commander Major General James H. Polk officially opens the exhibit on the history and tradition of the U. S. Army in Berlin Amerika Haus. Authentic music of the Revolutionary period was provided by the Fife and Drum Corps of the Third Infantry.

Manila. Kirk Douglas visits the Tondo Youth Center in company with PAO John H. Esterline and CAO John A. Hamilton. The center trains out-of-school boys and girls from underprivileged areas in tailoring, dressmaking, handicrafts and shoe repairing.

department of dissent

LET'S ESTABLISH A "SWEARING OUT" CEREMONY

by Charles F. Baldwin

For years the Department of State has been fighting a running engagement against the bad effects of rapid growth. An organization once able, in an atmosphere where some of the gracious amenities of life could be indulged, to contend with the then simpler problems of international relations, suddenly found itself in another world, a world with a steadily increasing population of nations where information and aid programs became fixtures and even the smaller diplomatic missions performed new and difficult functions. In such a process of growth there are obvious dangers, including the danger that systematization and work pressures can breed impersonality and indifference to the human element. There are reasons to believe that this morale-damaging influence is threatening esprit de corps in the Department to a greater extent today than ever before in its history.

The growing impersonality in the Department is evident at home and abroad. For one thing, it seems to have made more difficult the informal exchanges between officers in the Department and those abroad which helped both to understand better their problems and needs. To officers returning from abroad it seems also to have changed the Departmental atmosphere. The "good old days" undoubtedly had their faults—some serious ones—but they were also characterized by personal relationships and a sense of fraternity which tended to strengthen morale and cause officers to feel truly a part of the organization and not simply replaceable parts of a machine. Perhaps the time has come to consider whether at least some of that spirit can be recaptured before it is lost forever.

The purpose of these comments is to suggest only one device which might help to do so. The suggestion merely scratches the surface of the problem but it may serve to indicate the kind of actions in the Department which will approach it in more depth. It concerns the manner in which officers leaving the Service might be treated to send them on their way with a feeling of having ended active participation in an organization animated by human kindness and appreciation instead of feeling like an orange from which the juice has been squeezed thoroughly and not too gently.

Officers whose records of accomplishment and advancement have been at least average are likely to find their last field assignment a poor conditioner for their experiences when they return to Washington upon the termination of their tour of duty. As they leave Washington for their last post they carry with them the good wishes of Departmental officers, the intellectual stimulation which briefing produces, a sense of responsibility for effective performance of new and important duties ahead, and the thrill of anticipation which a transfer to a new post in the Foreign Service produces—or should produce. That thrill, which few veteran officers become too jaded to enjoy, tends to push into the background the inevitability of approaching retirement. There's work to be done, new adjustments and friends to be made, new problems to be solved, perhaps new hardships to be tolerated. In short, another Foreign Service job to be done.

Time passes and the last-time officers return to Washington. If their duties abroad have been performed with at least average skill, and if they have been reasonably fortunate, they will have gained the impression, during their tour of duty, that they were regarded by the people and the government of the country in which they were stationed at least as persons performing an important mission. If they were more fortunate they may even have felt that they had earned the respect—possibly the affection—of the people and officials of that country. Only a few days in Washington are required, however, to give them a feeling that they are already beginning not to belong—of being engulfed in a great tide of administrative movement in which their identities will remain as numbers and perhaps even a short memory but will quickly fade as a warm, human impact. The change from the manner in which they are likely to have left Washington, and from the atmosphere which they may have found at their last post, is sharp and unpleasant.

In the case of retiring officers who end their careers with chief of mission assignments the shock of the return to Washington may be more jolting and disenchanting than the experience of other officers. If the ambassador has been reasonably effective and popular abroad he will have received farewells which surpassed the warmth and sincerity of the departure ceremonies for him when he left Washington. He and his wife return with a sense of having accomplished a mission which was not devoid of importance to the interests of their own country and often of the country in which they have been stationed.

Upon his return to Washington, and unless he has left a country where a critical situation has attracted the special

(Continued on page 53)

Spanish Fishermen *by Lynn Millar*

according to MURPHY'S Law

by TED OLSON

THE American Chargé d'Affaires in Barawan had borne that title and the attendant responsibilities for exactly one week the morning his secretary came into his office, every contour of her long, tallowy face spilling calamity, and laid a telegram before him. It announced the arrival, at 1159 hours the following day, of Representative Carl W. Feddler, accompanied by daughter, and it instructed the Embassy at some length on the courtesies and amenities they would expect.

Manderson read it twice, in the forlorn hope that there might be some mistake. There was none. The message had not been misdirected. The language was, for a governmental communication, pellucid. Resisting an impulse to beat his forehead against the desk and sob, he told the hovering Miss Hammett: "Ask Mr. Darfish to come in, please."

It would have to be Darfish. With Pandolf on home leave, Keeble in the hospital with hepatitis, Darfish was senior, everything in bureaucracy being relative. A good lad, Darfish, and keen, frightfully keen, but a little . . .

The shipwrecked feeling with which Manderson had watched the Ambassador safely airborne engulfed him anew.

Damn it all, he'd never wanted to be Chargé d'Affaires. He hadn't wanted to be Counselor of Embassy and Deputy Chief of Mission. He had been perfectly content all those years in his cozy air-conditioned cell in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. And then Management—that inscrutable, omnipotent entity, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos in spectral conclave—had decreed that domestic and field staffs should be integrated and interchangeable. And so here he was, at fifty-eight, a stranger and afraid, in a world that would have been considerably different if he had had any say in the making of it.

And nineteen months and eleven days yet to go, before he could hope to get back to Falls Church and his Buff Orpingtons.

Godfrey Darfish teetered at the door and then loped in. He studied the telegram.

"Feddler. He's that fellow on the Appropriations subcommittee, isn't he—the one that ehews up Assistant Secretaries?"

"That's the one."

"Wouldn't you just know it? Murphy's law!"

"Whose law?" Manderson was still being baffled by cryptic fragments of argot that had never penetrated the cloistered recesses of INR.

"Murphy's law. *You* know. If anything can go wrong, it will."

"He must have gotten the notion suddenly. We're not on his itinerary. Why can't they stay hooome?"

The sentence quavered off into something shamefully near a wail.

This wouldn't do, Manderson told himself. Must keep a stiff upper lip. He stiffened it experimentally. It did indeed help control that tremor of the chin, though at some cost in enunciation. He pressed the buzzer and instructed Miss Hammett, somewhat indistinctly, to rally all hands.

The staff meeting lasted until noon, with reefs of costive silence amid freshets of competitive volubility and a few unseemly excursions into levity. He had to be rather severe with young Purfleet, who wanted to ask the Ministry of Health to proclaim a cholera epidemic and quarantine the capital. But somehow a plan of campaign was hammered out and battle stations were assigned.

The guest list for dinner gave them most trouble. The dining room in the DCM's residence would seat twelve, with some squeezing. They started with the people that really *had* to be invited. There were seventeen, plus wives. They struck out those who for various reasons wouldn't possibly do. That left three. They started over again. Twice they came to a dead end and stared at each other in frozen despair.

"Isn't there just a chance he speaks a *little* French?" Manderson pleaded.

Hal Ephraim, the Public Affairs Officer, grunted: "Two years at Oklabraska A and M. Eight years running a farm implement store. Four years in the Navy. What do *you* think?"

"We'll just have to stand by to interpret, then. We've *got* to have the President of Parliament. Thank God, anyway, for the Z'bokos."

Thank God, there always were the Z'bokos. They were personable, urbane, articulate in four languages. They had been to the United States on a leader grant. Aristide Z'boko represented several American firms. They drank bourbon on the rocks.

At last the list was ready. Manderson gave it to Miss Hammett and went home to lunch, pondering en route the least brutal way to break all this to Lucy.

The Congressman's plane was scheduled for 11:59 a.m. The airport was only half-an-hour distant, but to be on the safe side Manderson had planned to leave the Embassy at 11. At 10:58 a call came in from the Foreign Office. The Foreign Minister presented his compliments, and would the American Chargé d'Affaires be so good as to come over? Immediately?

Once more Manderson fought down that impulse to beat his forehead on the blotter and sob. But Miss Hammett was

at the door announeing that the ear was waiting. Stiff upper lip, he reminded himself.

"You'll have to go with Mrs. Manderson and meet the Congressman," he told Darfish. "The Foreign Minister has sent for me."

Darfish's Adam's apple rose and fell like a yo-yo. "Me-e-e-ee?" he bleated.

Tell the Congressman I'm terribly sorry, but I'll see him at luneh. Now what does that old nuisanee want this time?"

It was, as usual, nothing mueh, but it took the better part of an hour to eonvinee the Minister, whose eombustion point was low, that no real grounds existed for severing relations. Somebody in Washington had made a speeeh, with a passing referenee, uneomplimentary, to Barawan. Agenee Franee Presse had pieked it up. Khagouli's most sensational vernaeular daily had smeared it aeross the front page. Something like this happened every few weeks, and the treatment was SOP. Manderson left the Foreign Minister elueking friendliness. He felt he had handled it rather well; really, the Old Man eouldn't have done mueh hetter.

He walked into his offiee to find Miss Hammett gulping and gasping into the telephone.

"Oh, I'm so . . . I ean't understand . . . I'm dreadfully . . . Oh, they *should* be . . . Ohhhh, here's Mr. Manderson. One minute."

A gravelly voiee grated from the reeeiver. "You the man in eharge? Why isn't there somebody out here to meet us? You expeet us to walk into town?"

Manderson found himself gasping and gulping. "But Mr. Congressman, we — we — sent a ear an hour ago. I ean't imagine . . . I'm terribly sorry. . . ."

Even to his own ears it was singularly unpersuasive; he eould hardly blame the Congressman for not being mollified. But the gravelly voiee suddenly faded, as if the speaker had turned away. When it returned it was a trifle less abrasive.

"Your man's here. And about time. I'll see you later. And I hope this isn't a sample of the way you run your ship."

"They left right after you did," Miss Hammett wailed. "I just ean't imagine . . ." The sentenee died off in a whimper.

"I'd better get out to the house. They'll be there in half an hour or less—if nothing else goes wrong. You got the invitations out all right? Anybody not eoming?"

Everyhody was eoming.

Now what on earth had happened to Darfish and Luey?

There were no other ears in his driveway. In the hall Esperanee, the housekeeper, met him; she must have been waiting. All the stareh drained out of Manderson's upper lip.

She was wearing her blaek beret.

Esperanee had a flair for the dramatie and her own sense of the fitness of things. Normally she was flawless in erisp blaek dress, erisp white apron, euffs, eollar and eap. But every now and then the eap would give plaee to a shapeless blaek ohjeet of the beret family, obviously aneient, probably an heirloom, perhaps a relie of some tribal ritual of ill omen. The Mandersons had bitter experienee of what that heret might portend.

"What's wrong now?" he moaned.

"No water, Monsieur. Water not eome today."

There were two kinds of water in Khagouli. One kind helehed or dribbled from the taps, mustardy in hue and smelling of hydrogen sulfide: it was tolerable for bathing and laundry but not potable. The other was delivered every morning in glass eontainers, about the height and girth of a sturdy ten-year-old, and had been subjeeted to some proeess that filtered out or defused the amoebae. At least one hoped so.

"Oh, no, Esperanee! Ring them up. Tell them to hustle it along. We've got to have water."

"I ring. No water today. No water maybe tomorrow. They strike."

"Then what do we doooo?"

He heard a ear turning into the driveway. Darfish popped out of the front seat like a ehampagne eork and opened the rear door.

Congressman Feddler was square, ruddy, with formidable eyebrows and a bone-erunehing grip.

"Glad to have you with us, Mr. Congressman. Or I should say—" Manderson was horrified by his own nervous giggle—"I should say weleome on board."

"Weleome *a*board," the Congressman eorreeted. "Plain to hear you weren't in the Navy. This is my daughter."

Miss Feddler was tallish, thinnish, thirtyish. She wore glasses. She elutehed his hand damply and said something about being glad.

When the Feddlers had gone to their rooms he turned to Darfish.

"Now what happened?"

"Oh, God! What didn't happen? There was a parade. We eouldn't get around it. We must have driven ten miles trying. We've been through every alley in Khagouli. Onee we found ourselves in the middle of a eolumn of light tanks. Another time we got sort of tangled up with a Communist unit, trueks full of kids singing and waving red flags. That was where they started throwing things. Look."

He indieated a ragged gouge in the side of the ear.

"The Congressman notieed it. He read me a leeture on mistreating government property and asked if I'd been out joyriding."

Luey eame out of the house looking frantie.

"Charles! Didn't Esperanee tell you? There's no water!"

Oh, yes, the water. He elutehed the Administrative Offieer, who had eome in the seeond ear, with the luggage, and explained the problem.

Grundle smote his brow and keened: "I might have known! Murphy's law!"

This time Manderson didn't have to ask for elarifieation.

"But what do we do?"

"Leave it to me, boss. We'll manage."

Grundle was the perfeet Administrative Offieer. Somehow he always managed. By the time the Feddlers eame down to luneh he had ordered every member of the staff to bring every available hottle of elub soda to the Embassy, and had a truek seouring the eapital for more.

"If you uneap it as soon as it eomes, most of the fizz ought to be gone by dinner time. If they eomplain tell them it's salubrious. Tested by the U. S. Publie Health Serviee and highly reeommended for uleers."

The luneheon went off rather well. The Congressman, apparently not the man to nurse a grudge, mellowed even hefore the seeond martini. He gladdened Manderson's heart by praising the martinis, whieh, by a happy aeeident (Murphy's law temporarily in abeyanee) had turned out unwontedly well. He was informative and amusing about their earlier travels. Luey and Miss Feddler—she had asked them to eall her Ursula—seemed to be getting on famously. By the time they started for the Chaneery the Congressman was addressing him as Chuek, something nobody had done sinee high school.

The briefing session went off well enough too. There had been no time to prepare a briefing hook, but the seetion ehiefs, and the juniors who were filling in for absentees, had done their homework admirably. Listening, Manderson felt a glow of almost parental pride. Congressman Feddler listened too (in Manderson's experienee not every visitor did), and when he interrupted to ask a question it was usually pertinent and shrewd. He must have done some homework himself; he seemed to know quite a little about Barawan already.

It might, Manderson refleeted after the Congressman had gone upstairs for a nap before dinner, have been worse. Mueh worse. He was further heartened when Luey and Ursula Feddler eame in from their tour of the bazaars, heat-sodden and footsore, but laden with pareels and ehattering like blaekbirds.

And thank God, Esperanee was onee more erisply erested

in frilly white, the black beret filed away for the next calamity.

No efficiency expert—neither French, American nor Russian—has yet been able to get a Barawanian to punch a time clock. The Congressman was on his third martini and his seventh story before the first guests were announced—not, of course, counting the Ephraims and Godfrey Darfish, who had been at their posts the mandatory fifteen minutes before the appointed hour. Three Barawanians arrived simultaneously—the President of Parliament and his small, shy wife, and the Secretary General of the Foreign Office, unaccompanied. It was generally understood that a Mme. Entebwa existed, but few if any foreigners had seen her. Invitations went out regularly to M. and Mme. Entebwa, were regularly accepted, and M. Entebwa regularly arrived alone, which was fortunate, because hostesses had long since stopped setting a place for his wife.

Representative Feddler crunched the hand of his parliamentary colleague with especial warmth. "I don't know whether you've heard this one, Speaker," he said fraternally, "but I'll go back to the beginning."

M. le Président smiled brilliantly and listened. Manderson, hovering at his elbow and wondering exactly how to translate the anecdote, saw Lucy moving gamely in to engage M. Entebwa. Hal and Nancy Ephraim had attached themselves to the President's small, shy wife. Darfish and Ursula Feddler seemed to be getting along splendidly; he heard her laugh, surprisingly girlish.

Everybody at battle stations. Drinks and canapes circulating properly. Everything under control.

But where were the usually punctual Z'bokos?

The doors to the foyer opened, and a couple came in. Rather, they hesitated on the threshold, peering around furtively, as if they more than half expected to be challenged as trespassers.

Hal Ephraim sent an anguished whisper into Manderson's ear:

"We've got the wrong Z'bokos!"

Somehow he got through the ritual of welcome and introductions, while his numbed mind worked out what must have happened. There were quite a lot of Z'bokos in Barawan, a fact which the foreign colony, mesmerized by the ubiquitous Aristide and Cécile, was inclined to forget. Some of the others were fairly prominent too. The large, swart, dour gentleman now bowing deeply over Congressman Feddler's convivial hand was Baltasar Z'boko, Secretary General of the Ministry of Commerce. He spoke some French but no English. His wife, also large, swart, and dour, spoke neither English nor French, and was generally taciturn in her native Barawani.

Miss Hammett must have goofed again.

Luey tugged him to one side. "We've got to change the table. We've got the Congressman between two people who can't speak a word of English."

They had sweated over that seating plan. Two extra men, to begin with. And protocol. And language. They had worked it out finally by putting Feddler at one end of the table, as a sort of co-host, with the Z'bokos on either side. How would Luey and Godfrey reshuffle them?

With the soup course he found time for a surreptitious *tour d'horizon*. The Congressman was talking animatedly to M. Entebwa, who nodded and smiled with every appearance of delighted interest. *That* was coming along all right. You could count on Entebwa. He might be slyly malicious afterwards, but he was a pro; he followed the rules.

At Entebwa's left, Lucy was swimming gallantly in a torrent of French from *M. le Président*. Anyway, treading water. Luey's French was rather like Esperance's English, fragmentary. But she seemed to be doing nicely with nods and smiles and an occasional *"Ah, oui!"* Certainly the President looked happy. He had found a docile ear and he was bending it. Parliamentarians, Manderson reflected, are pretty much alike wherever you find them.

Hal Ephraim was not exactly striking any sparks from the President's small, shy wife, but he was prattling along pluckily, and in a few minutes Manderson could spell him. On the other side of the table Nancy Ephraim had focused all her considerable voltage on the wrong Z'boko, and his dour bulk was thawing visibly. Nancy's French was fragmentary, too, but Nancy had other endowments, perhaps more important.

That brought him to Ursula Feddler, sandwiched between Z'boko and Darfish, and to Mme. Z'boko, on Darfish's right, completing the circuit.

Mme. Z'boko had munched her way methodically through the hors d'oeuvres and ladled down the soup with a concentration that freed Manderson from any sense of responsibility for maintaining conversation; it had flagged even before he had exhausted his dozen phrases of Barawani. But now the soup plates were being removed and the roast had not yet appeared. She had folded her hands on her napkin and was staring flintily at the mirror on the opposite wall. Manderson realized that she probably could see her husband thawing under the Ephraim sun, and that probably she didn't much like it.

He had to distract her attention. But he could hardly start talking about the weather again. There was only one kind, anyway. He cleared his throat experimentally, hoping, though with no confidence, for inspiration.

Darfish said something that touched off Ursula Feddler's surprisingly girlish laugh, turned to Mme. Z'boko, and addressed her in Barawani. Her dour gaze left the mirror reluctantly. Darfish said something else. The dourness diminished, lightened by a flicker of interest.

Why, Godfrey was good! Manderson had had no idea he was that good. Of course he *had* been coming down at seven every morning for a language lesson.

The Chargé ad interim felt a sudden lift of spirits. This was going remarkably well.

He looked down the table again, and his eye caught Ursula Feddler's. She smiled shyly, and Manderson realized that he had been doing Ursula less than justice. Thirtyish? Well, perhaps, but just over the brink. Thinnish? Slender, rather, but by no means two-dimensional. Tonight, in a blue number that made the most of her modest capital, and with color in her cheeks, she was . . . yes, no doubt about it, she was an attractive girl.

Darfish, dividing his attentions punctiliously between the ladies to left and right, turned to her again, and the shy smile warmed to a glow.

Darfish was doing very well indeed. So, to be sure, were the rest of them. As his British opposite number would have said, good show. Very good show.

He caught Hal Ephraim's beseeching gaze over the head of *M. le Président*'s small, shy, wife, and went back to work.

But the euphoria was still there, a comforting warmth in his midriff, when the party moved back to the living-room for coffee and liqueurs. It survived the expected baiting from Entebwa, who drew him aside to murmur fraternally: "Sorry His Excelleney gave you such a rough time this morning. He rather has the wind up just now—all these strikes and demonstrations. You must find our growing pains amusing." Manderson, knowing perfectly well that anything he said would be reported back to the Minister, with embellishments, declined to be drawn, and Entebwa drifted away, with a patronizing "Interesting type, your Congressman."

Manderson spotted *M. le Président*, momentarily alone, and charged into the breach.

The coffee and liqueurs had been removed, and he was wondering if it was too early to bring in the whisky and soda, when he became aware of Esperance at the door. Her head was jerking like a spastic's to attract his attention. Perched on the head was the black beret.

The euphoric glow evaporated; in its place congealed a floe, large and jagged. He excused himself to the small, shy wife

and followed Esperance into the hall.

It took him a minute or more to extract some meaning from the lava gush of English, French and Barawani. There was a mob coming. Her sister had telephoned to warn her. They were angry with the Americans. They were particularly angry with M. Manderson. It was something to do with the strike.

She broke off in mid-gush and stiffened, head tilted. She squealed, "They coming! They coming!"

It was a sound unlike anything Manderson had ever heard before, a growling, barking, yelping cacophony, immensely amplified; amorphous and yet having a certain barbaric rhythm. It was augmenting second by second. It was thoroughly nasty.

He had read about mobs. He had seen them on television. But this was his first encounter with one. They hadn't said anything about mobs at the Foreign Service Institute. If there was a Standard Operating Procedure he hadn't come across it. And there certainly wasn't time now to look it up.

Steady, there. Stiff upper lip.

Call the police? Khagouli police had a prudent habit of discovering an errand in the opposite direction when trouble started. Notify the Foreign Office . . . Wait a minute. Entchwa. This was *his* responsibility.

It was a singularly subdued Entchwa who appeared in response to a summons relayed by Darfish. The languid insolence had vanished; the gloss he wore now was not that acquired at the Sorbonne but the earthier sheen of perspiration. He sat himself obediently at the phone and began sputtering Barawani.

He talked quite a long time, his voice sliding a notch up the scale after each pause for a response. Now and then he mopped his glistening upper lip and stole a glance at the window. The mob was close now; the torches made quite a pyrotechnic display.

"The Minister of the Interior will send police," he reported finally. "But it may be some little time before they arrive. If you will excuse me . . ."

Something shattered against the door. M. Entebwa scuttled back to the living-room. Manderson drew the curtain aside and peered out.

The mob was surging up the driveway. It looked very much like the mobs in the movies, a churning cauldron of distorted faces, gargoyle-sculptured by the flicker of the torches: something of Hogarth, something of Doré, and a good deal of Cecil de Mille. There were placards, mostly indecipherable; there were assorted sticks and clubs and a thicket of upthrust fists. Something else struck the door, with a squashy sound.

A louder and deeper bellow broke through the cacophony of yells: "American, come out! American, come out!"

Behind him, Darfish spoke with quavering resolution: "I'd better talk to them."

The Feddlers had followed Darfish into the hall. Ursula clutched his arm. "Godfrey, don't," she begged.

"What's going on here?" demanded the Congressman. "What's the idea? Don't they realize this is U. S. Government property?"

To his profound astonishment, Manderson heard himself saying: "I'll talk to them."

He flung the door open.

Something shattered against the house, and drops of a warmish fluid splattered Manderson. He dabbed at his cheek. Blood? Another bottle smashed on a pillar of the portico. Not blood, ink. The Barawanian educational system apparently was in on the fun, too.

Manderson, horribly frightened, and feeling as lonely as Gary Cooper at high noon, forced himself forward to the top of the steps and raised one hand.

The yells slackened. A burly young man in jeans and a sport shirt stepped forward. He said truculently: "You fink!"

"I—what? What do you mean?"

"You fink. You — you strikebreak. You buy soda pop. Everybody buy soda pop. Strike no good."

His English failed; he hurtled ahead in Barawani.

Manderson became aware that Darfish had joined him. The burly young man had turned and was addressing the crowd, his right fist going like a piston.

"He says we've intervened in Barawanian domestic affairs by buying up club soda to break the drinking water strike," Godfrey interpreted. "His union is demanding your recall and a rupture in relations. Also full compensation, I don't know exactly for what."

"But that's nonsense!"

"Of course it's nonsense. But it's a good enough pretext for working up a little anti-Americanism. I've heard about this fellow. He's a rabble-rouser."

The rabble-rouser had come to some sort of climax. The crowd roared concurrence. Manderson saw an arm crook to throwing position. He ducked. Just in time; a large serving of overripe tropical fruit splattered on the wall behind him.

"But what do we do?"

"I wish I knew," Godfrey said helplessly. "If only the police would get here."

Another fruit splashed alongside them. The mob surged forward.

And then came from behind them a bellow of Barawani in a Tallulah Bankhead basso, a salvo so redoubtable that it brought the mob to a halt. A massive figure appeared beside Manderson.

It was the wrong Mme. Z'boko.

She planted herself at the top of the steps and aimed a finger at the burly young rabble-rouser. He wriggled as if harpooned.

"Gaspard!"

That much Manderson understood. The rest was Barawani, too rapid and colloquial for Darfish to follow. But they could measure its impact by the deflating figure of Gaspard. Once or twice he attempted to reply, but Mme. Z'boko silenced him with an annihilating sweep of one hand. The mob fidgeted, conferred in whispers, began to dribble away.

With one final majestic bassoon blast, Mme. Z'boko stopped. That relentless finger pointed toward the gates. Gaspard looked around. He was alone. He hacked down the driveway a few steps, groping for some tatter of dignity to drape himself; then gave it up and fled.

Mme. Z'boko turned to Darfish with a resplendent smile. She said something in Barawani, smiled broadly again, and went into the house.

"She says everything will be all right now," Darfish interpreted. "She asked me to give you her sincere apologies on behalf of Barawan and particularly of the Z'boko family. She promises Gaspard won't bother us again. I'll bet he won't. He seems to be her son-in-law."

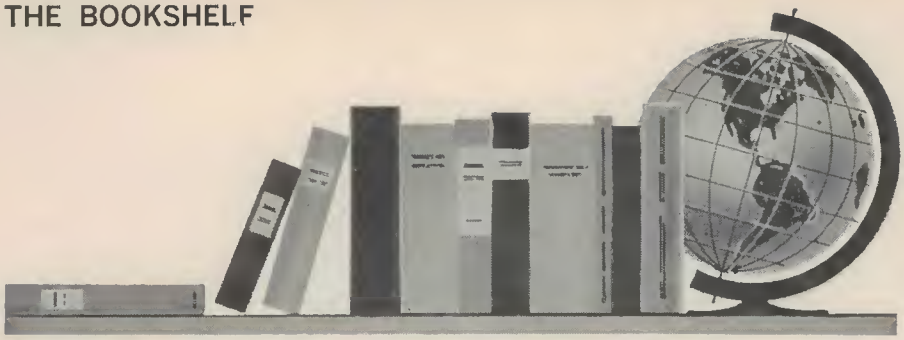
Khagouli was simmering in its normal torpor when they took the Feddlers to the airport next morning, an escort of six motorcycles sirening a lane through the market-bound populace. The escort was a belated gesture of atonement from the Minister of the Interior, whose police had arrived forty-five minutes after the mob dispersed. The Foreign Minister had called already to add his own official apologies to Mme. Z'boko's, and to offer assurance that any damage the mob might have done would be compensated.

At the foot of the gangway Congressman Feddler took Manderson's hand in a mangling grip. Behind them Ursula and Godfrey were standing very close together, hands and eyes interlocked. Manderson heard Darfish say throbbingly: "Oh, I will. Every week. And I'll call you the minute I get to Washington next October."

The Congressman gave the Chargé's hand a final agonizing crunch.

"Keep up the good work, Chuck," he said. "I won't say you run exactly a taut ship, but it does seem to be a happy one." ■

THE BOOKSHELF



Exorcising an Image

WELL, WELL! Things are looking up. Here is a book, written by two eminent correspondents and issued by one of the largest publishers, that is dedicated to exorcising "the striped-pants, cookie-pushing image (of the Foreign Service officer) propagated in large part by Congressmen seeking to deny [them] entertainment funds." The authors have culled from State Department files nine of the "countless tales of courage, bravery, gallantry, bold and quick-witted acts and gestures that have enabled the United States to pursue its policies and purposes in the world with dignity and respect," and have retold them with professional verve and color.

Some are familiar: Bob Murphy, for instance, acting out, for an audience of Vichy police, the role of a bibulous roué on an illicit holiday, while General Clark and Admiral Wright huddled in the cellar with the final plans for the landings in North Africa. But others will be new to most of us. How many recognize the name of Victor F. W. Stanwood? He was a consular agent in Madagascar in the 1880s; he fought not only corrupt local officials but the skepticism of his own chief in Antananarivo to break a slave trade syndicate shielding itself under the American flag. He gave his life doing it.

Here is Walter Orebaugh, coordinating and directing Italian guerrillas after the fall of Mussolini. Here is Robert Rossow, feeding our UN delegation the facts about the Soviet military buildup in Azerbaijan that made possible the first rollback of Soviet power after World War II. Here is John Hall Paxton piloting the Tihwa consulate staff across the Himalayas a jump ahead of the Communists. Here is Park Wollam outwaiting and outbluffing Raul Castro to win the release of American hostages. And others.

Some of the names are on the plaque listing those who died in line of duty. Some of the principals are still alive—on active service or in retirement. A number received official recognition, but not all. The authors note wryly that Clare Timberlake was not present when the Embassy staff that had served in the Congo during that country's birth struggles received a Meritorious Service unit citation.

Secretary Rusk contributes a foreword, and as an epilogue the book carries a "sanitized" version of President Kennedy's talk to FSOs in 1962.

—T. O.

OVERTIME IN HEAVEN: *Adventures in the Foreign Service, by Peter Lisagor and Marguerite Higgins; foreword by Dean Rusk; epilogue by John F. Kennedy. Doubleday, $4.95.*

Dulles over Suez

THIS is an angry book, even emotionally so at times, as is witnessed by the number of exclamation points in the text. But it is not a moving book.

The entire history of the events that led up to the Suez crisis in 1956 and the motivations which inspired the principal actors in that series of dramatic events are matters to be pieced together and judged by history. Whatever the verdict, those of us who were personally involved in these events feel certain that it will turn out to be incorrect to blame any one person for the outcome, as Mr. Finer does.

Mr. Finer's treatment of the subject is based on certain assumptions which are not proved and which more cautious students of the events would hesitate to postulate. One assumption is that the Israeli action in attacking in the Sinai Desert was justified as a response to Nasser's policies. The other is that Secretary Dulles' treatment of his British and French allies led to the disintegration of the NATO alliance.

On the other hand certain essential factors seem curiously omitted. The withdrawal of the Aswan Dam offer by Secretary Dulles, which set the train of events in motion, is presented as a rather capricious act on his part without any reference to the pressures from Congress to amend the aid bill in such a way as to prohibit the use of any funds for the Aswan Dam project. Furthermore, little mention is made of the blackout of communications between the United States and its British and French allies at certain stages in the crisis which led to the natural suspicion that certain deals were being made between the British, French and Israeli governments of which they were reluctant to inform the United States.

While the book shows painstaking research, many of the sources are not treated critically, e.g. Anthony Eden's "Full Circle," which is a self-justification, not an impartial record of events. Despite the imposing list of people whom the author consulted, the evidence in the book seems to indicate that he seldom listened. While Mr. Finer may derive some satisfaction from having written this one-sided indictment of Secretary Dulles, the book can hardly be described as a contribution to history or a credit to scholarship.

—E.M.J.K.

DULLES OVER SUEZ, *by Herman Finer. Quadrangle Books, $7.50*

Galbraith on "the front line"

THE day will arrive when royalties from some of the best of the writings of Professor Galbraith will accrue neither to the author nor to Harvard University (the recipient of the earnings of this book). When a decent amount of time has gone by and current cryptographs are long abandoned, then the legendary cables to Washington from the United States Ambassador to India will be presented to the public by the historians of the Department of State—or perhaps of Harvard University. It is a day worth waiting for.

Until then the wit and the wisdom of Long John Galbraith reporting from India will be available in reflective volumes to come and in this slim collection of front line lectures. The Indian students who crowded the Great Halls of ten universities across the sub-continent and the newspaper editors who put the advance texts supplied by USIA into type—may not have realized that the Ambassador was dusting economic cobwebs in Washington as well as New Delhi.

The broad sweep of the ambassadorial dust mop is one of the striking features of this book. The author explains in his introduction why he decided not to bore his audience with speeches on virtue and how the tolerance of the Agency for International Development allowed him to lecture on the topic dearest to him and his audience. The result is a delightful book less afflicted by the seal of officialdom than any collection of speeches yet issued by those who served under President Kennedy. Both subject

and circumstance are such that this judgment does not disparage the high or higher quality and significance of volumes by the Secretary of State or the Ambassador to the United Nations. Galbraith simply was freer to indulge in the luxury of being Galbraith.

"Economic Development" is part credo, part argument and part fun. It is not an introduction to development economics but in some ways it comes close. The author has an instinct for fundamentals accompanied by a literary deftness that permits him to talk away the details that might take some of the fun and certainty away from his discussion of the fundamentals.

The author reiterates his belief in democratic pragmatism. This belief sparkles throughout the volume. His sharpest barbs are for the U. S. officials who underestimate the "widespread yearning for the dignity of democratic and constitutional government." He calls the support of dictators "uniformly disastrous" and in a footnote excepts only the architects of the policy who "are promoted and eventually retire with a high reputation for subtlety of view."

He repeatedly and effectively brings his credentials as an economist to bear on the side of political liberalism arguing for example that "As literacy is economically efficient, so is social justice." His pragmatism comes out strongly, however, in his defense of the autonomous corporation in even the most planned of economies and here he turns to the tools of his trade to lay down a rule of timely decision. "The bad decision can often be reversed at low cost but the time lost waiting for the good decision can never be retrieved." He would keep bureaucrats in their place—an important place but a small one. Finally he would turn birth control over to the organizers and out of the hands of the conference-goers and thus his little book ends with the suggestion—now being acted upon—that the government of India go all out for male contraceptives and measure the results by counting the babies.

—Michael W. Moynihan

Economic Development, *by John Kenneth Galbraith. Cambridge, $2.95.*

The Dollar and Foreign Relations

The U. S. balance of payments and related aspects of U. S. financial and monetary policy have in the past been regarded as technical matters of interest only to specialists. However, they are of ever increasing importance in the conduct of U. S. foreign relations and foreign relations experts are now faced with the need to gain some acquaintance with them.

In his essay in international financial policy, "The Dollar in World Affairs," Henry G. Aubrey tries to meet this need. With brevity considering its complexity, he describes in non-technical language the present financial position of the United States showing the relationship between domestic problems such as economic growth and the budget and the problems arising from the balance of payments deficit. He points out the effect of the deficit on U. S. policies on foreign investment, capital flows, and development assistance. He also covers the role of the dollar as a key currency and the various proposals which have been made for dealing with the liquidity problem by improving the world monetary system. He discusses the dilemma of whether the U. S. can successfully cope with its financial problems in ways which will not either involve substantial retreat from its long established principles such as currency convertibility and freedom from controls on capital movements, or require limitation of its foreign military commitments and economic aid programs.

He emphasizes the importance of the cooperation already achieved in the international financial and monetary field and advocates a policy of gradualism in dealing with the liquidity problem rather than more extreme solutions such as the Triffin Plan which would transform the International Monetary Fund into an international central bank. Throughout he makes clear the significance of these financial matters in relation to over-all U. S. foreign policy.

Those whose interest is in foreign relations rather than in the technicalities of financial policy should find this book a valuable means of gaining an accurate, over-all picture of the role that financial policy now plays in international relations. The book was prepared under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. The author had the advice and assistance of many of the leading experts in international finance both in and out of the government during its preparation. Dr. Aubrey was formerly an economist in the Research Department of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and later was research director for the National Planning Association. He has also been on the faculties of the New School for Social Research and Columbia University.

—Matilda L. Milne

The Dollar in World Affairs, *an essay in international financial policy, by Henry G. Aubrey. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Row, $5.50.*

"Mr. Monroe's Message"

In this short, informal account Mr. Donovan, who is a free lance writer, traces the tortuous course of the Monroe Doctrine from its original enunciation in the President's message to Congress of 1823 to its tacit application in the Cuban crisis of 1962. This is a long stretch, but in concentrating largely on official acts and policy statements he covers the ground fairly well.

The most significant aspect of the Doctrine, in Mr. Donovan's view, has been its extraordinary flexibility. In the years after the Civil War it became less a specific caveat than a popular watchword. Policies were pursued in its name that bore little resemblance to the original concept, but invocation of the hallowed phrase assured their legitimacy and secured public support. Foreign nations reluctantly conceded the Doctrine's special place in American hearts, but found that it meant at any given moment only what the United States determined it to mean. This constant reinterpretation had its obvious practical advantages, but it also had a debit side. Latin American governments that had welcomed the Doctrine as a promise of protection came, in the days of "dollar diplomacy," to abhor it as an invasion of their sovereignty. With the advent of inter-American cooperation references to this symbol of unilateral action were at last muted. Our response to Soviet action in Cuba demonstrates, however, that the Doctrine in its original and proper definition, as a measure of self defense, continues to exist as a vital adjunct of the Pan-American system.

Mr. Donovan's book is not a scholarly or especially perceptive study. He relies heavily on secondary sources and inevitably oversimplifies many problems. He provides, nonetheless, a highly readable, concise, and timely review of a subject that encompasses a surprisingly large portion of our diplomatic record. Readers who want to refresh their memories without burdening themselves with details or evaluation may find that "Mr. Monroe's Message" fills the bill very nicely.

—Henry Lee

Mr. Monroe's Message. *The Story of the Monroe Doctrine, by Frank Donovan. Dodd, Mead, $4.00.*

Africa—Now and Then

Two of Britain's most distinguished authors view Africa with differing moods and outlook in these tomes; one offers hope and vision; the other, anguish and foreboding. These differences are the product of time and

space. For Joyce Cary's essays were fashioned during the tempestuous years of World War II, when Englishmen could joyously dispute those reforms which were necessary to place British influence in Africa on the mend. Miss Perham, on the other hand, writes almost twenty years later, as the British imperium is drawing to an end.

Both studies offer instructive insights into British policy. They also help to explain the how and the why, as Albion's lamp goes out after only slightly more than seventy years, in the region between the Sahara and the Limpopo.

—William H. Lewis

The Case For African Freedom, *by Joyce Cary. University of Texas Press, $5.00.*

The Colonial Reckoning, *by Margery Perham, Knopf, $3.95.*

Ouagadougou, Upper Volta *by Daniel Lee McCarthy*

Africa—Continent of Diversity

We speak freely of Africa's diversity, of its numerous countries and innumerable languages. These three books illustrate an almost equal diversity in the way we can look at Africa. Not only are there a number of writers—some fourteen contributors in all—but they show a variety in approach which covers many points of the African compass.

"Africa and Communism" is the most original, primarily because Brzezinski and his six colleagues deal with the relatively new subject of Communist doctrine and policy toward Africa. The chapters on the Soviet Union competently describe both its political and economic activities. Those on Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia usefully survey the less well-known efforts of these states. The long (62 pages) essay on China is most interesting, for it both deals with the Sino-Soviet dispute on the ideological and world-wide basis and surveys Chinese activities in Africa. In the conclusion Brzezinski brings out salient elements of the over-all pattern. He stresses the point that although the monolithic myth of international communism may have been shattered, the diversity which the movement now displays is not a handicap in Africa. Instead, Communist forces now appear less menacing and they can now appeal to various politician tendencies among the Africans.

Brzezinski and his colleagues are authorities on Communism rather than on Africa. Their strength lies more in the theory and practices of communist governments than in African reactions. The title of this useful, schoolarly and original volume could well be reversed, for it deals with the Communist view of Africa, rather than the other way around.

Goldschmidt's "United States and Africa" is a very different kind of volume, for while he and his colleagues are also authorities (this time on Africa), they are writing a popular rather than a theoretical book. A second edition of the papers prepared in 1958 for an Arden House assembly on Africa, the essays are useful and informative. With the exception of the introduction, in which Rupert Emerson does little more than give his original chapter on American interests in Afriea a pat on the back, the contributions are either new or fully revised essays on Arican political systems, external pressures, economies. trade, culture and social change. Designed for the intelligent layman, these chapters need not be spurned by the specialist, for they can remind him of the breadth of African problems and the United States involvement in them.

From intercontinental comments of thirteen authorities, it is almost a relief to turn to Gallagher's "United States and North Africa," one authority on only three countries—Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. He has written a succinct, lively account of the land and people of the Maghreb, the area's history, and the evolution of its three nations. Benefiting from ten years of residence and study in North Africa, he deftly details the emergence of these countries as modern nations. His perspective, unmistakably sure in dealing with the past, is less precise when he touches the present and the future. Thus his brief essay on United States interests in North Africa raises a numher of questions. Asserting that our role is meaningful only in the context of the West, primarily France, he leaves unexplored such points as: Are the interests of the United States and France fully identical? Will the search for identity permit the Maghrebian people to develop real empathy with France? Will North Africa he a protective flank of the West or a dangerous wedge? Nevertheless, one should be grateful to an author who deals so masterfully with this complex area in a book which combines style, insight, and, for the serious student, a very useful bibliography.

—Fred L. Hadsel

Africa and the Communist World, *edited by Zbigniew Brzezinski. Stanford, $5.00.*

The United States and Africa, *edited by Walter Goldschmidt (rev. ed.) Praeger, $6.00, paperback $2.50.*

The United States and North Africa: *Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, by Charles F. Gallagher. Harvard, $5.50.*

On Japan

Professor Neumann of Goucher College gives an account of American attitudes toward Japan from the beginning. About one-third of the book deals with the last thirty years of the nearly two centuries of Japanese-American contact. Discussion of events since 1918 emphasizes diplomatic relations. This is one example of a fair numher of judgments which should stimulate or provoke the Foreign Service audience: ". . . it was American support of China . . ." and adherence to the principles of Hay and Stimson which precipitated war with Japan, and it is questionable whether these principles were not "irrelevant in the force of rising Asian nationalism and the shifting balance of power in the Far East."

—R. G. Flershem

America Encounters Japan, *by William L. Neumann. Johns Hopkins, $6.50.*

Guerrilla Warfare

Written by Alexander Orlov (who, before his defection, had written the original version for use by the NKVD), "Handhook of Intelligence and Guerrilla Warfare" is a straightforward, deglamorized primer of espionage and counter-espionage. Recommended reading.

S. I. N.

Handbook of Intelligence and Guerrilla Warfare, *by Alexander Orlov. University of Michigan, $4.00.*

The Sino-Soviet Struggle

Mr. Schwartz, the distinguished Soviet specialist for the New York TIMES, has written a short but very useful discussion of the Sino-Soviet dispute. To set the dispute in its proper context, Mr. Schwartz has gone into the history of Sino-Russian relations from the seventeenth century on, and it is only in the last third of the book that he treats the current dispute. It is the first part of the book that will probably be the most useful to the Foreign Service reader, who presumably is relatively familiar with the current exchange of charges and counterchargcs, but relatively less so with the historical background. The specialist in Sino-Soviet matters will also find the book helpful, though he will be somewhat startled to read that he had no suspicion there was a dispute until July, 1963.

Mr. Schwartz takes the line that the conflict between the two Communist giants is a fundamental one based on nationalism rather than ideology. He does, however, cover the ideological aspects, and the reader will probably conclude that the distinction between national and ideological motivation is perhaps not that easy to make, either for the analyst, or in the minds of the Soviet or Chinese leaders themselves.

In seeking to emphasize the seriousness of the conflict, Mr. Schwartz tends to exaggerate its effects on other developments. He maintains, for example, that Chinese Communist pressure forced Khrushchev to acquiesce in the installation of Gomulka in Poland in 1956; he takes at face value Chinese statements concerning their role in urging the Soviets to intervene in Hungary in 1956; he suggests that the Soviets returned Port Arthur to China in 1954 only because Chinese pressure gave them no alternative. On the latter point, one recalls that the Soviets returned their base at Porkkala to Finland, about the same time, presumably for reasons other than Finnish pressure.

—P. H. VALDES

TSARS, MANDARINS, AND COMMISSARS, A HISTORY OF CHINESE-RUSSIAN RELATIONS, *by Harry Schwartz. Lippincott, $5.00.*

High Adventure in Berlin

FOR those Foreign Service officers who have time to read novels, we would recommend Charlie Thayer's "Checkpoint" for an evening's entertainment. Since Mr. Thayer is entirely at home in the milieu in which we live, the reader can have a comfortable feeling of being at home with both the characters and the situation and may even find himself in sympathy with some of the more caustic comments on how we operate our foreign policy.

The scene of the fast-moving high adventure is laid in Berlin since the Wall. Some of the action described in the book actually took place in almost the way in which it is presented. Other actions, while obviously fictitious, could easily have happened in that atmosphere and under those circumstances. What does come through clearly, however, is the extreme danger which the toe-to-toe and eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation in Berlin implies and the acute sense of high responsibility which is laid upon those who bear the burden of on-the-spot decisions.

The tale would undoubtedly make a good movie, and at times one feels as though one were reading a scenario rather than a three-dimensional novel in which the characters also have depth.

—E.M.J.K.

CHECKPOINT, *by Charles W. Thayer. Harper & Row, $4.95.*

Agresión by Roberto Gonzalez Goyri

LATIN AMERICAN REFLECTIONS

The flow of books on Latin America, good, bad and indifferent, continues in full spate, as authors capitalize on the current interest in our backyard. And backyard this area is—in most senses of the word.

Carleton Beals' "Latin America: World in Revolution" is a sad effort by a zealous nihilist, an aging critic with nothing constructive to offer. The view presented is that of the many misguided left-wing Latin American university "student" leaders who see an ulterior motive in everything the United States may try to do. Perhaps its only value is its reflection of the distorted image so many in Latin America have of us and our present motives.

On the brighter side, and a highly recommendable anthology of comment, is "The Alliance for Progress—A Critical Appraisal," edited from a 1961 Georgetown University Symposium. The lateness of publication does not diminish the pertinacity of the observations. Among the most noteworthy were those by former Ambassador from Brazil Roberto Campos on "Fundamental Questions," Rafael Caldera of Venezuela's Social Christian Party on a "Crucial Test for Christian Civilization" and "Peace, Freedom and Stability" by Professor H. K. Silvert of Dartmouth. Comments by other experts are of equal value in this small but worthwhile compendium of pragmatic and thoughtful observations on crucial issues.

"Evolution or Chaos" is another in the growing list of studies of the horrendous possibilities to be faced in Latin America unless old patterns change rapidly. Compared to Gerassi's "The Great Fear," this is not a bad book (and it is more accurate in its presentation of facts), but the ground has been covered more adequately in recent publications such as Szulc's "Winds of Revolution."

—T. G. Belcher

Latin America: World in Revolution, *by Carleton Beals. Abelard-Schuman, $5.95.*

The Alliance for Progress—*A Critical Appraisal, edited by William Manger. Public Affairs Press, $3.50.*

Revolution or Chaos, *by Karl M. Schmitt and David D. Burks. Praeger, $5.95.*

JOURNAL CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR GOODFRIEND has served as Public Affairs Officer and Special Assistant to USIA's Deputy Director. A Brookings Institution Federal Executive Fellow (1961), he is currently a consultant to the Agency. Mr. Goodfriend is the author of many government publications and eleven books, one of which, "The Twisted Image," examines USIS operations in India.

ZARA STEINER is an American presently living and teaching in Cambridge, England. She is the author of two published studies on the Foreign Service.

PAUL S. HOLBO is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Oregon. He has contributed to CURRENT HISTORY and to a number of scholarly journals, and is now working on a book about the fifty-six congressmen who voted against entering World War I.

AFTER service in Australia, South America, Europe, Asia the Department, CHARLES F. BALDWIN retired. He returned to the service to become the second US Ambassador to Malaya (now Malaysia).

TED OLSON, a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL, says that every mishap in "According to Murphy's Law" actually happened, although, of course, not at the same time, nor at the same post. Mr. Olson's byline also appears from time to time in the ATLANTIC, the New York TIMES, and the Washington POST and STAR.

DONALD E. SMITH, who holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Catholic University, has been employed in various government departments and agencies since 1951, including the Department of State. Mr. Smith has worked in the International Division, Bureau of the Budget, since 1961.

EARL WILSON, perpetrator of "The Foreign Service of the Animal Kingdom," says the answer is just this, "You are absolutely right."

The Honorable Dean Acheson, Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953, is greeted by U. Alexis Johnson, Deputy Ambassador to Viet-Nam and President of AFSA, at the Association's June 25 luncheon, where Mr. Acheson spoke to a large assemblage. Among those attending as guests of honor were Marguerite Higgins and Peter Lisagor, authors of "Overtime in Heaven," reviewed in this issue.

AFSA: General Meeting

AT A general meeting of the Association held in the West Auditorium of the Department on July 10, 1964, the membership approved changes in the by-laws to create two new classes of members, namely Fellows in Diplomacy and Corresponding Members. These two new classes of members are in accord with the enthusiastic response to the "Important Message" sent out to all members by U. Alexis Johnson and Leslie S. Brady on May 1, 1964.

Another amendment of the By-Laws, approved at the same time, provides membership as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association to the Administrator of the Agency of International Development, the Director of the United States Information Agency and to the Director of the Peace Corps.

The Board of Directors will keep the membership informed through the columns of the JOURNAL of the progress of the various steps being taken to enhance the prestige and interests of the Foreign Service Association.

LEWIS EINSTEIN SCHOLAR DIPLOMAT

by Paul S. Holbo

In his "American Diplomacy, 1900-1950," former Ambassador George F. Kennan criticized much of the foreign policy of the United States as moralistic and legalistic, and urged greater reliance on professional diplomacy. One of his charges was that this country failed to understand and to deal realistically with the changing balance of power in Europe before World War I. "It is not only in retrospect that these things are visible," he added, recalling that in 1913 an American diplomatist, writing in the English National Review, had directed attention to the dangerous trends in Europe and had spelled out their implications for the United States.

The diplomat's name was Lewis Einstein. A career officer who spent more than twenty-five years in the Foreign Service, Einstein found his views and services alternately rejected and demanded by the government.

Lewis David Einstein, a descendant of an old American family, was born in New York City on March 15, 1877, the only son of David and Caroline Einstein. His father was a wealthy textile manufacturer. Lewis attended Columbia University, where he received an A.B. in 1898 and an A.M. in 1899, and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

After a brief but promising career in scholarship—he published three books in four years, one of them a major work on "The Italian Renaissance in England"—Einstein entered the diplomatic service, at the age of twenty-six. His first assignment was as third secretary in the American Embassy in Paris, where he remained for two years, continued his scholarly research, and married a twice-divorced London beauty, Helene Ralli, to the great displeasure of his parents. His father's will cut him off with a mere $125,000, but a later settlement with his sister, the principal beneficiary, gave him an allowance of $20,000 a year.

His fourth book, "Napoleon III and American Diplomacy at the Outbreak of the Civil War," was published in 1905, shortly before his transfer to London. In the following year he was appointed secretary of the United States delegation to the Moroccan Conference. Years later, Einstein recalled both his original amazement that the sessions achieved so little and his surprise at finding out subsequently that President Theodore Roosevelt's negotiations had made the conference possible; he praised the President, whom he greatly admired, for displaying unusual diplomatic skill and refusing to be bound by the outdated policy of isolation. Einstein became aware during the conference that the European balance of power had been altered drastically.

Einstein's next post was Constantinople, where he rose to be first secretary and chargé d'affaires in 1908, just as the Turkish Revolution broke out. He sympathized with the Young Turks and believed, mistakenly, that they had destroyed the old order in their country. In "American Foreign Policy," published in 1909 under the pseudonym "A Diplomatist," Einstein recommended that at the proper time the United States should remove certain infringements on Turkey's sovereignty. Expressing concern over the expansion of European business interests, aided by diplomacy, he suggested that the United States cease regarding the "undeveloped nations [as] . . . convenient dumping-grounds for our surplus

products" and consider instead how to make "our industrial and financial influence . . . continuously felt." Einstein proposed employing our "plethora" of capital and productive capacity abroad.

He worried most about his country's persistent isolationist thinking. The young diplomat warned that, however remote we might consider Turkey and Persia, a European war involving the Near East would affect the United States. He urged Americans to distinguish between spheres of influence and spheres of interest; we could avoid the former but there were no areas of the globe in which we did not now feel interested.

In another chapter, Einstein compared the fundamental interests of the United States with those of the major European countries. France, long a friend, wanted only to preserve peace and maintain her present possessions. Germany, also friendly, had imperial ambitions and desired our amity for "deeper motives." England, with her sea power, was the most formidable potential foe for America; but the interests of the two countries were "identical," especially in Europe where England opposed any threatening coalition of powers. A policy of "close intimacy" between the United States and Great Britain was of paramount importance. In 1913 Einstein developed this theme in his prophetic article in the NATIONAL REVIEW.

Einstein also turned his attention to the state of the diplomatic service. He held that the current practice of choosing envoys for political reasons was preferable to drawing men from a single social caste or solely from appointments made thirty years previously. Diplomacy was "no esoteric mystery" but demanded balance and shrewdness, which some amateurs possessed. While there also were serious disadvantages in political appointments, the United States was not likely to change its ways. The problem, therefore, was how to increase the efficiency of the existing methods and adapt them to modern requirements.

Stressing that the diplomatic service was fully as important as the Navy for our foreign policy, and emphasizing the everyday work of diplomats, particularly their role in gathering information, Einstein urged a number of concrete reforms that have since been adopted. Singling out the divisions of the service as the greatest barrier to unity of purpose and action, he recommended integration of the Department of State and the diplomatic corps. He also suggested the establishment of political-geographical bureaus manned by experts who would help to formulate policy, greater cooperation between the Department and other agencies of the government, the establishment of a press bureau, and the appointment of a "congressional secretary" in the Department.

From Constantinople, Einstein went to Peking in 1909. In July, 1911, President William Howard Taft, following the example set by Theodore Roosevelt in promoting career men, appointed the thirty-four-year old Einstein—who was a lifelong Republican—Minister to Costa Rica. While on vacation in Italy in April, 1912, Einstein sent a letter to the Department expressing concern about the diplomatic situation in Europe. On May 21, 1912, he submitted a memorandum on the topic and received permission to publish it anonymously. The article, entitled "The United States and Anglo-German Rivalry," appeared in a British magazine that had advocated a strong stand against Germany, the NATIONAL REVIEW, in January, 1913, under the signature "Washington." It immediately attracted attention in the United States and was reprinted in February, 1913, as the lead article in the LIVING AGE.

Einstein argued that Anglo-German rivalry, which he said was more psychological than commercial, was the essential source of trouble in Europe. There were many signs of an impending conflict, and, in the atmosphere of deep hostility

that prevailed, any petty incident might set off war. "The fields of Belgium may again witness a struggle where the descendants of Napoleon and Wellington's men will this time stand side by side against Blücher's." Victory by England would harm no one, though Germany would lose its colonies, and would preserve the balance of power, which was America's primary interest. German victory was unlikely. Stalemate was a third possible result. Contrary to the view of most statesmen, generals, and economists of his day, Einstein believed that a long war was possible, and that the United States might become involved through loans to the belligerents or because of action by German naval units.

The United States must weigh the implications and trends of the war carefully. The extinction of most states would not merit American intervention, but the destruction of the British Empire would be a "defeat for America by the erection of a power supreme on land and sea." To preserve the balance of power was the important thing. The United States, therefore, should declare neutrality in event of war but assume a more active role in European diplomacy at the same time. If England were defeated disastrously by an immoderate foe, this country should offer friendly mediation and, in an extreme case, take more effective measures.

One month after Einstein's article appeared in the LIVING AGE, Woodrow Wilson became President, and three months after that, Einstein was removed as Minister to Costa Rica and retired from service. Neither his views on the balance of power, nor his politics, nor his diplomatic experience suited the new administration, which replaced him with seventy-four-year-old Edward J. Hale, the ardently Wilsonian editor of the Fayetteville, North Carolina, OBSERVER.

Returning to his literary work, Einstein went first to Italy, then to England, where he settled down. When the war began, he wrote two additional articles for the NATIONAL REVIEW, this time under his own name. In the first article, he repeated his arguments of 1913 about the balance of power, and he still recommended that the United States be neutral and peacemaker. He was more concerned now about the possibility of a German victory and urged naval preparedness and the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to include England, on the grounds of American national interest. In the second article, published early in 1915, he analyzed the ways that had been suggested for the United States to bring about peace—arbitration, Bryan's latest "cooling-off" scheme, disarmament, a strengthened Hague Court and an international police force—and concluded that they all were "dreams." Einstein pessimistically put his faith in the "evolution of the human mind."

Einstein's diplomatic career was not ended, however. In 1915 Secretary of State Bryan asked him to go to Turkey as a special assistant to Ambassador Henry Morgenthau. He remained there for eight months, throughout the period of the Dardanelles campaign and the Armenian massacres, helping to protect American and Entente interests and citizens. Then he was given an equally difficult assignment, that of Special Agent to Bulgaria, which had just entered the war. The first American with the rank of minister credited solely to that country, Einstein again acted as chargé for most of the Entente governments. He was kept busy looking after British prisoners, rescuing Americans who had been arrested, and fending off Bulgarian accusations that he was involved in an espionage plot. Great Britain awarded him a presentation plate for his services.

For the next four years Einstein devoted himself to writing, publishing three more books. One of them, "Inside Constantinople," was a diplomatic diary in which he blamed British diplomacy for letting Turkey slip into the hands of Germany, argued that Turkey was on the verge of defeat in the Dardanelles campaign as late of July, 1915, and blamed Germany for encouraging the massacres of the Armenians.

A few months after the inauguration of President Harding in 1921, Einstein was back in service, as Minister to Czechoslovakia. His specific accomplishments included an extradition treaty, facilitation of loans to Czechoslovakia from the National City Company, and working out of unconditional most-favored-nation trade relations. When Einstein retired in 1930, President Jan Masaryk and Foreign Minister Eduard Benes honored him at a diplomatic reception and decorated him with the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Lion.

Einstein, always something of an Anglophile, resided in London until his death there in 1949. During his last years he continued writing; his publications included a biography of his hero, "Roosevelt, His Mind in Action;" a study of secret diplomacy in the Revolutionary War, entitled "Divided Loyalties, Americans in England During the War of Independence;" two volumes of verse, circulated privately, and a treatise on "Historical Change" (1946), which offered some shrewd comments on the United States.

America, Einstein argued, is far more conservative and stable than is frequently supposed, and it is searching for security. The current great interest of Americans in foreign affairs, he observed, stems from the hope that trouble can be avoided more by taking part in world affairs than in abstaining from them. But the peace that men sought will not come because of any single creed, or the decisions of a few statesmen, or even from generally accepted aims. The countries of the world desire peace only to preserve their national security, and peace can be maintained only with the proper degree of power. Thus Einstein returned to the thesis that he had expounded many years before and applied it, in tempered form, to the realities of the atomic age.

Lewis Einstein represented something of the old and something of the modern Foreign Service. He was not an impoverished writer who sought a sinecure abroad, as some aspiring authors did in the nineteenth century; nor was he a literary diplomat such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, who received a consular appointment for writing a campaign biography of his friend Franklin Pierce, or James Russell Lowell, who was a well-known writer when President Hayes named him Minister to Spain.

Einstein was a professional diplomat who also was an active man of letters. He had the advantage of serving in relatively quiet times when it was possible to be both scholar and diplomat. Mr. Kennan and others have maintained this tradition of intellectual and diplomatic accomplishments.

Einstein's interest in scholarship prepared him for a diplomatic career and made it easier for him to write about his experiences and to explain problems of foreign policy; and his service in the government provided a new dimension to his research and helped to inspire several of his articles and books. He was sometimes wrong and occasionally biased. Yet it was a measure of the progress of the Foreign Service that it attracted a man of such talents, and it was a measure of Lewis Einstein's worth that he served so well. ■

AFSA NEWS

May 8: The Honorable W. T. M. Beale, Jr. was elected to the office of Vice Chairman.

May 27: Mr. Earl D. Sohm reported that the Board of the Paris Embassy Employee's Educational, Commissary and Welfare Association had voted a grant of $50,000 to the Association's Scholarship Fund, subject to certain conditions. These conditions are being considered.

Results of the current membership drive at USIA were reported and plans for a similar drive in AID and the Peace Corps were discussed. Mr. William P. Blair reported on the plans of the Public Relations Committee to develop a program.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE AS A PROFESSION

by DONALD E. SMITH

THE Foreign Service has been the object of extensive discussion. Comments have ranged from the laudatory to the disparaging, depending on the viewpoint and bias of the speaker or writer. Despite this interest, little has been done to establish more objective grounds on which to base judgments of the Service.

Sociologists have in recent years developed an area of study known as "the sociology of the professions." It treats such concepts as social interaction, role, role perception, professional values, acquisition of such values, attitudes and status. This article is an attempt to apply several of these concepts to the Foreign Service.

Development of Professional Values

In most occupations professional values and a concept of one's professional role are acquired largely through the professional school or by an apprenticeship. The Foreign Service officer, however, is expected to develop his professional values and his view of himself as an FSO without formal exposure to a social organization for learning. To be sure, the Foreign Service is a highly institutionalized profession, in the sense that its members are formally commissioned into a service established under statutory authority and that the rights and prerogatives of the profession adhere to the office and not the individual. All Class 8 officers do attend the eight-week basic course at the Foreign Service Institute. Nevertheless, the present system consists essentially of in-service self-training, in contrast with the pre-service professional education and training required in medicine and law.

The FSO's Professional Circle

Foreign Service officers have professional contact with a wide range of persons, at overseas posts or on duty in the Department. In most cases, contacts with fellow FSOs provide the most important source of indoctrination into the values, role and attitudes of the Service, insight into the FSO's own performance, and the experience of sharing views regarding day-to-day problems. Contact with other government officials also has a significant bearing on the shaping of the public image of the Foreign Service. The success of efforts to make the Ambassador the effective coordinator of all U.S. official programs in the country to which he is assigned depends to a considerable extent on how well he and key members of his staff can work with the non-FSO members of the post.

Professional contact with personnel of foreign governments, and with foreign nationals who do not hold official positions, is of course a major element of professional interaction of the FSO. Still another important part of the audience is the American public, in the Department and at overseas posts. In the opinion of the author, the unrealistic expectations and demands of Americans traveling abroad have produced much unfair criticism of the Service. A related problem stems from the average American's lack of appreciation of the place of social activities in diplomatic representation.

The FSO's Norms and Values

As with other professions, the Foreign Service has developed its values or norms, beyond the usual measures of personal integrity, devotion to a concept of service, and other moral qualities that apply to all fields of professional endeavor. These norms help the FSO to relate more effec-

tively to his superiors and colleagues, and to perform more effectively in his contacts with foreign officials and nationals.

These standards orient the FSO by setting out general boundaries regarding his professional activity. Such a system of professional values may be stated as a set of norms, with each basic norm having a coordinate which, if not inconsistent, is sufficiently different so as to make it difficult to fulfill both.

The FSO must support existing policy lines and decisions taken by the United States Government.

But: He must also seek to contribute to the best of his ability to the policy-making process and he is committed to work for improvements and changes of the current policy line which would in his judgment make our objectives more attainable.

The FSO must understand the government, people and culture of the country to which he is assigned.

But: He must not "go native" or become so acclimated as to lose touch with the American scene or basic American ideas and values.

The FSO must uphold traditions of diplomatic usage and must resist slights to the national honor in his capacity as an official representative of the United States Government.

But: He must not identify the privileges of his diplomatic office with his person and he must show flexibility in his dealings with foreign officials and nationals.

The FSO must display basic moral integrity and show strong moral character in performing the functions of his office.

But: He knows that on occasion he may be required to function in a temporizing fashion.

The FSO must show ability to make tough, on-the-spot decisions that indicate willingness to accept responsibility and reflect discretion, and he must avoid a tendency to pass the buck to the Department.

But: He must not on his own authority pre-empt decisions which the Secretary or top departmental officers feel they should determine; if he does so he may have to suffer the consequences for unauthorized unilateral action.

The FSO and his family must be responsive to protocol demands and the needs of the Service as determined by the Chief of Mission.

But: He must not allow his official duties to disrupt his family life or threaten his autonomy as an individual.

The FSO must be an effective instrument in representing the United States to foreign governments and officials.

But: He must not go so far in his dealings with foreign governments as to expose himself to charges of interfering in the domestic affairs of the country to which he is assigned.

Prestige Within the Foreign Service

The author conducted an opinion survey among FSOs who were his fellow class members in a Mid-Career Course of the Foreign Service Institute, to elicit their views on prestige ranking and promotion prospects. Each officer was asked to identify his own field or fields of specialization; the eighteen who responded were fairly evenly divided among the administrative (5), consular (6), economic (4), and political (4) functions. (One person listed two specialties.)

The first question asked that they rank the four basic specialties within the Service in terms of their prestige within the Service. The responses are tabulated as follows:

RELATIVE RANK OF FOUR BASIC SPECIALTIES IN TERMS OF PRESTIGE WITHIN THE SERVICE

Specialty	*First*	*Second*	*Third*	*Fourth*
Political	18	—	—	—
Economic	—	17	—	1
Consular	—	1	13	4
Administrative	—	—	5	13

The responses are so striking as to demand little comment. Only in the third and fourth rankings is there some division of opinion, as between the consular and the administrative specialties, with the majority giving the former a higher ranking.

The Foreign Service as a Prestige Occupation

Prestige concerns the social standing or esteem of an individual within a group or of the group in the community. The following table shows the responses from a nationwide cross-section of 2,900 Americans who were asked for their "personal opinion" of the "general standing" of 90 occupations.

Occupation	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Aver.*	*Below Aver.*	*Poor*	*Score*
U.S. Supreme Court justice	83	15	2			96
Physician	67	10	3			93
State governor	71	25	4			93
Cabinet member	66	28	5	1		92
Diplomat in U.S. Foreign Service	*70*	*24*	*4*	*1*	*1*	*92*
Mayor of large city	57	36	6	1		90
College professor[a]	53	40	7	—		89
U.S. Congress (Repr.)	57	35	6	1	1	89
Dentist	42	48	9	1		86
Lawyer	44	45	9	1	1	86
Nuclear physicist	48	39	11	1	1	86
Sociologist	31	51	16	1	1	82
Author of novels	32	44	19	3	2	80
Economist	25	48	24	2	1	79
Public school teacher	28	45	24	2	1	79

[a]Entries below this point include only some of the occupations for which ratings were given.

It will be seen that the diplomat was rated very high in prestige, and was outranked only by the medical profession and by the Supreme Court justices and was tied by state governors, and cabinet members.

Conclusions

The Foreign Service officer acquires his professional values and professional self-image in a diffused institutional framework and enacts his role before an audience composed of varying interested parties. Despite the intentions of the Wriston Committee, the speciality of political officer has apparently retained much of the elite character traditionally associated with the function of diplomacy. While the effects of recent developments are not known, the Foreign Service appears to regard itself as a high-prestige occupation and probably continues to be well regarded by the United States public. ■

After all, Mr. Ambassador, you have to admit that there really isn't a great deal for an air attaché to do in a post like this.

(Continued from page 34)

attention of both official Washington and the American press, he quickly acquires both a feeling of decreasing involvement in important affairs, which is to be expected, and an impression that, in the Department, he has quickly become the forgotten man, which is unnecessary and unfortunate. The President may be too busy to see him. His appointments with the Secretary and other high Departmental officers are likely to be brief. Even at lower levels the desire of officers to be courteous, friendly, and interested will often be visibly blended with their preoccupation with other and more pressing matters.

Can anything be done about this problem of the outgoing officer or is everyone too busy to be bothered about it? Is the problem sufficiently important, even as a symbol of the dangers inherent in too rapid growth, to justify some attention to it by appropriate officials in the Department? Or must we accept, and attempt to become reconciled to impersonality as an inevitable and unavoidable result of administrative growth? If not, then perhaps the turning of a new leaf in the Department's attitude toward departing members of the official family might not only change for the better the atmosphere in which such departures occur but signify a determination, on the part of responsible Departmental officials, to improve the Department's human relations and make them warmer and more genuine.

Could not the Department inaugurate a ceremony which would serve as its final farewell and expression of appreciation to all officers who have rendered loyal service and are about to retire? This would entail no expense and little effort. A few times each month, depending upon the number of officers on the verge of retirement who were in the Department, those officers would be invited to attend a ceremony in the Department's reception lounge. There the Secretary, or other high official, would bid them farewell and give them thanks for their years of service. The press and friends could be invited.

Not long ago a retiring senior officer of the Foreign Service received three letters, each bearing the signature of the Secretary. The first, which had a somewhat bureaucratic tone, nevertheless contained words of appreciation for the officer's service. More than a month later came another, shorter letter over the same signature, also expressing appreciation and commendation of the officer's work. Five months later, after the officer had been in retired status for more than two months, a third letter over the Secretary's signature referred to the officer's retirement and thanked him for his services. No one who knows the Secretary could question his desire that such expressions be made but the letters suggested that the Secretary, like so many others in the Department, has become a victim of the systematization which has resulted from the department's rapid growth.

There is certainly nothing wrong with a system which reminds the Secretary to write a letter of commendation and appreciation to a retired officer. The wrong enters when the system creates an impression of insincerity and impersonality. Anything which tends to form such an impression should be avoided with great care, particularly when the impression is created in the mind of a man or woman whose departure from a lifelong career will, under any circumstances, cause some emotional turmoil which should be minimized, not increased by a well-meaning but poorly executed move by the Department.

It is encouraging to observe the increased efforts in the Department to recognize the existence of retired officers, utilize them if possible, and give thought to their morale. Those efforts are all to the good and should be continued and expanded. But all officers who retire will not benefit from them and all will carry with them the memory of their last days in the Department. With a little effort by appropriate officials that memory can become one to treasure—not deplore. ■

Where in the World?
F.S.-Retired Addresses

THE list of retired Foreign Service personnel together with their addresses which in recent years has accompanied the September JOURNAL will again be prepared this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request. Those wishing to receive this year's list should so inform the Association. The list will be furnished without charge to those who ask for it and will be mailed in September to each applicant. Please let us have your request by August 10.

Yes, I would like to receive the list of retired F.S. personnel

_____

_____

_____

to: AFSA, Suite 505, 815 - 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Orientation for FSLs

In the past I have often been stimulated to write the JOURNAL my opinion, sometimes irate, regarding articles or letters printed in the latest issue. This time I am moved to action in support of the proposal to grant trips to the United States to deserving FSLs, advanced by Mr. G. Wallace La Rue in his letter published in the April 1964 issue.

(This post also by the same methods used by Turin financed a round-trip visit to the United States last year for Mrs. Elenora Colucci who has taught Italian uninterruptedly here to foreign service officers and FSSs for over thirty years.)

However, your editorial comment regarding the USIA local employee orientation program suggests the better method of carrying out a Visit USA program for local employees. The program should be designed not only to reward faithful service but also to provide orientation to the employees in their specializations.

I understand that the USIA program is designed to acquaint the local employees with American informational media, current American culture, etc. A State-sponsored program would more appropriately give short courses at the Foreign Service Institute, tailored to the needs of FSL specialists in citizenship, visa, economic or administrative work. Field trips to observe the operations of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Passport Office, the Commerce Department, etc., as appropriate would add interest as well as light to the program. Some time, of course, should be left for travel to various parts of the United States in accordance with the individual FSL's specialization and interests.

If possible, depending on demand and the funds available, I believe the minimum number of years of meritorious service for eligibility should be kept reasonably low. Thus local employees could profit from the program while they still have many years of service ahead of them.

Should it be thought unwise for the Department to underwrite the entire cost of such a program. I am sure that many qualified FSLs would gladly pay a manageable part of the expenses for the opportunity to visit the United States which they serve loyally—but have never seen.

CARL A. BASTIANI

Naples

THE Editor's Note following the letter to the editor on "U. S. Tours for F.S.L.'s" (April, 1964 issue) may possibly suggest to readers an erroneous impression of the purpose of USIA's Local Employee Training Program.

Since the USIA foreign national employee is engaged full time in representing the United States to his countrymen, his or her effectiveness and credibility are greatly enhanced by first-hand knowledge of the U. S. Selection of key nationals for such training is based on benefits expected to accrue to the post. The program is an investment in the future. (Nominees must generally be between the ages of 22 and 45.) Long and faithful service is not a criterion, and seniority, as such, is given little or no consideration.

Since the program's start in 1950, 813 employees, or about eleven per cent of USIA's worldwide foreign national staff, have taken part. Approximately fifty trainees are accepted each year for three-month training and study tours. In addition, special programs, ranging from a few days to two or three weeks, are arranged annually for twenty or thirty staffers who are in the U. S. at their own expense, or who came under other private or public auspices.

ROMAN L. LOTSBERG

Washington, D. C.

I have two comments on the letter and editorial in the April JOURNAL on visits to America for FSLs.

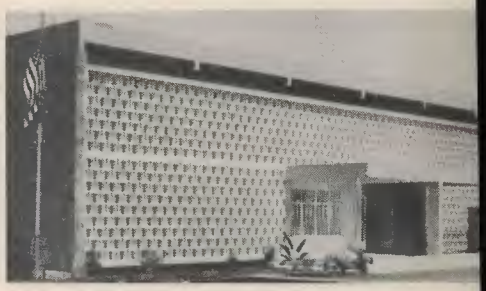
If you will look up the JOURNAL of August 1960 you will find an editorial in which this project, among others, was suggested. The editorial concluded, "We hope that those in position to do something about these and similar matters will bestir themselves." In the November 1960 JOURNAL a letter was published from the then chief of the FS Classification and Wage Branch in which he said that "PER at this time is considering the possibility of a limited program of trips to the U. S. under the Department's training program, or as a part of the Incentive Awards Program." Plus ça change . . .?

On substance, I'm inclined to differ with both your editorial and Mr. LaRue. That is, I doubt whether the criterion should be either solely training value or only reward for long service. In many offices there are FSLs of great loyalty and long service (such as, perhaps, the couple Mr. LaRue writes about) for whom a visit to the U. S. cannot reasonably be deemed as valuable to the Service as one for a younger, more brilliant and perhaps more erratic office colleague. For reasons with which I think most of us would agree, I think we stand on very weak ground if we ignore the former in favor of the latter. It should not be beyond the ingenuity of PER to devise a point system or other formula which would give appropriate weight to both criteria.

J. K. PENFIELD

Reykjavik

Embassy Architecture



FOR a long time I have tried to get some good photos taken of the new Embassy at Bujumbura, but without success. I have now managed to have two taken.

The first (of the facade) gives an idea of the size and simplicity. The second shows only a very small portion of our huge entrance hall with the Seal done in terra cotta by the Burundi children at the Kiheta Cath-

olic mission (near Kitega) run by Father Boccacio. We are quite proud of it. Credit for getting Father Boccacio's boys to do this goes to Julius Walker, former political officer here. This and other features of the Embassy were achieved due, in large measure, to Julius' imagination and initiative.

DONALD DUMONT

Bujumbura

Froggy Bottom

READING Aileen Vincent-Barwood's vivid description of a wakeful night in tropical Froggy Bottom, in the April JOURNAL, we had the feeling that she could have written the lines below. They appeared in the CONSULAR BULLETIN, 1922, accompanied by the editor's comment: "The effects of long and arduous work in the tropics are sometimes strange."

The Frog

What a queer bird the frog are?
When he sit he stand, almost.
When he hop he fly, almost.
He ain't got no sense, hardly,
He ain't got no tail hardly, either.
He sit on what he ain't got, almost.

—*Anon.*

J. B. S.

Denver

Qualifications for Junior FSO

AN officer candidate who at the time of appointment can pass a speaking and reading test in one of several foreign languages is eligible to receive an appropriate salary differential by virtue of his foreign language competence.

To alleviate the problem of lack of secretarial employees in many of the smaller posts, a similar incentive should be available to those officer candidates who can type forty or more words per minute by the touch system with a high degree of accuracy. They should also be given assurance that when they reach the age where bifocals are indicated, they will be given an assignment to a post where secretarial staff is available.

JAMES W. BOYD
American Consul

Mexicali

Stamps, Anybody?

I would like to support the idea of William B. Miller, in the February JOURNAL, for a listing of Foreign Service stamp collectors, as a most useful service for those interested in establishing stamp exchange contacts. A good suggestion.

THEODORE C. NELSON

Pretoria, Republic of South Africa

An Amendment

JOHN ALLISON writes me that the account provided in my book, "Diplomat Among Warriors," of his appointment in 1953 as Ambassador to Tokyo, is not accurate as it gives the impression that he deliberately sought the appointment. John says that my information is completely wrong, and that Mr. Dulles at no time offered him any choice of a post, but simply informed John that he was to go to Tokyo as Ambassador. I readily accept John's account as correct, and have asked the publisher of the book to make an appropriate amendment of the text in the next printing.

Actually, no criticism of John was intended. He feels, however, that the item might be misinterpreted by colleagues and suggests that the JOURNAL be informed.

ROBERT MURPHY

New York

Nudism

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS, and their wives, are supposed to know most, if not all, the facts of the American Way of Life, to be prepared to explain them to foreigners they meet overseas—questions about our ideals,our social customs, our high standard of living and all that. I should like to know, therefore, whether the Foreign Service Institute is covering the subject of nudism, one of the growing influences on Our Way of Life? Are our fine young officers and their wives (or husbands) being prepared to answer questions on the subject when they address meetings of students in, say, the Upsala University School of Social Sciences or the National Normal College in Iquitos, Peru?

For example, the other day I received a small brochure entitled "Some Facts About Nudism." It came from a friend who got it from another friend who is one of the leading lights (I was about to say "figures") in the movement. In fact, he has written a book on the subject and sent me a copy. It was a novel.

The brochure says, in discussing "What Kind of People are Nudists?", that they "are normal Americans who are, perhaps, a little better citizens than most, better schooled, earn more, and enjoy considerably greater family stability." Now, "better Americans" are just the kind our nice Foreign Service officers and wives (or husbands) ought to know all about, aren't they?

Florida, where I am now living, permits nudists to establish nudist parks. In fact, one is being established in this area. They have been permitted in California for years. So I'm sure everything is quite correct.

A nice thing about nudists—nicer than about other citizens—is that they don't tell non-nudists who the other nudists are. That is to prevent unpleasant publicity or being bothered with tons of advertisements from makers of sun burn lotions and other reasons. The brochure goes on to say that quite a few single women become nudists, including working girls, nurses, students, airline hostesses and office workers. (It doesn't mention Foreign Service girls.)

The brochure says that a non-nudist visitor to a nudist park may have the privilege of dispensing with his clothing but he (or she) doesn't have to. (Apparently some people are bashful on their first visit and this rule makes it easier for them.) However, dress, says the brochure, is obligatory for dances held on the park ground.

The brochure also discusses "Why don't nudists just wear *something*?" and "Why do nudists take EVERYTHING off?" This is quite an interesting discussion and takes up about half the space of the brochure. I think our wonderful career people should be prepared to answer such questions—meet the issues squarely, so to speak, and not stammer and hem and haw about it.

The nudists refer to themselves as "sunbathers." In fact, the brochure is issued by the American Sunbathing Association, Inc., and copies may be had without charge upon application.

RICHARD FYFE BOYCE

A Testimonial

NOW that the shock, though not the grief, of that infamous November weekend is behind us, one can, perhaps, these months later, express a side not experienced by all Americans. Those of us living in the U. S. itself at that time, shared, one and all, the same emotions, and shared them together as a mourning fellow American. For those of us living abroad in our Embassies, it was all that, and more. In whatever capacity it is that we hold, be it the most junior vice-consul or the Ambassador himself, we were at that tragic time, the funnel into which was poured all the expressions of grief and condolence by our host countries, both officially and personally expressed. We were then more than ever before, a little band of brothers, and though those of us at home were spared no unhappiness, they were one of millions. Here, wherever 'here' may mean, amongst so few of us, so little of the emotions expressed were diffused, all was directed so individually to each of us. It is not an exaggeration to say that grief so publicly borne takes an even larger toll than grief which can at least be more privately experienced.

Each Ambassador's wife and the wives of Embassy staffs, found courage in and drew upon Mrs. Kennedy's superb bearing. This is my testimonial to a very brave lady.

MARGARET PARSONS

Stockholm

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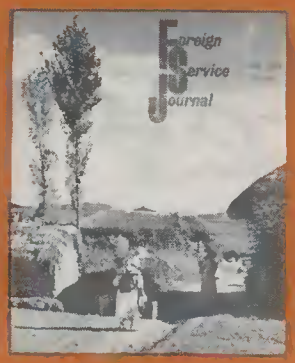

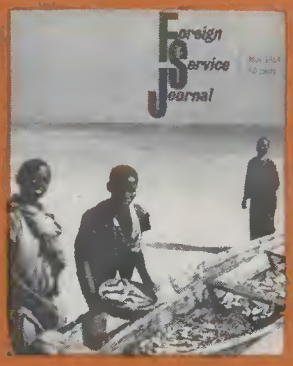

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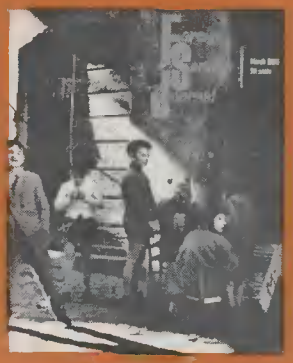

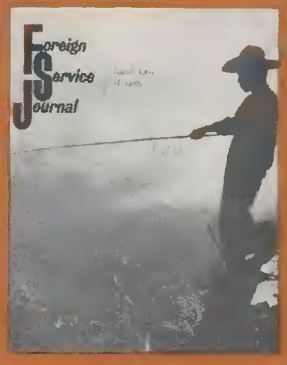

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