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contents

October, 1966
Vol. 43, No. 10

page
18 American Foreign Policy and China
by James A. Raussey

20 The Ancient Art of Leucippotomy
by Ted Olson

23 An Evolving Profession: Managerial Diplomacy
by Thomas A. Donovan

24 Postscript on the 1947 Greek-Turkish Program
by John D. Ferrari

25 Companion Tools for Foreign Affairs Management, Part II
by R. Glynn Mays, Jr.

43 Creative Federalism
by John Gardner

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departments

8 Twenty-Five Years Ago
by Henry B. Day

14 Financial Column: Your Personal Finances—Where to Begin
by Joy Vautier and John Marshall

31 Editorials: To Highest Rank
Finally! We Doff Our Hats

32 Washington Letter
by Loren Carroll

39 The Bookshelf

42 Cook's Tour

54 Letters to the Editor
PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR OCTOBER

Ruth Renwick Coster, wife of Donald Q. Coster, AID, cover, "La Source d'Information."


Ted Olson, photograph, page 22.


Howard R. Simpson, USIA, cartoon, page 40.

Department of State, Herbert J. Meyle, photograph, page 44.

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes contributions and will pay for accepted material on publication. Photos should be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Color transparencies (4 x 5) may be submitted for possible cover use. Please include full name and address on all material submitted and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

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

Address material to: Foreign Service Journal, 815-17th Street, N.W., Suite 503, Washington, D. C., 20006.


2 Foreign Service Journal, October, 1966
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WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

RUTH RENWICK COSTER is making her second appearance as the JOURNAL’s cover artist. Mrs. Coster is the wife of AID official, Donald Q. Coster. A graduate of Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, she joined Portraits, Incorporated in 1952, but has not been actively associated with this gallery since 1959 when she left for Saigon with Mr. Coster at the time of his appointment as AID Deputy Director in Vietnam. Although Mrs. Coster is better known for her portrait work in oils, she has latterly become interested in abstract impressionism. Only recently, she won the “Best of Show” award at the art exhibition for State, USIA and AID employees and their families held in the Diplomatic Functions area of the Department. Mrs. Coster’s first prize, a handsome cup, presented by William J. Crockett, Deputy Under Secretary of State, was for a green and khaki oil in the cubist tradition, entitled “Saigon Cyclos.”

EARL WILSON, Counselor for Public Affairs in Madrid, had a one-man show of “Impressions of Spain” in September at the Galeria Kreisler. “Gypsy Dancer, Granada,” shown in black and white on page 2, was one of the thirty paintings exhibited.

THOMAS A. DONOVAN entered the Foreign Service in 1946. He is now assigned to the Department. His sympathetic and close interest in administrative science was earlier displayed in a much commented-on article in the April 1965 JOURNAL entitled “Toward Full Mechanization of the Promotion Process.” A revised version of the present article will perhaps be incorporated in a more narrowly professional monograph on which he is now engaged, tentatively titled “Programming for Sequential and Perpetual Reorganization: Utilization Techniques in the Achievement of Optimum Administrative Flux.”

KATIE LOUCHHEIM’s poem, “Adele’s World,” which appears on page 16, is from the volume “With or Without Roses,” to be published by Doubleday on October 6. Mrs. Louchheim, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Community Advisory Services, will autograph copies of the book at the AAFSW Book Fair to be held on October 24, 25 and 26.

JOHN D. JERNEGAN, whose “Postscript on the 1947 Greek-Turkish Program,” is featured on page 24, has been a Foreign Service officer since 1936 and closely connected with the affairs of the NEA area since 1941. With the exception of a three-year tour in Rome and one year at the Air War College, he has been continuously in the Bureau or in NEA field posts for the past 25 years. He writes “In 1947 I became the first chief of the newly created division (later office) of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs. (Incidentally, I deeply regret the disappearance of GTI and the other geographic offices abolished by the recent reorganization.) My most recent dealings with Greece, Turkey and Cyprus occurred between August 1963 and July 1965 when, as Deputy Assistant Secretary for NEA, I was all too intimately associated with our efforts to find a solution to the Cyprus crisis. Like so many other efforts with which I have been associated, these produced little visible positive result. Presently, my family and I are happily ensconced in Algeria; it has its problems, but at least they are different.”

TED OLSON, a frequent JOURNAL contributor, made the acquaintance of England’s White Horses (“The Ancient Art of Leucippotomy,” page 20, while revisiting the British Isles last year.

JAMES A. RAMSEY, author of “American Foreign Policy and China,” page 18, is also a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL. In addition to his contributions, Mr. Ramsey was an active member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board for several years.

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NEW EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS

ROGER C. BREWIN is serving on the Journal's Editorial Board for the first time. After serving in World War II, he attended Miami University (Ohio) and later received a M.A. degree at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. As an FSO, Mr. Brewin has served in Zurich, Bombay, La Paz and Washington. He lists his hobbies as bridge, gardening and riding. Mr. Brewin is married and has two children. He is presently assigned as Placement and Personnel Officer for the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

LEWIS MACFARLANE was born in Seattle and, after studying Political Science at Stanford and the University of Chicago, joined the Foreign Service in 1962. In July 1963 he began a memorable first tour in the Congo—a brief stint in the Political Section in Leopoldville, four months in Stanleyville, followed by nearly two years as Vice Consul in Bukavu. The Bukavu duty, which he describes as having been "rough and immensely rewarding" largely coincided with the Congolese rebellion; in the wake of one unusually harrowing episode, Macfarlane received the Department Award for Heroism. He returned to the Department last November and took up his present position as Research Analyst in the Office of External Research, INR. Macfarlane, a 27-year-old bachelor, lives in Foggy Bottom "just 234 steps from the office"—a situation whose benefits and shortcomings reportedly balance out rather evenly. He is a determined musician who takes both playing the piano and composing seriously and at one time also had some credentials as an astronomer, having been co-discoverer of a comet in 1955. Besides the above, he has been active in the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, the JFSOC, and is spending his not-so-abundant remaining spare time at getting better acquainted with the Washington area.

Jefferson to General Henry Knox

Monticello June 1, 1795.

. . . have you become a farmer? is it not pleasanter than to be shut up within 4. walls and delving eternally with the pen? I am become the most ardent farmer in the state. I live on my horse from morning to night almost. intervals are filled up with attentions to a nailery I carry on. I rarely look into a book, and more rarely take up a pen. I have proscribed newspapers, not taking a single one, nor scarcely ever looking into one. my next reformation will be to allow neither pen, ink, or paper to be kept on the farm, when I have accomplished this I shall be in a fair way of indemnifying my stars at your riddance from public cares. . . . (Jefferson Papers, M.H.S.) (Philadelphia, 1944) [THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GARDEN BOOK, 1766-1824]
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, October, 1966
The Foreign Service Auxiliary

In October 1941 the State Department announced that it was making appointments to the Foreign Service Auxiliary to carry out the emergency expansion of the Foreign Service. Those first appointed were called economic analysts, public relations assistants or cultural relations assistants. Most of them at first were assigned to work on special programs in Latin America. The appointments were temporary for the duration of the emergency and appropriations were not available beyond June 30, 1942.

The Emergency

In trying to remember what was happening then, one first recalls the forebodings of what lay ahead as United States neutrality wore out. The Germans had advanced to Odessa and were approaching Moscow. They had taken Crete and were besieging Tobruk. The Finns were marching east. Britain and Russia had moved into Persia, imposed conditions and seen the new Shah establish constitutional monarchy. Britain, with some Free French help had also forestalled German control of Iraq and Syria. Tojo replaced Konoye, breaking the last thread of hope that the Japanese advances in China and Southeast Asia might be halted. U-boats torpedoed the destroyer Kearney and sank the Reuben James. At home conscription was extended by a margin of one vote in the House. John Lewis called a strike of workers in the coal company mines. In "Arms and Men" Walter Millis wrote that our best fighter planes were obsolete and cited General Brereton as his source for saying that there were only 64 Army Air Force first pilots qualified to fly four-engined bombers. President Roosevelt's warnings and summons to action are exemplified in these samples:

September 11, 1941: But let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters, the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril. The orders which I have given as Commander in Chief to the United States Army and Navy are to carry out that policy at once.

October 27, 1941: We have wished to avoid the shooting but the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot. Today in the face of this newest and greatest challenge of them all, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand in the defense of our nation and in the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty.

Class Reunion

Age-group minded colleagues may wish to follow the tradition of the spring consular class of 1915 of having reunions by correspondence. The October 1941 JOURNAL published the class's 25th anniversary letters which began November 28, 1939, with Arthur C. Frost's letter from Zurich and continued with others from John R. Putnam in Florence.

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Wives Tale

A wife whose husband served as a junior officer under the Honorable Edwin C. Wilson recalls the skill and charm of Mrs. Wilson and a time when an admiral's wife complained of precedence at the dinner table accorded to the Papal Nuncio in Panama. "You know," the wife said, "my husband represents the President." Skirting around who represented the President, Mrs. Wilson explained gently, "Ah, but the Nuncio represents the Pope, and—"—noting the still clouded brow—"you know, the Pope represents God."

Scholarships

For 1941-42 Association scholarships were awarded to Howard C. Bowman and Adele Davis, the JOURNAL scholarship to David R. Thomson, and Harriman scholarships to Lewis V. Boyle, III and Michael George. Howard A. Bowman writes from Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, that after a year at Glasgow University, his son Howard Chester, used the scholarship in 1942 at Swathmore, then joined the Army as a volunteer in 1943. He served with General Patton's Army after D-Day and until the war ended and was with the occupation forces in Germany until 1946, attaining the rank of First Lieutenant. He returned to Swathmore, made Phi Beta Kappa, studied at Penn. U. for an M.A., married a Swathmore girl, served as a Foreign Service Reserve officer for eight years in Bern, one in Washington, and seven in Vienna. Not long ago he returned to Washington with his wife and four sons.

We wish someone would tell us what became of the other kids.

From Jim Stewart

Everyone will rejoice that the father of this feature in the JOURNAL is better and has collected news for it. From Denver Jim has sent these items:

Christian M. Rundal, Ereieagasse 5, Vienna: According to Chris, he and Alberta live within a stone's throw of the place where Beethoven composed his Eroica Symphony.

Merritt Cooetes, Consul General in Florence, should hear about this: At seven o'clock one morning this summer, only Jack Foster, editor of the Rocky Mountain News, and one pigeon, settled on the head, had come to pay homage to Dante at the place where his statue stands.

Frederick Larkin, Washington: Fritz was down Mexico way and returned a victim of "Montezuma's Revenge."

George and Annie Laurie Winters (El Paso) have five grandsons. George is sad. "The boys are growing rapidly and unless there is a presently unexpected addition, we are all out of small grandsons."

Daniel V. Anderson, Consul General in Marseille, is Dean of the Corps of 57 Consular representatives. His duties are often gastronomic and he and Joy have found it hard to keep their weight down, but manage.

Changes of post, October 1941

William H. Beach, Antwerp to Johannesburg as Consul
Burton Y. Berry, Athens to Rome as Second Secretary
William H. Bruns, to Panama as Vice Consul (first assignment)
George R. Canty, Amsterdam to Buenos Aires as Assistant Commercial Attaché
Vinton Chapin, Dublin to Port-au-Prince as Second Secretary
Edward A. Dow, Jr., Brussels to Cairo as Third Secretary
William L. Krieg, Milan to Lagos as Vice Consul
Dayle C. McDonough, Monterey to Santiago as First Secretary
Terry B. Sanders, Riohacha, Colombia, to Puerto de la Cruz, Venezuela

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W. Quincy Stanton, Casablanca to Nairobi as Consul
Alfred W. Wells, to Buenos Aires as Vice Consul (first assignment)

Special Announcement

The list of Addresses of Retired Members will be mailed to those requesting it during the month of October. Additional requests for this list will be filled until the supply is exhausted.

FORTY YEARS AGO

Among the “Items” were these:
The Foreign Service School will assemble on October 1 with the following newly appointed Foreign Service officers:

Vice Consul Lewis Clark, while en route to Peking, where he has been assigned as a Language Officer, reports that during the stay of his steamer at Djibouti it caught fire and was completely destroyed. This caused him a delay of two weeks, and during this time he visited Addis Ababa, where he called upon Ras Taffari, the heir to the throne of Abyssinia.

TURN OF THE CENTURY

“For many years... it seemed that Washington’s destiny was to be mainly that of service to the government... This dependence of Washington merchants on profits they could make in serving official Washington would not seem a discouraging destiny. But when it is realized that in 1800, the year in which the government departments were moved from Philadelphia to Washington, the State Department employed seven officials, the Navy Department about fifteen, the War Department only eighteen, and the Treasury Department only sixty-nine officials, it will be seen that the prospects of business Washington were not very bright. (From the chapter on Business Washington by Washington Topham in the series of volumes entitled “Washington, Past and Present,” edited by John Clagett Proctor, Lewis Hotel Publishing Co., Inc., 1930.)

A GOOD EXAMPLE

We take pleasure in sending to you the enclosed check made out to the American Foreign Service Scholarship Fund in the amount of $750. We do this at the suggestion of the Honorable U. Alexis Johnson, Deputy Under Secretary of State.

Ambassador Johnson came to the graduate school at the University of Wisconsin to lecture for us on August 15. This contribution to the American Foreign Service Scholarship Fund is a small token of Mr. Johnson’s visit to the school.

Sincerely,
John H. Willis
Section Leader
University of Wisconsin

For the information of other officers who would like to support the Scholarship Fund in the same way as Ambassador Johnson, the JOURNAL points out that any offer of payment for speaking services must, of course, be refused by Government employees. An officer may, however, indicate to an organization which has invited him to speak and offered an honorarium that any appreciation it wished to express could be sent to the Scholarship Fund.
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Basic Requirements of Personal Planning

We at Loomis Sayles as Investment Counselors working on our clients’ investment affairs place great emphasis on these basic requirements of a sound overall financial program. As a first step, every family should build up a savings account sufficient to meet any emergency needs that might arise. The exact amount of such a savings account is difficult to pinpoint although a fairly good benchmark often used is six months’ to one year’s earnings. There are several factors which should contribute to the decision on how much to have in savings. First, the number of members in your family automatically increases your exposure to emergency situations such as accidents or illness. On the other hand, the amount of insurance you carry to cover these risks acts as an offsetting factor and may reduce the amount you should appropriately carry in a savings account. Equally important as the specific risks is your own frame of mind. Many persons simply do not feel comfortable unless they have several thousand dollars salted away in a savings account. This peace of mind is usually well worth the potential sacrifice of return resulting from this decision.

The Role of Insurance

Life insurance should also play an important part in your financial planning. Here again, the amount of insurance each breadwinner should own is a variable resulting from several considerations. As investment counselors, we visualize life insurance as a means to fill the income gap left if the family breadwinner dies prematurely. His life insurance should be sufficient to generate an income that would enable the family to live comfortably. Thus, the amount of insurance to be held would depend upon the standard of living to which the family is accustomed and also the degree to which income would be generated by other assets held in the family, such as securities or real estate. Another rather obvious limitation is the extent to which the breadwinner’s current income allows him to pay premiums. While adequate life insurance is important, no family should have so much insurance that it is a burden on current income to meet the premiums.

Another important decision concerning life insurance is the type of insurance which should be held. As any competent insurance agent will readily tell you, there are many possible plans available which can be tailored to your own individual circumstances. These might range from a whole life plan for an individual with no outside resources and only limited retirement benefits to a wealthy individual with a large retirement portfolio who might wish to have life insurance strictly to pay his estate taxes upon his death. A younger person with a rapidly developing career and an excellent retirement benefit may wish to have term insurance which will protect him for shorter periods of, say, 10 to 20 years until such time as he has established his own investment program on a sound basis. Likewise, an individual who knows he will come into considerable assets from the distribution of...
a Trust or the death of a parent may utilize term insurance to protect his family until such time as these contingencies come about.

We have purposely included life insurance under the category of “necessities,” clearly separated from the investment aspect of your personal planning. Insurance is sometimes referred to as an investment, but we believe that this is a questionable practice. The primary purpose of insurance is protection, not the accumulation of capital. If you wish to consider insurance as an investment, you must certainly regard it as a very expensive type of investment with a relatively low yield. Once the expenses of the insurance aspect such as the salesman’s commission, clerical and record keeping expenses and other administrative expenses are taken into account, the rate of return on this “investment” is relatively low. While it is true that the assumed rate on your policy is not subject to current income taxes as are dividends and capital gains, the low rate of return seems unjustified when compared with the potential rates of return, even after taxes, available on the types of obligations which we regard as true investments (stock, bonds, real estate, etc.) Thus, it is important to clearly separate your insurance program from your investment program.

Another important and necessary aspect of your financial planning should be adequate accident and health insurance, and automobile coverage where appropriate. Accident and health insurance is becoming a more important aspect of financial planning because of the rapid increase in the cost of medical services. Medical costs are among the fastest growing segments of the family budget. Adequate medical insurance can go a long way toward averting an unexpected financial crisis brought about by accident or illness. Little need be said about automobile insurance. In most states this is required by law. Nonetheless, one further comment might be helpful. That is, most states require a relatively small minimum amount of liability insurance. However, juries more and more are awarding higher judgments against drivers involved in accidents and unless you are properly protected by adequate insurance, a judgment exceeding your insurance could prove very costly to your family over the years. Increased amounts of liability insurance are relatively inexpensive and well worth the small additional cost. We would recommend that such insurance be for at least $100,000 and that serious consideration be given to liability insurance up to $300,000 for each occurrence.

Wills and Home Ownership

Perhaps one of the most often forgotten aspects of your personal financial planning is your last will and testament. It is surprising to us as investment counselors to learn frequently that our clients, who may possess considerable wealth, have not made adequate preparations for the disposition of their estates upon their death. While state laws usually provide for disposition of your estate in the event you do not have a will, these laws vary widely among the states and may result in your assets being distributed in a manner entirely contrary to your intentions and the real needs of your family. Thus, it is essential to sit down with your lawyer and have him draw up wills for both you and your wife which clearly spell out the manner in which your estate is to be distributed. Furthermore, a will should be regarded as one of the most fluid aspects of your personal affairs and should be revised whenever there is a change in your situation such as the birth of a new child, the death of a spouse or any other happening that resulted in a substantial change in your financial situation such as an inheritance. Thus, a will should be regarded as an essential element in your financial planning, an element which is both easy and inexpensive to take care of.

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, October, 1966
15
Home ownership, another factor of personal planning, is probably a difficult question for Foreign Service personnel. If you are moving about a great deal, home ownership may not be practical for you. Even if you are reasonably sure that home ownership is practical, you must resolve the questions as to whether you would rather own a home or rent an apartment or house. The answer to this question is usually an emotional one depending on whether one derives great satisfaction out of owning his own home or prefers to live in an apartment where the responsibilities of home ownership are eliminated. On the more practical side, interest paid on a mortgage is fully deductible for income tax purposes, as are property taxes. Furthermore, as payments are made on a mortgage, equity builds up, thus increasing your personal investment in your home. In many areas of the country, of which Washington, D.C. is a primary example, home ownership has proved to be an excellent investment from the standpoint of capital appreciation. While we feel that the investment aspect should not be a primary motivation for owning a house, it is always nice to know that the home you have chosen for its esthetic values also possesses an element of investment for you. Thus, we might say that home ownership begins to bridge the gap between the necessary aspects of your personal financial planning and those which we have labeled as "investments."

Next Column—Investments

Our next column in the December issue of the American Foreign Service Journal will go into the role of investments in personal financial planning. This article will deal with such questions as: Who should invest? What are your investment objectives? How should you invest? Where can you get competent advice?

ADELE'S WORLD

The glass in which I see my mother's face hangs in high ceilinged rooms where as a child I roamed a world as rich as it was wide;

silk citadel of ponderous doors and clocks,
of calling cards and curios safely locked,
of parlors dressed in prisms and brocade,

grey maids that bobbed like corks in seas of space,
shook out a fringe or poked a pillow's face,
answered shrill bells, at five drew all the shades.

The house had secrets, hushed from stair to stair,
thick whispers gathered as the dusk walked down past landings where the horrors kept their lair.

Sealed up are all my fantasies and fears
but I can hear my mother's soft, rich swish
across the dark of disconnected years
and see her as she fastens beauty's veil.

Like a queen's child, in a safe fairy tale,
I hold her love high, lest the bright glass break.

—Katie Louchheim

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American Foreign Policy and China

One of the most vexing problems of the international scene for more than a decade and a half has been the Sino-American confrontation. It would not be an exaggeration to say that throughout this period the US and the Communist Chinese have been in a de facto state of war with one another. At times this has been cold and at times hot, either through a direct clash as in Korea or through the involvement of other lesser powers in actions like the Offshore Islands dispute and now Vietnam.

When the dust of the Chinese civil war had settled in 1949, Washington and Peking found themselves facing one another in a hostile position, but with a certain amount of distance between them. Since that time the front has moved much closer and the US now finds itself engaged in areas where it possessed only marginal interests before. By force of circumstances and the vicissitudes of international politics, the Americans are currently committed to an active military defense of parts of Korea and Vietnam, to a military alliance with Taiwan, and to support of India in its border dispute with China. In a wider international sense, the United States has for fifteen years followed a policy of total economic embargo and complete political isolation of Peking.

In addition, the United States has for one reason or another been carrying out over the years a program of active surveillance of the Chinese mainland, as exemplified by U-2 flights from Taiwan and other actions undertaken from appropriate bases. American spokesmen have justified this program on the basis of defense of “vital free world interests,” a contention with which, needless to say, the Communist Chinese are in total disagreement.

Each move to deal with the fact of Chinese hostility has had its rationale in terms of protecting American security, and has seemed until lately to possess a basic political and military soundness, both to the majority of the American people and to its leaders in Washington. Whatever the justification, the effect of American actions so far in this continuing struggle has nevertheless been to bring about an increasingly deeper involvement of US power on the periphery of the Chinese state. Now that the accumulation of these involvements is assuming ominous outlines, we are beginning to ask ourselves whether our calculations and suppositions in regard to China have of necessity always been correct.

Over the past twenty years the United States has sacrificed large amounts of its manpower and tremendous quantities of its wealth in an effort to master the Chinese problem. In the sense that the US continues to maintain a presence on the Asian mainland by force of arms, this effort seems to be counted as a success. And yet, despite the outpouring of human and material treasure, there is no solution in sight. Not only are the Chinese no less intransigent and doctrinaire but their strength is growing, and their opposition to the United States is as rigid as ever.

The Chinese at this stage of their history are suffering from all manner of complexes, foremost among them a sense of inferiority. The leaders in Peking and the people
themselves, whatever their differences, are both struggling with the inheritance of the years when Chinese territory was fought over, partitioned, and expropriated by foreign powers. As the recent hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have so clearly brought out, the humiliation of China at the hands of the Western world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was unparalleled in the history of a major political and cultural entity.

The backwardness and impotence of their country is something the Communists are determined to put an end to once and for all, whatever the cost. Their experience of the past has taught them, whether rightly or wrongly, to once and for all, whatever the cost. Their experience confirms to them the correctness of their rejection of the concept of mutual adjustment of differences.

It is this attitude that must be kept in mind if the Chinese posture towards the United States is to be understood. The American state is for the Chinese Communists the personification of their nation's humiliating past. Alone among the major powers of the world it is engaged in active military operations along their borders. It is the leader and spokesman of those who espouse the doctrine of economic and political containment. The United States is for Mao Tse-tung and his associates public enemy number one, and anything that can be done to reduce its power and influence in the world will be pursued by them with the utmost lack of scruple. Perhaps what they can least forgive us is not our enmity, which was in a way to be expected, but our persistent moralizing about acceptable standards of behavior in international affairs.

Given this emotional state in which the Communist Chinese leadership finds itself, it is difficult to see how there can be any inclination on their part to negotiate a settlement with a country which is militarily committed in one way or another around a sizable portion of the periphery of their territory. What the men in Peking would most like to do is obviously to defeat the United States by force of arms. But they are realists enough to know this is not possible. In consequence, they appear to be following the next best alternative, which is that of involving the United States on an increasingly massive scale in a brutal and never-ending conflict amidst an anemic population and at the end of extended lines of supply.

Vietnam is in many respects made to order for a Chinese grand dessein. First of all, the position of the US in being in a sense the direct heir of French colonialism provides an opportunity to brand the Americans throughout the third world as indiscriminately power-seeking and reactionary. Unlike Korea, there is no UN sanction for the presence of American forces and only minor troop or materiel commitments by US allies. As US diplomatic efforts have repeatedly shown, the idea of a joint effort to stabilize the situation in that part of the world is a hard one to sell.

In a more material sense, the Communist Chinese, it would appear, see substantial advantages accruing to them from a long-term US involvement in Vietnam. Such an effort will inevitably place a strain on the American economy, which is likely to result not in depressing living standards as such but in limiting the resources needed to solve urgent domestic problems, leading in turn to the possibility of increased internal unrest. An extended conflict in Vietnam could also seriously affect the US ability to conduct economic assistance programs in other parts of the world that are of greater significance in the long run than an area whose eventual alignment remains open to serious question.

The Communist Chinese have been warned not to mis-calculate American national unity and determination, but one wonders whether they are tapping completely in the dark. The fact is that the American people are seriously divided on the Vietnam issue, both in respect to the question of involvement itself as well as the extent of US interest in that part of the world. Emotions are rising and there is increasing concern over an inability to define with precision the dimensions of the problem. It may be assumed that the Chinese are watching these developments with very great attention for the impact they could have on the US military and political posture.

From a military point of view, the US has perhaps been counting too much on the existence of its nuclear arsenal as an ultimate deterrent to Chinese Communist recklessness. In a theoretical sense this is a tenable proposition in that Peking has no more desire than any other nation to see its wealth and citizenry destroyed en masse. Because of the Soviet presence in Southeast Asia, however, US nuclear weaponry is a good deal less of a de facto threat than the American people would like to believe it is. The Chinese, for their part, have no hesitation in exploiting the Russians for their own crass political aims while tacitly accepting the fact of a Soviet nuclear umbrella over their southern border.

What these various considerations seem to add up to is that the Communist Chinese see Vietnam as the Achilles' heel of the American giant and are gambling that by persistence and determination they can extract serious advantages from a deteriorating situation. This is perhaps a strange thesis to Americans who are accustomed to counting their power by the megatons, but the fact remains that in this long struggle the Chinese have been to date the net gainers at relatively little cost to themselves. As General Griffith, one of the witnesses at Senator Fulbright's hearings very aptly put it: "If I were Mao Tse-tung I would just be up there drinking tea and smoking cigarettes and feeling quite content with the situation. It is not costing them anything."

Much ink as well as blood has flowed over Vietnam without bringing a solution any nearer. Perhaps this is because we have become accustomed to treat it as a problem by itself, without relation to the tangled complex of our involvement with China, of which it forms only a part. There is need to consider the totality of the question, especially if the thesis of an intended Chinese entrapment outlined above has any validity. It is especially important that the American people examine the future of their relationship with a state which is on its way to becoming one of the world's major powers.

Various proposals have been put forward for relaxing

(Continued on page 53)
The Ancient Art of Leucippotomy

If a traveler London-bound from Plymouth or Torquay looks out as his train leaves Westbury, he will see incised into the hillside the figure of a gigantic white horse. It will be visible for only a minute or so, before it turns edgewise and then disappears behind a steep shoulder of turf. But if he keeps a sharp lookout to the north he will soon catch a glimpse of another like it, much farther away. Distance in this case does not diminish; rather it gives one a better sense of the figure’s Antaean dimensions. Even across miles of English haze it stands out sharply, half the height of the valley wall.

These are two of England’s White Horses, not so widely famed as Vienna’s, but of some interest as examples of an art form that, if not invented in the British Isles, has been cultivated more assiduously there than anywhere else.

There are some eighteen White Horses still extant. The “some” is a deliberate hedge against unwitting error. Morris Marples, whose “White Horses and Other Hill Figures” is the standard work on the subject, listed seventeen, but another turned up while his book was in press in 1949 and had to be acknowledged in a hasty addendum. There may be more of them awaiting detection by aerial reconnaissance or a farmer’s plowshare. Several mentioned in historical documents have disappeared. There was once a Red Horse, near Banbury, but it was obliterated long since. And there are other hill carvings—two gigantic male figures, a lion, a stag, a kiwi, a crown, crosses, regimental insignia. Only the giants, and perhaps the crosses, have any antiquarian interest. The others are comparatively modern and—except for their size and assertiveness—demonstrate little more than the universal urge to carve one’s initials or some other symbol into any carvable surface.

England's numerical predominance in this art form no doubt results from the abundance of carvable material. The whole southeastern part of the island is one great chalk mass; it is visible in dramatic cross-section in the White Cliffs of Dover. In the valleys it is buried under the loam deposited by the primeval forests and enriched by millennia of cultivation, but on the uplands the thin veneer of sod peels away readily.

Nobody knows how long ago somebody realized that here was a sort of titanic blackboard-in-reverse on which one could inscribe recognizable figures, not by adding chalk but by exposing it. Some writers believe that the first incisions may have been a greatly magnified equivalent of the blazes that guided Indians and frontiersmen through the forest. Several of the crosses rest on triangular bases; theorists suggest that the triangles were originally directional signs, and that the crosses were added after Britain was Christianized. Some of them indeed lie on what are believed to be ancient travel routes. Just to make sure that the chalk figures would not serve a similar purpose for the Luftwaffe, they were sodded over again or otherwise camouflaged during World War II.

One thing is certain: a few of the figures are very old. The daddy of them all unquestionably is the White Horse of Uffington, on the northern escarpment of the Berkshire downs, southwest of Oxford. He is also, thanks to G. K. Chesterton’s “Ballad of the White Horse,” by far the best known. His age, his pedigree, his reason for being there have kept antiquarians bickering for generations.

The valley below has been known for at least 800 years as the Vale of the White Horse. It is so identified in a cartulary of the Abbey of Abingdon, from the reign of Henry II; the document, now in the British Museum, has been tentatively dated 1171. In the absence of fact, folklore burgeons. The most popular legend says the horse was carved to commemorate King Alfred’s victory over the Danes at Ashdown in 871. Alfred’s standard, like that of earlier Saxon kings, was reportedly a horse. For him it would have been particularly appropriate: he was the great-grandfather of English cavalry—the first commander whose troops rode into battle, although when they closed with the foe they dismounted and fought on foot. That much is history, the rest only speculation and fable. It is not even certain that the battle was fought in White Horse Vale; there are three other Ashdowns in the competition.

Another legend delves four centuries deeper into the silt of prehistory and comes up with the Jute invader Hengist (ca. 449), whose gonfalon also, according to tradition, bore a horse. (Hengist means “stallion.” Hengist had a brother and co-leader named Horsa, a circumstance that, in the
doubtedly has been considerably modified over the centuries. Chesterton, disavowing in his foreword any claim to his- toricity, assumes that the great chalk figure was there long before either Alfred or Hengist. He pictures Alfred going to reconnoiter the Danish encampment before the battle: "...and as he went by White Horse Vale he saw lie wan and wide. The old horse graven, God knows when, By gods or beasts or what things then."

The later chalk figures are startlingly modern in design. The later chalk figures are reminiscent to the horses on Roman coins, they place it natural origin, some scholars support his assumption that the horse antedates Saxons and Jutes alike. On the basis of a resemblance to the horses on Roman coins, they place it tentatively in the first century B. C. Such coins have been dug up from barrows in the neighborhood.

To complicate matters still further, a few malcontents insist the figure isn’t a horse at all, but a dragon. White Horse Vale claims as an added attraction Dragon Hill, where St. George is supposed to have speared the monster that had been preying on the peasantry.

Whatever his age, give or take a millennium, the old horse is startlingly modern in design. The later chalk figures are pointstakingly representational, so far as the limitations of the medium and ancient primitive. "...their ancient splendor" had given way to "riot and debauchery," symptomatic of "the general luxury and dis-soluteness of the age." The indictment sounds singularly contemporaneous.

Thomas Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown’s Schooldays," found plenty of revelry but no conspicuous debauchery at Uffington in 1837. The actual tiding up, he relates in "The Scouring of the White Horse," was completed in a single day. The next day was dedicated to merriment, and hucksters and traveling performers had gathered on the hilltop from all over the country. Hughes was told that the scourings took place every five years or so, though occasional-ly there were longer gaps. The one he witnessed was in September, but frequently the festival was held over the Whitsun weekend. The Reading Mercury of May 22, 1780, reported that "upwards of 30,000" were present at that year's scouring.

Now the more important chalk figures are national monuments, maintained by public funds. Westbury’s horse has been framed in concrete and equipped with drains. The Long Man of Wilmington is reinforced with brick.

I have been saving the Long Man, and his distant cousin, the Cerne Giant, for the last, because they are among the oldest and most controversial of the hill figures. The Long Man is also the most accessible. He stands on, or leans against a Sussex hillside, three miles from Eastbourne, and is plainly visible from the Hastings-Lewes railway line. Unlike the horses he is merely outlined by trenches cut through the turf, a fact which must have simplified the periodical scourings. He stands with arms outspread, each hand grasping a staff taller than he is. (The pertinent statistics: height, 231 feet 6 inches; arm spread, 115 feet; staffs, 237 and 241 feet.) What we see now is a reconstruction dating from 1874. Sketches from earlier times suggest that he too has undergone extensive modifications. One drawing pictures the staffs as a scythe and a hoe; the artist may have seen the Long Man either as a patron saint of agriculture or a peasant coming home from the fields. He has been identified with a long list of celebrities, from the Norse gods Odin and Baldur to St. Paul. Marples inclines to the belief that he represents a medieval pilgrim on his way to the Wilmington priory, and that he was carved by monks.
It is unlikely that monks had anything to do with designing the Cerne Giant, in Dorset, seven miles northwest of Dorchester. There is nothing monastic about him. He is shorter and burlier than the ascetically attenuated Long Man—Epstein rather than Giacometti. He brandishes a knobby club 120 feet long, and he is in a state of erotic excitation that recalls certain Pompeian murals and sculptures. Some think he represents Hercules, a theory that would date him from Roman or Phoenician times. But the consensus appears to be that he is a fertility symbol; homage to Priapus was often a feature of pagan festivals. It has been suggested also that disbelievers—or perhaps believers in the hawy old gods—may have carved him after Christianity came to England, to taunt and tempt the celibates in nearby Cerne Abbas.

Four other chalk giants are mentioned in the archives—one at Oxford, one at Cambridge, and two at Plymouth Hoe, but all have disappeared. The last documentary record of the Plymouth giants is dated 1486; there is no mention of the Cambridge giant after 1605.

As the category leucippotomy obviously does not fit these human figures, Marples has coined for them the word gigantotomy. That still leaves out the Whipsnade Lion, the Mormond Stag, the Bulford Kiwi, the crown commemorating Edward VII’s accession to the throne, not to mention all those regimental badges. A more general term might be preferable: calcography, perhaps?

We would still lack a name for the art as practised in media other than turf and chalk. Marples mentions a number of examples in other countries, including "a gigantic human figure in quartzite in the Rocky Mountains, and not far from it a serpent in the same medium."

He doesn't tell where in the Rocky Mountains, or give his authority, and I suspect that somebody was pulling his leg. Quartzite is about as refractory a material as you can find: a geologist's hammer rebounds without leaving a nick. Unable to discover any other reference to these carvings, I asked the dean of Rocky Mountain geologists, Dr. S. H. Knight, professor emeritus at the University of Wyoming. He wrote:

"I have never seen or heard of such an occurrence and I question if an aborigine or anyone else had the patience to carve a gigantic human figure in quartzite."

Still, though chalk thinly faced with turf is doubtless the easiest medium for anyone with a compulsion to carve up the landscape, artists have not hesitated to attack more obdurate surfaces. Witness Mount Rushmore. It is conceivable that the power drill will make possible a renaissance of leucippotomy, or whatever you choose to call it. One can readily imagine Robert Rauschenberg, whose canvases (if that is the right word) already tax the resources of our biggest galleries, casting a speculative eye on the Palisades.

He would be wise, though, to read the concluding chapters of Joyce Cary's "The Horse's Mouth." Al fresco art in the twentieth century faces a hazard that never menaced the Uffington Horse and the Long Man—the bulldozer. It wouldn't be easy now to outguess the highway planners and pick a hillside certain to be there ten years hence, let alone a thousand.

The White Horse at Westbury, Wiltshire, England by Ted Olson
An Evolving Profession: Managerial Diplomacy

The matter is now only of academic interest, but students of the administrative process still refer from time to time to the second session of the 106th Congress as marking the culmination of a sequence of administrative events which had their origins in a much remoter time. This is not the place to trace out the course of this subsequent evolution of the government's personnel machinery. Everybody knows how effectively assimilated the organizational scaffolding of the manpower complement of the foreign affairs infrastructure was ultimately to become. We are concerned here, rather, with a reappraisal of its significance for the development of the profession. And in this, it is useful to look again at the by now largely forgotten, and never fully understood, comings and goings which figured so importantly in the final adoption by the 106th Congress of a consensually satisfactory version of the bill absorbing the Foreign Silvicultural Reporting and Advising Service into the then existing Foreign Service Corps.

The story goes back to the early 1900's, when a strong silvicultural lobby, working through the recently organized separate Department of Forestry and Shrubbery, succeeded in getting the Congress to authorize that Department to send its own silvicultural attaches abroad. Forestry and Shrubbery's interest in the foreign scene was not a new one, of course. Forest Service reserve officers had long been active abroad, seeking out better tree varieties for the mid-American shelterbelt. And Shrubbery Extension Agents had already well-known for their successful achievements in the American hollyhock (genus Althaea), nor the constructive work these agents did in those early days on the introduction of the North American brier bush into sub-Saharan Africa, as a goat-grazing control aid.

Forestry and Shrubbery's organized foreign effort was a fairly limited one at that time. Its attaches were posted only in the most important of the major capitals and in not more than a couple of dozen of the growing countries. In the former, the attaches had heavy reporting schedules, keeping the Department abreast of competitive foreign efforts and helping it promote its distinctive philosophy of growth. And in the growing countries, there was an ever-greater need for growth know-how. But the overall effort was still a small one, and the Department's foreign budget was only a tiny percentage of the vastly larger domestic disbursements program. In short, money was no problem.

The successful planting of Forestry and Shrubbery's own small foreign service in our overseas country teams tables of organization was not in itself any particular novelty. The National Primary Teachers' Corps was already represented abroad by its own Elementary Educational Reserve attaches. The Post Office had its own attache system. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the old Department of Interior, as it then was, had begun to send FSIs abroad. And so on.

The organizational scaffolding for this foreign effort of our country was only incompletely programed at that time. Some in the ancillary foreign services, however, had already discovered that they could contribute more effectively to our country's goals if they would be routinely eligible for assignment as Deputy Consuls, Assistant Ambassadors, First Class Secretaries of Career, and more. Indeed, the blanketing of these agents did in those early days on the introduction of the North American brier bush into sub-Saharan Africa, as a goat-grazing control aid.

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What, then, happened in the second session of the 106th Congress? Briefly, Forestry and Shrubbery, working closely with other branches of the country teams at home and abroad, finally persuaded the Congress to move ahead, root and branch, in grafting their Service, and other still unassimilated Foreign Services, into a new comprehensive Foreign Service Affairs Corps. At one blow of the axe, as it were, a long overdue reform was made in our foreign affairs plantation. Old sources of friction were eliminated, ailing branches were propped up and reinvigorated, and healthier, more energetic branches were grafted in on the tops of our Country Trees.

This is not to say that the reform did not give rise to questions. Malecontents were heard to suggest that the American people would eventually tire of what seemed like an endless proliferation of personnel abroad. Statisticians of the Office of National Public Accounts pointed out, however, that our country's Gross National Product could still take care of our vital needs in the foreign affairs staffing field. There seemed little danger, given the conscientious way these matters had been handled in the past, that less scrupulous operators on the periphery of the new sphere of things were promoting the reforms to offload surplus short-service, high-salaried, near-retirement horticulturalists into the new enlarged corps. In any case, a provision of the so-called Forestry and Shrubbery Enabling Act to guarantee to Public Accounts senior staff a reasonable share of the senior posts in the new foreign affairs management complex—Public Accounts Reserve attaches were already stationed abroad, though not under Department of State auspices—helped dispel residual actuarial concern at the trend of affairs.

Helpful at this juncture also was a resolution by the incorporated Foreign Service Management Association requesting a statement of legislative intent that there be no place, in the enlarged Service, for administratively irrelevant criteria in the filling of top foreign affairs management posts. A few sentimentalists in the Association, while accepting the principle of program management, wanted a weaker resolution, but their carping doubts had to be ignored.

How, otherwise, the question was asked—and no answer was forthcoming—could our country have come to be so happily involved in foreign undertakings, if our forefathers had been content with operationally irrelevant appeals to out-moded elitist traditions? Was it not true that foreign affairs, which perhaps had once been largely a matter of dealing with foreigners, now consisted almost entirely of the management and coordination of programs in foreign countries? And since this was so unquestionably the case, could we, as a nation, afford not to make better use of the program management skills of Forestry and Shrubbery's attaches? The answer, surely, was an ineluctable no. For the old way of looking at things might have been well enough, say, in the infancy of our Republic, but it clearly had no place in the coordinated and programed America of the 21st Century.
JOHN STUTESMAN has written an excellent account of the way in which the Department and the President handled the foreign policy crisis raised by Britain’s decision to withdraw from its responsibilities for support to Greece and Turkey in early 1947. Having been at the time assistant chief of the division in charge of Greek and Turkish affairs, I was very much caught up in that whirlwind process, although I can lay no claim to having formulated the policy or participating directly in the epoch-making decision. Two aspects stand out in my mind even at this late date:

Once the basic decision was made, the first major worry of the President and the top command in the Department was whether Congress could be brought to go along with such a major departure from past US policy and practice. One of the keys to this rested in the hands of Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a one-time strong isolationist. (It will be remembered that the 1946-48 Congress had a Republican majority under a Democratic Administration.) Someone consulted Vandenberg along with other Congressional leaders and found that the Senator was really well disposed but quite worried about the possible reactions of his Senate colleagues, many of whom would want very full information on what this was all about and why the United States should assume such an unprecedented responsibility.

The Department, I believe it was Under Secretary Acheson, offered to prepare written answers to any and all questions which Members of the Senate wished to submit. The result was a batch of numbered questions which, however, on analysis, turned out to be a total of about 400. They ranged over the whole gamut, starting with whether political or economic opinion; these frequently stimulated lively debate among the officers interested, and we had all the clearance difficulties that have since become all too familiar in the work of the US Government.

It was a tough assignment, but we got the 400-odd answers in on time and had our reward when Senator Vandenberg stated on the floor of the Senate that he thought the Department had been remarkably forthcoming in its explanations.

The other episode, which took a year or two off my then relatively young life, involved the preparation of a briefing book for the Congressional Committees. Mr. Henderson detached me and Lucille Snyder to find or prepare papers on every conceivable aspect of the proposed program, including particularly all the background of our relations with Greece and Turkey and the policies which had governed them up to that time. We gathered together a huge mass of files and retired for three days and nights into what at that time was known as War Annex I and now carries the designation, if that decrepit building is still standing, of SA-1. What we did, of course, was a cut-and-paste job with some minor editing of language but we came up with a set of loose leaf binders, all carefully labeled “Confidential,” just in time to deliver them to the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the opening day of the hearings.

Right off the bat we ran into trouble with the Committee, because some of the members declared that they would not accept or read anything which they could not reveal to their constituents. (I have the impression that Congressional Committees have become more sophisticated in the ensuing 19 years.) The objection became so strong that Mr. Acheson, who was the first and principal witness for the Administration, telephoned me at home that night to say that he thought we would have to declassify the book and to ask whether there really was anything in it which would do harm if it were made public. I was well aware that, as is still the case, most classified government documents were not nearly so sensitive or earthshaking as their classifications would indicate, and I did not think that there was anything in the book which would really damage us even if broadcast to the world, so I gave an off-the-cuff answer that I thought it would be all right to take off the “Confidential” label. This was done, and the next day copies were made available for press correspondents to read.

Unfortunately, I had forgotten one paper included in the book which related to Cyprus. Even though the real fight against British rule on the island did not begin until a few years later, the Cyprus question was already very much in the minds of those concerned with British and Greek affairs, and this paper—a staff study—stated that it was the policy of the US to favor the eventual independence of Cyprus. The press, with its usual alertness, seized upon this as the only really newsworthy bit in the whole book, which produced eight-column headlines the next day and a hurried call by the British Ambassador at the Department of State. It also produced an outburst of indignation from my boss, Mr. Henderson, who declared that he had never seen this paper and that this was not his policy. I was abashed and remorseful, and the next time I saw Mr. Acheson I apologized for causing this trouble. His reply was a cheerful “Never mind, we’ll just have to disavow you,” which is what was done.
The first part of this article appeared in the September issue of the JOURNAL. It stated the desirability of ensuring that the two new management innovations (the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System) will operate compatibly within the foreign affairs community, pointing out that both systems seem designed to solve problems of managing our foreign affairs which have prompted recommendations from the Jackson Subcommittee on National Security Staffing and Operations and other informed observers. It surveyed the “features, promises and problems of the PPBS System,” outlined advantages which the PPBS should offer the foreign affairs manager, and argued that responsible officers in the SIG/IRG System should take an active interest in the use of the PPBS in and by the foreign affairs community.

Features, Promises and Problems of the SIG/IRG System

General Taylor and Deputy Under Secretary Alexis Johnson have, in previous issues of the JOURNAL, pointed out the main features of the SIG/IRG System and some of the changes to be anticipated from implementing the March 2 Presidential directive. The latter clarifies interdepartmental relationships in Washington by fixing responsibility at a level below the President for giving overall direction to our variegated foreign affairs activities. As General Taylor stated, “this is not inherently or organically a State Department function. It is something additional.” It is a function delegated by the President, and those who exercise it will have to stand above departments and special career or personnel service considerations. The Secretary of State will discharge his expanded responsibility “primarily” (but one assumes not exclusively) through the SIG/IRG machinery, supplemented on the Washington side by the Country Director positions in the State Department and abroad by the activities of ambassadors with their country teams. Interdepartmental decision-making (subject to appeal by concerned participants) will consequently be possible in inter-agency forums—formal or informal—at five different levels in the system, and super-departmental perspective is anticipated, at least from the State participants, at each level.

The March 2 Presidential directive should eliminate, within the framework of the Executive Branch, much of the Secretary of State's tactical disadvantage in influencing the activities of foreign affairs agencies other than his own. The SIG/IRG machinery for decision-making should also go far toward meeting the Jackson Subcommittee's complaints that (1) the Country Team abroad has no corresponding organization in Washington to which it can look for guidance, direction, and support, and that (2) “in Washington, the decision-making process is, so to speak, vertical—upward along Departmental lines which converge only at the Presidential level.” The SIG/IRG System should also make it possible to move toward the Subcommittee's suggestion that country desk officers, as chairmen of country team equivalents in Washington “could take the lead in forward country planning in collaboration with the Department's Policy Planning Council and, increasingly, with the Ambassadors in the field.”

The feature of the SIG/IRG System which holds greatest promise is the authority of the executive chairman in each inter-agency forum. The system is not supposed to concern itself with matters “purely internal” to any agency, but the executive chairman of any interdepartmental group has very wide latitude to bring up questions for discussion and decision. Having once raised an issue he can, on the basis of his own judgment, decide a matter against the views of all other group members (subject naturally to appeal of the decision to the next level of authority). The system's eventual accomplishments will depend to a large extent, therefore, on (1) what matters are brought into it for decision, particularly at the Assistant Secretary level, and (2) what the Secretary of State requires from the system. What objectives will be uppermost for these busy officials in operating the system?

The Jackson Subcommittee observed that “a Secretary's authority to command is confined to his own Department. In dealing with others, he can only request or guide and influence.”

On this subject General Taylor observed that the executive chairman “is going to make the determination of whether an activity is ‘interdepartmental’.”

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, October, 1966 25
The stated purpose of the SIG/IRG decision-making procedure is to modernize and streamline the executive branch of government in the conduct of foreign affairs. The system is supposed to help overcome the multiplicity factor confronting our foreign policy makers and managers. The main objective behind the March 2 Presidential directive, it seems to me, was not so much to speed up or simplify our short-range crisis-coping procedures (by involving in them our busiest, most burdened officials even more than we do already) as to ensure a proper attention to crisis-anticipation and trouble-avoidance preparations (by arranging for sounder advance planning, better program work, and more effective utilization of our resources). It seems reasonable to believe that if we plan and program better, we will eventually face fewer and less serious crises than we should otherwise face. Informed observers, including the Jackson Subcommittee, have repeatedly stressed the need to balance involvement in crisis-coping plans and operations with more adequate trouble-avoidance planning and preparations. Moreover, as General Taylor pointed out, the Special Group for Counter-Insurgency was the forerunner of the SIG/IRG system, which felt heir to the duties and responsibilities of the Special Group.

One major concern, then, should be to prevent over-involvement by the SIG/IRG System in crisis-coping, to ensure that it meets the expectation for balanced involvement in management. The PPB activities of the foreign affairs community would appear to provide an important means to this end. For the SIG/IRG System to give systematic attention to the community's PPB activities is one method for it to carry forward the general trouble-avoidance effort. Including the community's PPB work as an integral part of the SIG/IRG System's regular business should also give the responsible officers at every level in the State Department perspective which most of them now lack, to help evaluate, orchestrate, frame, and when necessary defend the totality of programs of all concerned agencies for their respective areas of responsibility. In this respect, and in many others, the two systems—if they are to fulfill the promises which each of them holds—are not only compatible, they are interdependent.

If one accepts the basic interdependence of the two systems, what should be done to get maximum advantage from them, to make them reinforce rather than weaken one another? It seems to me that room for greatest initiative in this respect exists at two points in the new decision-making structure: at the Country Director level and at the level of the Secretary's Branches. The Country Director should become the Washington counterpart to the ambassador, the pivot man for Washington activity respecting his area; he should know—and where necessary he should strengthen—existing policy and planning; he should have first-line responsibility in Washington not only for guiding and monitoring current operations in his overseas country but also for ferreting out, reviewing, and coordinating PPB documents and other relevant materials produced by all concerned agencies; exchanging views with the ambassador and Country Team abroad and with responsible colleagues in other agencies in Washington, he should establish priorities about issues meriting interdepartmental attention; within this group of issues he should solve as many problems as possible at the country desk level; on those matters needing decision in the IRG, he should sharpen the questions to be solved and the alternatives for solving them: and once final decisions have been made, he should follow through to ensure implementation, maintaining sufficient flexibility to adjust to new information and new developments as necessary. In short, the Country Directors can do much to help both the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System work effectively by keeping the pressure on at the bottom of the inter-agency decision-making structure.

Hopefully many Country Directors are already doing this. If they occupy the potential horizons of their responsibilities (as Secretary Rusk puts it in the SIG/IRG System in Washington—utilizing the companion management device of the PPB System)—can eventually develop into a foreign affairs counterpart to the JCS organization, providing central coordinated staff support, guidance and direction for the ambassadors overseas.

A Planning-Programming-Budgeting System for the Foreign Affairs Community under Direction of the Secretary of State?

It will be a notable achievement if the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System can be harnessed together at the lower levels of decision-making, that is at the country director, ambassadorial, and regional assistant secretary levels. Doing so should allow play for both the horizontal (area) and the vertical (functional) emphases in evaluating and operating all our overseas programs. However, it will not necessarily ensure a systematic global framework and perspective for decision-making on PPB matters at the very top. If the conduct of our foreign affairs requires such a systematic global framework—and this seems likely, now that PPBS is government-wide—we will need more elaborate institutionalized central staff work in the national security field than the SIG/IRG System provides as it is presently staffed. Specifically, we will probably need a small group of planners and PPB evaluators with inter-agency or cross-agency perspectives, charged to assemble, compare, amalgamate, assess, and otherwise utilize the PPB submissions of all the agencies, in behalf of the Secretary of State as the overall director, coordinator and supervisor of interdepartmental activities overseas. Insofar as the Secretary of State could usefully employ their services, such a group would provide him support, advice, and staff assistance as the Defense Department's central analysis and comptroller staffs provide to the Secretary of Defense.

Many observers will admit that at appropriate times each year the PPB materials of all concerned agencies should undergo central examination, collation and assessment. One place to do this is the Budget Bureau; another is the Office of the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. But the most logical and appropriate place, it would seem, is the Office of the Secretary of State. Secretary Rusk suggested some months ago that the Secretary of State should not “throw upon the President the responsibility for doing his own staff work” in matters of foreign affairs. For the Secretary's Office to perform this phase of the staff work would appear entirely consistent with General Taylor's observations in preparing the draft of the March 2 Presidential directive “it was logical to consider whether we should not give more specific authority to the Secretary of State and the means to carry out this authority or alternatively whether we should set up some new organization stemming from the President himself, for the conduct of interdepartmental affairs overseas.”

The question of establishing a central PPB facility for foreign affairs in the Office of the Secretary of State can be examined from several viewpoints, of which three seem most significant to me. First, one should consider the matter in terms of the decision-making process and the resolution of controversies within the foreign affairs community, as set forth in the March 2 Presidential directive. In this process, once an issue rises for decision at the SIG level, discussion is among agency heads or deputy heads, and thus should already have a global context. Nevertheless, the functional viewpoint will already have become dominant for the agency most concerned. If the agency's view relates to its own general PPB position, a decision by the executive chairman against the agency view seems very likely to be appealed unless that decision relates to some kind of global PPB position (Continued on page 47).
AFSA Seeks 10,000 Members by Anniversary Date

BEFORE the 20th Anniversary this Fall of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, AFSA hopes to reach a membership level of 10,000. The total will be reached by signing up roughly a quarter of those eligible under the bylaws of the Association (see box below).

A special incentive in the campaign running from September 1 through October 31 is a reduced rate of $10 for the rest of the membership year, which runs through June 30. The special rate applies to all new memberships: not to renewals which were due on July 1 of this year.

In preparation for the campaign, the AFSA Membership Committee enlisted the enthusiastic support of the Directors of USIA, AID and the Peace Corps. USIA Director Leonard H. Marks wrote to his associates: “The Association works for the interests of all those who have made our country’s Foreign Service their profession, regardless of agency affiliation. It deserves the support and active participation of all of us who are concerned with the overseas information program, as well as those who work in other areas of our foreign relations.”

Association President U. Alexis Johnson wrote to each Chief of Mission this summer, asking that an AFSA member at each post be selected to lead a joint agency committee to carry on a country-wide campaign at the post. Response from the posts was enthusiastic and prompt. AID Mission Chiefs and Public Affairs Officers in the field were asked by their agencies to provide full cooperation to this joint effort.

Once Chiefs of Mission named an individual to chair the joint committee at a post, his name was sent back to AFSA in Washington. AFSA Chairman John H. Stutesman, Jr. then sent a special letter to these colleagues, stressing that this was to be a personal canvassing campaign. He relayed the advice of the membership committee that relatively large campaign committees be established at each post, to assure personal approaches to all prospective candidates.

The membership committee suggested that in the case of larger posts having employee publications, material could be included which highlighted the campaign. In smaller posts, bulletin boards and staff meetings could be used to provide publicity. Each post was provided with a supply of leaflets and brochures, including application forms for new memberships at the reduced rate.

While these preparations were going on abroad, a similar effort was being made in Washington. Over fifty volunteer members agreed to serve as focal points in the campaign. Initial publicity was provided by the Department of State Newsletter, AID’s Front Lines, the USIA Correspondent, and the Peace Corps Volunteer.

In Washington too, the accent of the campaign will be on personal canvassing. Membership benefits which are being stressed include the Book Club, through which books can be obtained at attractive discounts, and the two insurance programs which are offered at low group rates. Other membership benefits include the services of Clarke Slade, Educational Consultant, the AFSA scholarship program (current expenditures on the order of $40,000 annually for the children of members), and the monthly AFSA luncheons in the Diplomatic Functions Area of the Department.

New members will automatically receive subscriptions to the Foreign Service Journal, now in its forty-third year of publication. At the present time, the publication has a large number of subscribers who are not members of AFSA. Some of the outside subscribers are foreign governments; shown above is the address of one of the Moscow subscriptions. It is suspected that foreign government interest is attracted by the inside information printed in the Journal. One can conjure up a rather piquant picture of another Foreign Office laboriously translating one of the Journal’s management articles (e.g., Constance V. Stuck’s “Management Strikes Again,” which covered FR/PRZ and RE/ZRP in the August issue). Others, with a more graphic turn of mind, may be clipping the S. I. Nadler series of “Life and Love in the Foreign Service,” which pictures American diplomats in action.

While the membership drive goes on, AFSA’s board has established a planning committee to suggest improved benefits for the expanded membership. Considerable interest centers on the possibility of acquiring new headquarters space in Washington, perhaps with club-type facilities. As the Journal’s circulation expands, additional advertising revenues are anticipated, supplementing funds presently available from membership dues. Further impetus will also be given to the Corresponding Membership program, which will offer special membership to leaders in the field of foreign affairs, including scholars and writers. Ambassador Edwin Allan Lightner, Jr. heads the new planning committee.

Who’s Eligible? The following table lists the approximate number of individuals eligible, under the bylaws of the American Foreign Service Association, for new membership in the Association:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FSO’s</td>
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<td>1009</td>
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<td>4633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. GS 7 and above</td>
<td>2488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AID</td>
<td>3341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIA</td>
<td>1258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Corps Staff</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>13740</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The
AFSA
Membership
Drive
Begins

As we went to press, the following were heading membership activities outside Washington:
Afghanistan, Andrew J. Mair
Algeria, Lew Hoffacker
Argentina, Donald C. Leidel
Austria, Gerard J. Levesque
Belgium, Norman E. Barth
Brazil, Roger Hipskind
Burma, Edward C. Ingraham
Central African Republic, David E. L’Heureux
Chad, William Wilkes
Colombia, Welkko A. Forsten
Democratic Republic of the Congo, Richard T. Salazar
Cyprus, Ida Rose Hark
Dahomey, John R. Clingerman
Finland, George Ingram
France, Wayne W. Fisher
Germany, John P. Shaw
Great Britain, Peter J. Skoufis
Greece, Jean L. Farr
Guatemala, Robert Rose
Guinea, Charles S. Whitehouse
Guyana, James L. Gorman
Haiti, Daniel L. McCarthy
Hungary, Richard W. Tims
India, Theo Hall
Indonesia, Paul M. Cleveland
Iran, Nick Thacher
Iraq, Melville A. Sanderson, Jr.
Italy, Goodwin Cooke
Ivory Coast, Wallace F. Holbrook
Jamaica, Richard Ware
Japan, Donald McCue
Jordan, Eugene E. Champagne
Kenya, E. Gregory Kryza
Kuwait, Howard R. Cottam
Lebanon, Elden B. Erickson
Liberia, John Warnock
Libya, Nicholas S. Lakas
Luxembourg, Joan M. Clark
Malta, John O. Grimes
Mexico, Robert E. Granick
Morocco, Frank Hazard
Nepal, George Tchomie
Netherlands, Hawthorne Mills
Nicaragua, James B. Engle
Niger, Richard S. Thompson
Nigeria, Grace Wilson
Norway, John E. Mellor
Pakistan, Leona Anderson
Paraguay, William B. de Grace
Peru, Irwin Rubenstein
Saudi Arabia, Talcott W. Seelye
Senegal, Joel S. Spiro
Sierra Leone, Alton G. Adams
Singapore, Albert K. Ludy
Somali Republic, Richard L. Jackson
Spain, Richard K. Fox
Sweden, Philip Rizik
Thailand, Karl Ackerman
Togo, David D. Hoyt
Trinidad & Tobago, Park Wollam
Turkey, Charles W. Naas
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Sanford Menter
United Arab Republic, Lee B. Blanchard
Venezuela, Edward C. Wilson
Viet-Nam, Alice D. Westbrook
Yugoslavia, Henry F. Arnold
USUN New York, Ed Gaumond
USRO Paris, Steve Johnson
Geneva, Charles H. Mace.
In small, intimate groups,

By mid-month, new applications were pouring in.

AFSA President U. Alexis Johnson signed up FSS Shirley A. Jackson and FSR Olin C. Robinson in Washington.

veteran AFSA members used the soft sell.

while another member was feted in Tokyo.

By mid-month, new applications were pouring in.
"Well, I fail to see anything newsworthy about a newly designated ambassador arriving on the same ship with the embassy's new disbursing officer."

"One thing you have to say for the Air Attache's Office: they know how to give a farewell party."

"USIS? Just pick up your valise, sir, and follow us."

"...and when my tour is up, I'll pay the difference and go by a route that's not the most direct!"

"But it's in your honor, sir! Please, just ten minutes in the receiving line before going back to the hotel!"

"I wasn't against selection-out, in principle, but I never thought..."
"TO HIGHEST RANK"

The Senate recently confirmed President Johnson's nomination of eight career officers to the highest ranks in our service. Foy D. Kohler and Douglas MacArthur II have joined the select group of Career Ambassadors. Six officers (Richard H. Davis, G. McMurtrie Godley, Marshall Green, William Leonhart, Henry J. Tasea and Leonard Unger) have moved up to the class of Career Minister. All of these officers have distinguished records of public service.

More importantly, however, each of these officers has the promise of years of even greater and more responsible service in the area of our foreign affairs.

These officers constitute the prime reservoir of talent for the President and the Nation in the handling of foreign affairs.

To these officers we say: "We congratulate you."

FINALLY!

Many of us have felt for a long time the need for a program which enabled worthy local employees to visit the United States at United States expense. The purpose would be to increase their effectiveness by giving them a first-hand acquaintance with this country (its institutions and people). A second and equally valid purpose, but perhaps less acceptable to the keepers of the public purse, should be to reward the local employee who has given long, faithful and competent service to this country. We all know such individuals. Other countries, at least the United Kingdom, have had local employee programs of this type for some time.

Sixty selected local employees were sent to the United States in FY 1966 for training in their functions. Similar numbers will be trained in FY 1967. The training is in General Services, Personnel, Budget & Fiscal, Consular, Commercial, Economic, Political and Labor. The training is for eight weeks and is divided almost equally between Washington and other American cities. The Department selects the trainees on the basis of post nominations. As far as possible, there is regional distribution.

We are sure it will take a while to fully develop the program. In the process we hope (and appreciate the difficulties involved) that the employee who has given years of faithful and competent service with modest recognition on our part will not be lost sight of. We look for the inclusion of this type of employee in the program. In the meantime, "full marks" to those responsible for finally bringing about this project.

WE DOFF OUR HAT

Those who have been away from Foggy Bottom for some time have a pleasant surprise in store for them when they next check into the Foreign Service Lounge. Old-timers—and even more demanding FSOs—will be amazed at what man hath wrought (the physical facilities) and what man doeth (the services rendered by AAFSW volunteers).

A different era is not beyond the memory of living men. It was only a few years ago that the Lounge, hidden away in an old World War I temporary (about where the Parkinson Annex central court lies now) was presided over by the late George Riddiford, a genial if harassed friend of generations of FSOs. With the completion of Parkinson's Annex (sometimes called "new, new State") in 1961 more sumptuous quarters were set aside on the first floor and the newly organized AAFSW began supplying volunteer ladies to help with the multiple problems of returning to the perils of a Washington assignment.

This is not the place to dwell on the marvels of comfortable chairs, color TV sets, private soundproof phone booths and other creature comforts. They have to be seen to be appreciated and, perhaps, compared with the straight back chairs of yore in old quarters. What is not so obvious, unless you ask, is what the staff and the gals, God bless 'em, can and do do for those in need.

One day recently a frantic woman called to say that a Mrs. Roe had been in a serious auto accident. Her husband was still at his post abroad, there were three children to care for and could anyone help. The wives on duty at the Lounge that day went into action. Consulting the AAFSW maintained "last post list" they located three women who had served with the Roes, knew them well and among them volunteered to take care of the children, visit the mother in the hospital and generally cope until the husband could get back. On another day a frantic mother called to get a line on her daughter's current beau.

The average AAFSW volunteer's day while not so dramatic is equally useful. They maintain a truly remarkable list of lodgings—houses, apartments, efficiencies, furnished, unfurnished and for long or short term. They even have something for those headed fieldward—female oriented post reports compiled by AAFSW members which include the kind of helpful hints that official, male oriented reports inevitably overlook.

All in all the Lounge has come a long way in recent years. It's all to the good and we doff our hat to the Department for providing the facilities and helping permanent staff as well as to our ever loving wives for their major contribution to a job well done.
YOU NEVER hear of a Foreign Service officer composing a symphony or even a song. You never—or almost never—hear of a Foreign Service officer writing a play or a novel although they must, in their journeys through the universe, pick up capital material for fiction. Poetry they do sometimes write, but on the whole it must be said that when they take to writing outside office hours, they tend to deal with political or historical subjects.

When they are drawn to artistic avocation they apparently seek a complete break with their working life. They go in for the visual arts, and so do their wives. The standard of excellence is extraordinarily high. Proof of it may be seen in every issue of the Foreign Service Journal. Paintings, drawings, cartoons and photographs are of professional calibre. Many of the contributors to the visual part of the magazine have had one-man shows in galleries.

More proof of State Department—USIA—AID prowess in the visual arts was seen recently in a contest organized by the Recreation Association. Mrs. Nancy Kcfauver acted as advisor and Miss Mariame Lehr arranged 208 entries including oils, gouaches, water colors, drawings, mosaics, mobiles, ceramics and pottery into a striking show. Perhaps the most impressive part of it were the abstractions, but there were also outstanding contributions from painters who had not ventured beyond Utrillo.

The judges were three figures well known in the world of art: Mrs. Eleanor Israel, Jack Perlmutter of the Corcoran Gallery, and Jack Masey, chief of design and operation for the US pavilion at the 1967 Montreal Fair.

The first prize went to Mrs. Donald Coster's "Saigon Cyclos"—an oil. Mrs. Coster has contributed a cover to the Foreign Service Journal and another of her paintings will appear on the cover of a forthcoming issue.

Some other outstanding works were: Edna Culbreth’s "City of Night" (Miss Culbreth also contributed a cover to the Journal), Alexander Griffin's "In the Fields," S. P. Mehall's "Bluebeard's Castle Tower," Marion Lursa's "Houses in a Spanish Speaking Country," Dennis Leen's "Morning Sea," Sheffield Kagy's "Shrimp Fleet," and Frank Kubic's "Window by the Sea."

Requiem

The long, hot summer blotted out two monuments of Americana and brought an announcement that a third is on its way to oblivion.

Let us deal first with the saddest part of the news. The New York Central Railroad is planning to abolish its long-haul trains. The reason: they lose money—only two per cent of the population now rides in trains. No argument. If the majority demands the frenzy of jet travel, the railroads cannot be expected to prolong the past.

Thus will end a vivid chapter of American life. It was a thrill to see trains roaring across the prairies. For people in hamlets they were living beings. In the dark night their wind-buffed screech was cheerful and reassuring—a living presence in a still, backwoods world. (One piece of mythology had it that the screech scared off wolves.)

And then the joy of riding in a train! There was nothing better than the old parlor car. The chairs revolved and the landscape flashed by—something new every minute. Every passenger could sit in solitary splendor for no one would dream of breaking parlor car decorum by invading another's privacy. The club car providing drinks was another enjoyable spot. And the diner with its crisp linen and engaging menu! Fresh food, freshly cooked. There was always the fun of watching the landscape unwind. For the night there were berths and compartments and "drawing rooms," with exemplary service and fresh linen. You went to sleep soothed by gentle obbligato of clickety-clack as the wheels bore down on the joints. If you woke you found yourself in a strange, isolated world with the warning bell from crossings melting into the eerie whistle in the night.

The most celebrated single calamity will be the Twentieth Century Limited, running between New York and Chicago for sixty-four years. In days gone by place had to be booked days in advance. Recently, an official complained, there were sometimes more crew than passengers. It took eighty to run the train. It was the height of railway grandeur. A push of a button fetched you a barber, a valet to press your suit, a stenographer to take down your letters. And if that wasn't enough, you could take a shower.

Life will never be the same again.

Newspaper

After a long and picturesque career, the New York Herald Tribune died on August 16, 1966. It was the offspring of James Gordon Bennet's Herald, which began in 1833 and Horace Greeley's Tribune which began in 1841. For all its years the paper maintained high standards of content, style and typography. It was never stodgy. Its foreign coverage was particularly brilliant.

During its last phase it lost money. Its last owner, John Hay Whitney decided to merge it with two other papers, the World-Telegram and the Journal-American, which were also losing money. The merger plan brought on a strike. When it had lasted for 113 days, Mr. Whitney decreed the paper's end.

The New York Herald stirred up a great deal of devotion and its decease is a sad day in the history of American journalism. Fortunately, the Paris edition, having been acquired by the Washington Post, will live on.

$2

After a life of 190 years the $2 bill has come to an end. No more, the Treasury announced, will be printed. They once had a prosperous life, but in recent years became increasingly unpopular. Various reasons were given. No one could explain why, but the bills were supposed to bring bad luck. Some complained that they were easily mistaken for one dollar bills, but why couldn't the same objection apply to fivers? There was a third explanation. A red-hot gospeler in Minneapolis who years ago used to cruise the highways and byways in a bus as he exhorted the pedestrians to leave off
their civil ways, stated that two dollar bills were "immoral." At first it was thought he meant that two dollar bills were used as election bribes. But then some of the more libidinous listeners reflected that other transactions also cost $2. A heavy silence thereupon enveloped the whole subject of the immoral twos.

**Cause for Rejoicing**

Half of the JOURNAL's readers live abroad. These are notified that no matter what went on during 1966 they have reason to congratulate themselves that they were not obligated to spend the summer in Washington.

Leading thinkers on the weather state that Washington in 1966 endured its worst summer since. They can't agree on the since. Some would have it the worst since 1948, the summer that Elsa Maxwell lost her diamond earrings while swimming. Prolonged heat was accompanied by a fatigue that fell on the population. The August and into September. A general dazedness enveloped the whole subject of the immoral twos.

In November, the annual Incentive Awards will be given out at a ceremony to be held in conjunction with Foreign Service Day. Do you know someone who, in the words of William J. Crockett, "discharged his duties with exceptional competence, dedication or sacrifice"? If so, send in his name without delay. The details are contained in FAMC-168-A (February) and FAM 173 (March 5, 1964).

**Award for October**

The irascible old man in the book shop said, "What, what? Yes send it. My name is Newton Pool and my address is. . . . " And then to his equally elderly companion, "What, what! Listen, I don't give a damn about my wife and daughter! Every cent I have is going to the Bird Sanctuary and to Oglesby Jones."

For his devotion to birds, the October Award goes to Newton Pool.

**Treasures from Kabul**

Some of the oldest art in the world has turned up in the Museum of Natural History (part of the Smithsonian Institution). It consists of 100 works lent by the Museum of Kabul, Afghanistan. Owing to Afghanistan's pivotal position in the ancient world (its roads run eastward to China, westward to Iran and Rome, northward to Turkistan and southward to the Indian subcontinent), it experienced wide-ranging influences on all its art forms. Excavations carried on throughout the country have yielded a rich and varied collection of sculpture, paintings, frescoes, carved wood, lacquers, etc.

Visitors to the Museum of Natural History may see, among the 100 splendid objects, a 2800 BC goblet from Mundigak, made of delicate painted glass; sophisticated Greek bronze figures of the second century BC from Belgrad; an imposing Dipankari Buddha from Gandhara; painted sculpture from the caves of Bamian; some of the earliest rugs now extant.

Since few travelers get to Kabul, this is a rare opportunity.

**Easy to Answer**

From an editorial in the Washington Post after the massacre in Austin, Texas: "Are we as a people so inured to violence as a way of life, so infatuated with an unlimited right to bear arms, that we cannot provide reasonable safeguards of responsibility?"

The answer is yes.

**The American Way**

A foreign diplomat was asked at his first Washington dinner, "What thing in America has impressed you most?"

While he groped, certain stale old ideas rattled around in some American heads—ideas they had heard before: the New York skyline, the friendliness of Americans, the heat of the Washington summer, etc.

But the foreigner fooled them with: "These American habit of throwing things out dc windows of motor cars—for example, breaking bottles on pavements."
The Foreign Service Women and Their Scholars

In the past few years a new member—many faced, to be sure—has joined the select group of large donors to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund. This donor is the 703-member Association of American Foreign Service Women; this year it donated more than one fourth of all funds awarded in AFSA scholarships for 1966-67.

The money for the AAFSW scholarships comes from various sources. The largest amount ($7,674.61 this year) comes from proceeds of the Book Fair which is held each fall. Other more modest sums accrue from other money-raising activities in Washington and elsewhere, from the sales of an engagement calendar, of a record-book for hostesses, and of copies of "Assignment Washington" for example. (The last is an eighty-five-page booklet selling for one dollar in the Foreign Service lounge.)

Money for scholarships is also received from time to time in unsolicited gifts from individuals and from American women's groups overseas. Several such groups have contributed generous sums to the AFS scholarship fund, specifying that their contributions are to be credited to the AAFSW. This is a splendid example which the Women's Association is, naturally, eager to encourage other overseas women's groups to emulate.

American women overseas show the greatest ingenuity in earning money for this as for other charitable purposes. They hold bazaars and fairs, theatricals and puppet shows, lectures and classes. They make toys and children's clothes, bake cakes and casseroles. One small group offered themselves as cooks and caterers for any kind of party, and in a very short time had earned $140 for scholarships.

AAFSW scholarships, though donated separately, are awarded by the same process and the same people who award the AFSA scholarships. They are, however, slightly less restrictive than most of the other AFSA scholarships in that the recipients need not be children of AFSA members. This has been important mainly in cases of children of retired officers or of deceased FSOs who were not members of the AFSA at the time of death.

This year's eighteen scholars are identified in the lists on the following pages. All of the current AAFSW awards are for college study, although several AFSA scholarships were given to students in college preparatory schools. The AAFSW winners are coming to college from places as far away as Brazil, Athens, Japan and the Philippines; many have returned to the United States fairly recently after many years living abroad.

Their colleges range from California to Maryland, from Texas to New England. Eight winners are freshmen this fall. Seven will be sophomores, two will be juniors, one will be a senior. Of the non-freshmen, several are winning scholarships for the second or third time. Five are from families with two scholarship winners this year, one in each case from the AAFSW and one from other donors (two AFSA, two Merrill Trust, one Benten).

One wonders what it has meant to this group of selected students to have grown up as Foreign Service children, often cut off from many aspects of American life as lived by their contemporaries who have stayed in the United States. Nearly all of them, in the short essays they submitted as part of the application process, refer to the broadening aspects of life abroad, and to the understanding gained from experiencing different foreign cultures. They claim an objectivity, a tolerance and an appreciation of American life lacked by more stay-at-home friends.

Many admit to severe problems of adjustment when they returned to the United States after many years in other countries—problems both academic and social. Their teachers also comment on these problems of adjustment, but usually add a remark on the flexibility, maturity, breadth of understanding, or resilience which helped the student to make a fairly rapid and satisfactory adjustment.

The effect of a globe-trotting childhood is perhaps most apparent in their plans for the future. These students seem to be surprisingly clear in their own minds as to where they want their futures to lie. Their chosen careers, as they see them now, include medicine, economic planning in international development, journalism, Peace Corps and allied work, science, painting, communications, geochimistry, music, anthropology, law and world politics. But many of them see themselves pursuing these interests abroad, at least for a part of their lives. They feel a responsibility to use the skills and knowledge they will acquire in college to return to the lands of their childhood to help the people whom they have known and, often, loved, whose problems they have seen with their eyes and felt with their hearts. Where such feelings exist there is often a real sense of urgency, a recognition that there is much to do and little time. They are involved, not only as Americans, but as citizens of the world, in the world's problems, and are eager to apply their abilities to solving them.

Could there be a better use for our dollars than to help these young people prepare themselves for such a future?
AFSA Scholarship and Award Recipients 1966—1967

Armstrong, Susan (the late Frederick Armstrong), Univ. of Maryland, AFSA, '64-'66; AFSA/John Campbell White.

Atwood, Sally (Milford Walter Atwood), Univ. of Kentucky, AAFSW.

Baba, Carolyn (Frank S. Baba), UCLA, Merrill, '65-'67.

Baba, Susan (Frank S. Baba), Univ. of Maryland, AAFSW.

Barrett, Grainger (Raymond J. Barrett), Elon College, AFSA/Carr.

Beck, John (Frank V. Beck), Stanford Univ., AFSA/John Foster Dulles.

Beck, Paul (Frank V. Beck), Johns Hopkins Univ., AAFSW.

Beckman, Charlotte (Gunnar W. Beckman), Oberlin College, AFSA/Paris.

Brennan, Kevin (Edward T. Brennan), Georgetown Univ., AFSA/Paris.

Chartrand, Kenneth (Stanley R. Chartrand), Univ. of Colorado, AFSA/Saxton Bradford.

Churchill, Paul (George T. Churchill), Johns Hopkins Univ., AAFSW, '65-'67.

Ernst, Phyllis (Philip Ernst), Univ. of Utah, AAFSW.


Fisher, Gordon McC. (Francis Fisher), Earlham College, AFSA, '64-'65; AFSA/American Women's Group—Munich.

Forbes, Phillip (G. Ryder Forbes), American Univ., AFSA/Benton.

Forman, Amy (Douglas N. Forman), College of Wooster, AFSA/Stewart, '64-'66; AFSA/Selden Chapin.

Forman, Catherine (Douglas N. Forman), Oberlin College, AFSA/Carr, '65-'67.

Fries, Robert T., Jr. (Robert T. Fries), Stanford Univ., AFSA/Benton, '65-'66; Raymond A. Hare.

Froemming, Mary Beth (Gale A. Froemming), Univ. of Wisconsin, Merrill, '65-'67.

Gibbons, Linda (Robert J. Gibbons), Univ. of Calif., Santa Barbara, AAFSW, '65-'67.

Hatcher, Patrick (Pierce E. Hatcher), North Carolina State Univ., Merrill.

Hofmann, Edward (John R. Hofmann), College of Wooster, AFSA, '64-'66; AFSA/Benton.


Houck, Thomas B. (Benjamin F. Houck), College of William & Mary, AFSA/Carr, '65-'66; AFSA/Benton.

Hughes, David (Richard Hughes), College of Wooster, AFSA/FSJOURNAL, '64-'66; AAFSW.

Hutton, Clelland (Paul C. Hutton, Jr.), Univ. of Virginia, AFSA/William Dale Fisher.
Jago, John R. (John W. Jago), Stanford Univ., AFSA '64-'65; AFSA/Howard Fyle.

Jorgenson, Linda (Harold T. Jorgenson), Vassar College, Merrill.

Kane, Eva (William Kane), Univ. of Maryland, AFSA/Overseas Service.

Karp, Larry (Samuel Karp), St. Andrew's School, Boca Raton, Merrill.

Kante, Michael (Robert J. Kent), Yale Univ., AFSA/Chapin, '64-'65; AFSA/Emmons, '65-'66; AAFSW.

Kent, Stephen (Robert J. Kent), Univ. of Maryland, Merrill.

Konya, Charles, Jr. (Charles J. Konya), Univ. of Maryland, AFSA/Carr.

Lindahl, Thomas (Eric G. Lindahl), Univ. of Michigan, AFSA/Stewart.

Lopatkiewicz, Stefan (Teodor J. Lopatkiewicz), Univ. of Virginia, AAFSW.

Lubensky, J. Christopher (Earl H. Lubensky), Hobart College, AFSA/John F. Kennedy, '65-'66; AFSA/Carr.

Martindale, Linda (Kenneth W. Martindale), Univ. of Illinois, AAFSW.

Mays, Stuart (James O. Mays), Amherst College, AFSA/Paris.


Melby, Erie (Everett K. Melby), Haverford College, AFSA/BrucE.

Ohmans, J. Douglas (John L. Ohmans), Stanford Univ., AFSA/Fisher, '63-'64; AFSA, '64-'66; AFSA/BrucE.

Penkowsky, Stephen (William Penkowsky), Washington Univ., St. Louis, AAFSW.

Pien, William (Leon Pien), Wake Forest College, AAFSW.

Pritchard, Janet (Robert E. Pritchard), Univ. of Calif., Riverside, Merrill.

Ranslow, Mary Sue (the late George E. Ranslow), Univ. of Maryland, AFSA, '65-'67.

Ritchie, Carolyn (the late Dwight Horner), Reed College, AAFSW, 62-'63; AFSA, '63-'65; AFSA/Arthur B. Emmons.

Rivera, Miriam (the late Rodolfo O. Rivera), Univ. of New Mexico, AFSA.

Ruyle, Margaret (Benjamin J. Ruyle), Univ. of Washington, AFSA/Stewart.

Sanders, Roger (Evette N. Sanders), Baylor Univ., AFSA/Charles B. Homgar.

Schnader, Eric (Gordon F. Schnader), Univ. of Maryland, AAFSW.

Schneider, Gretchen (Gordon F. Schneider), Univ. of Kentucky, AFSA, '65-'67.

Schneider, Patricia (the late Robert M. Schneider), Univ. of Rhode Island, AFSA/American Women's Club, Berlin—John F. Kennedy.

Schneider, Susan (the late Robert M. Schneider), George Washington Univ., AFSA/Benton, '63-'64; AFSA, '65-'66; AFSA/Lynne K. Hart.

Slutz, Pamela (Robert F. Slutz, Jr.), Hollins College, AFSA/Stewart.

Stave, Alan (Thomas C. Stave), Univ. of Washington, AFSA/Paris.

Stier, Mark (Victor L. Stier), Georgetown Univ., AFSA/BrucE; '65-'67.

Stirling, Penelope (Robert B. Stirling), Univ. of Arizona, AFSA.

Strunz, Harry (George H. Strunz), George Washington Univ., AFSA/Chapin, '65-'66; AFSA/Stewart.

Swihart, James, Jr. (James W. Swihart), Columbia Univ., AAFSW, '64-'66; AFSA/Benton.

Thomas, Laurel (Richard M. Thomas), UCLA, American Women Group, Bad Godesberg/Bonn.


Tsukahira, Margaret (Tushio George Tsukahira), Barnard College, AAFSW, '65-'67.

Vettel, Virginia (Thelma E. Vettel), MIT, AFSA/William O. Anderson.

Waters, Lyssa (Charles K. Waters), Barnard College, AAFSW.

Winship, Michael (Stephen Winship), Phillips Academy, Andover, AFSA/Charles C. Stelle.

Wollam, Janet (Park F. Wollam), Northfield School, Merrill, '65-'66; FS JOURNAL.

OLIVER BISHOP HARRIMAN FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOLARSHIPS:

Cariddi, Alan (Charles A. Cariddi), Georgetown Univ.

Damron, Paul (Everett L. Damron), Ohio State Univ.

NEW YORK TIMES FOUNDATION SCHOLARSHIPS:

Gough, Joanne (John D. Gough), Barnard College, '65-'67.

LaFreniere, Miehle (Alfred LaFreniere), Radcliffe College, '65-'67.

Stedman, Diana (William Stedman), Radcliffe College, '63-'67.

Tims, Paul (Richard W. Tims), Columbia Univ.

Waters, Lyssa (Charles K. Waters), Barnard College.

Zurhellen, William (J. O. Zurhellen, Jr.), Columbia Univ., '64-'67.
The American Foreign Service Association is pleased to announce that the scholarship awards listed below will be available to unmarried children of Foreign Service personnel for the scholastic year 1967-68. Sixty-eight scholarships were awarded by the Education Committee for 1966-67 as well as seven Awards for Student Excellence.

Now is the time to apply for scholarships and awards for 1967-68 by writing to the Committee on Education, American Foreign Service Association, 815 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, D. C. 20006.

Fully completed applications, including all supporting papers, must be in the hands of the Committee on Education by April 1, 1967. Because of the increasing number of applications, the Committee will be unable to consider applications received after this date.

Students now receiving AFSA scholarships are reminded that the awards are for one year only and that, if continued, scholarship aid is desired, a new application including supporting documents must be submitted each year.

Applicants are free to choose any school or college in the United States which they wish. In general scholarships are not available for study outside the U.S. However, the Committee assumes that the applicant has in fact applied to the institution indicated as his or her first choice. Applications are considered for all of the scholarships for which the applicant is eligible rather than for a particular scholarship. Scholarship payments are made to the institution and not to the individual.

AFSA Sponsored Scholarships:

- **Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship:** approximately $1,000. Established in 1927 by the late Mrs. Elizabeth T. Harriman in memory of her son and increased in 1959 by Mrs. Lecomte du Nolly, sister of Oliver Bishop Harriman.

- **Merrill Trust Scholarships:** Available to children of Members and of deceased FS officers, for study at preparatory schools.

(a) Recipients shall be children of persons who are or have been Foreign Service officers of the United States.

(b) Funds are available for study at an American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific, or other school (does not include preparatory schools).

American Foreign Service Association Scholarships (including the John Foster Dulles, Howard Pyfe, Selden Chapin, John Campbell White and other memorial scholarships). The number of these scholarships awarded each year depends upon revenues and donations received. Eighteen scholarships were awarded for 1966-67. These awards are available to children of Members and of deceased former Active Members of the American Foreign Service Association for undergraduate study at a college or university within the United States.

Foreign Service Journal Scholarship. Established in 1936. Available to children of subscribers to the Foreign Service Journal, who are members of the Association. This award is for students attending preparatory schools in the United States, preference being given to those entering the final year in such schools.

William Benton Scholarships: Established in 1946 by the Honorable William Benton. One is named for a distinguished member of the Foreign Service. This year the scholarship honors Llewellyn E. Thompson.

These scholarships are available to children of any officer or American employee of the Foreign Service of the Department of State in active service, and are for undergraduate or graduate study at a college or university in the United States.

Bruce Scholarships: These scholarships have the same eligibility requirements as the AFSA awards.

Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarships. Established in 1955 by the late Mr. Francis R. Stewart, retired Foreign Service officer, in memory of his wife.

Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarships. Established in 1957 by the late Mrs. Wilbur J. Carr in memory of her husband.

The Stewart and Carr scholarships have the same eligibility requirements. They are available to children of career Foreign Service officers, for study at a university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific, or preparatory school in the United States.

Association of American Foreign Service Women Scholarships. (Sixteen scholarships were awarded for 1966-67.) These scholarships are available to children of active, retired, and deceased FS officers, FS employees as well as those of active members of AAFSW and AFSA, and are for study at preparatory schools and colleges.

Merrill Trust Scholarships: Available to children of Foreign Service personnel for study at the secondary school, college or graduate school level. (7 scholarships were awarded for 1966-67.)

Paris Scholarship Fund: Approximately $2,000 available, in the first instance, to qualified applicants who are children of employees formerly or currently assigned or attached to a diplomatic mission or consular post in France, including the secretariats of NATO, OECD and UNESCO in France.

Charles C. Stele Scholarships: Available for child of a Foreign Service officer, preferably to attend Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. However, if no Foreign Service child qualifies for a scholarship or for admission to Andover, the fund can be made available to a qualified applicant for another preparatory school.

Other Scholarships:

Applicants may wish also to consider the possibility of applying for one or more of the following scholarships:

- **S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship:** A scholarship of up to $1,000 at Dartmouth College for sons of career FS officers. Established in 1948 by the Honorable S. Pinkney Tuck, a Dartmouth graduate, who served 35 years in the Foreign Service, retired as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt. For further information write to the Director of the Office of Financial Aid, Box 90, Hanover, N. H.

- **The Norris S. Haselton Scholarship:** St. Andrew’s School, Middletown, Delaware, awarded to the son of a Foreign Service officer of Career. The scholarship is based on need and ability. The maximum amount available is approximately $1,000. Application must be made by December 1 to Admissions Officer, St. Andrew’s School. Other scholarships are available.

- **Middlesex School Scholarship:** Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts, offers a scholarship on a competitive basis for which the son of an FS family is eligible for entrance to grades 7 through 10. For further information write directly to the Director of Admissions.

- **St. Albans School** will give priority to the son of an FS in the award of a scholarship in memory of Philip Frankhouse. For further information apply to St. Albans School, Washington, D. C.

- **Kent Place School for Girls, Summit, New Jersey,** offers a scholarship to a qualified Foreign Service girl entering grades 9, 10 or 11. Further information may be had by writing to The...
The following notes have been prepared to assist applicants and should be studied by all who intend to apply for AFSA scholarship assistance or special Award.

1. AFSA Award for Student Excellence

This non-monetary award was established to provide recognition for Foreign Service Children, especially those completing the final year of secondary school, who are judged outstanding as regards, scholastic achievement, leadership qualities, character, motivation and potential. Application is made in the same way as for scholarship assistance, except that parents need not submit confidential financial information.

2. Amount of Scholarship Awards

Awards are made on a sliding scale basis varying between $300 and $1000 depending on the relative degree of need of the successful applicant, as determined by the Educational Consultant’s confidential review of financial statements. This means that the Committee on Education makes its decisions as to which applicants will receive a scholarship on the basis of scholastic record, leadership qualities, character, motivation and development potential, with a sympathetic understanding of any special problems caused by Foreign Service upbringing. The degree of financial need is then considered and the amount of the award to successful candidates fixed.

The amount of scholarship funds available to the Association for awards each year as well as the relative need of successful applicants will determine the figure of individual awards. While scholarship winners will be announced, the amount of each award will remain confidential.

3. Membership in the Association

The American Foreign Service Association Active membership is now open to Foreign Service personnel of AID, USIA and Peace Corps as well as the State Department. The Committee on Education encourages unmarried children of members and of retired or deceased members of AFSA to apply for scholarships.

4. Preparatory School Scholarships

A limited number of scholarships are available for preparatory school as well as college education. However, the Committee believes preparatory school scholarships should be awarded only under special circumstances. Such circumstances might include unavailability of adequate secondary schools at the parents’ post of assignment or unusual educational problems indicating the need for a particular type of schooling for an individual child. Parents should provide a statement for the Committee explaining why preparatory school scholarship assistance is requested.

5. Graduate Education and Education Abroad

The Committee believes that the limited funds available to it should be utilized to assist as many qualified Foreign Service children as possible to obtain an undergraduate American college education. For this reason, applications for assistance at the graduate level will be considered only when justified by very special circumstances, which should be presented in an accompanying statement.

Similarly, the Committee feels that assistance should as a rule be provided only for study at institutions in the United States. If an applicant feels that exceptional circumstances justify Committee consideration of a scholarship for study abroad, an explanatory statement from both the student and the college should be provided.

6. Continuity of Scholarship Assistance

An AFSA scholarship is awarded for one academic year, and recipients who wish continued support must fill out a new application with all supporting documents each year for consideration in competition with other applicants.

7. CEEB Scores

Results of the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test, and the Achievement Tests of the College Entrance Examination Board are very useful to the Committee in its review of applications. These tests can be taken virtually anywhere in the world and are essential for entry into many colleges. Results of other standardized tests are also acceptable. Many secondary schools provide such test scores as an entry in the transcript of grades.

8. Other Scholarship Assistance

In reviewing applications, the Committee has noted that a great many applicants seem to be applying for scholarship help only to AFSA. Families should not confuse their efforts to obtain scholarship assistance to AFSA’s limited program. The Committee is favorably impressed by applicants who are applying for scholarship aid elsewhere and are carrying on self-help programs.
Arms and the Russians

Too many members of the Foreign Service take the attitude of the housewife in a cartoon who commented to her husband: "Something always seems to be going on at Geneva—and I never know what it is!" She, and you, may be at least partly justified in such an attitude if it is true that there is no need for widespread knowledge of what happened at last year's Conference on Maximum Loads to be Carried by Workers or at this year's Working Group on Lentils. But the Disarmament Conference, and the whole great problem of arms and disarmament, is a different matter. For we are all sitting on kegs of powder and the fuses are in plain view.

If the foregoing impressed you, turn to "Khrushchev and the Arms Race" for the best existing study of Soviet interests (and non-interests) in trying to do something to moderate the arms race during the decade when Nikita Sergeevich ruled Russia. The study is based on a report prepared under contract with our Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. It drew upon leading American scholars in the field of Soviet policy. It is a well-documented and well-written work, which does not provide all the answers but analyzes basic factors motivating Soviet policy toward disarmament: Their military-strategic imperatives; China and the Far Eastern situation; Soviet views on past, and possible future, Western response to disarmament initiatives; the internal Soviet economic situation; and, not least, the Soviet leadership situation. The study suggests that the progression in Soviet policy from the 1962 gamble to put missiles in Cuba to signature of the 1963 test ban may have been closely related to internal power struggles; and at the same time it emphasizes that "a powerful centralized government would probably never allow internal economic pressures to dissuade it from policies considered essential to state security."

These are good questions to consider today; this book reminds us that Soviet policy on arms control and disarmament is not, despite the trend of current press comment, simply an effect of what is happening in Vietnam or in Sino-Soviet relations.

Mr. Jeremy Stone's book "Containing the Arms Race" is a different sort of work, written by one of the group of younger American technologists who style themselves "arms controllers." In brief, the book is a plea for American-Soviet agreement on non-deployment of antiballistic missiles and on mutual reductions in existing bomber and missile forces. In the foreward Mr. Jerome Wiesner claims that "the book provides . . . a thoroughly adequate basis for understanding current strategic problems." Perhaps, but at the same time it lacks sufficient appreciation of the real chances of early agreement with the Soviet Union on the measures described. However, the reviewer likes Mr. Stone's conclusion that "...measures that signal, and hence effect, a political change in the relationship itself may produce more arms control than either side could ever ratify in any fixed atmosphere of suspicion... No formal agreement, no matter how comprehensive, can stop everything."

—PETER S. BRIDGES

Freedom Came Early

On the afternoon of May 25, 1964, Tung Chi-ting arrived at Bujumbura, Burundi, where he was to serve as assistant cultural attaché in the Chinese Communist embassy. The next morning he took a taxi to the US embassy, where he sought and was granted political asylum. He now lives in Washington, D.C.

The extreme brevity of this 24-year-old diplomatist's first, and only, foreign assignment necessarily precluded his making significant revelations about Chinese Communist machinations in Africa. One may be pardoned for wishing that, in the interests of such revelations, he might have chosen freedom a few months later.

The story of his life (as told to and written up by Humphrey Evans) centers on his youth and education in mainland China and his eventual doubts about his future in the Maoist regime. The end of a romance—quite fully recalled in all its rapid detail—also impelled his defection. The book's title "The Thought Revolution," refers to turmoil in Tung's mind, not to any intellectual uprising in Red China.

Nowadays when first-hand accounts of life and love in Communist China are so hard come by, one cannot be finicky. However, those who have been following Chinese developments with even moderate diligence will glean little from this book. Those who lack China background, and want some, can spend their time and money much better elsewhere.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

The Virtues of Private Aid Programs

This book is a fascinating account of history, extracted experience and actual case studies of the half century of technical assistance administered by the Near East Foundation. The principle of "Helping People to Help Themselves" has by now become a slogan of foreign assistance, but in the early days of Near East Foundation's work just after World War I this concept charted a new course in self-help action in the impoverished, neglected, tradition-bound and generally apathetic rural populations of the Near East. The book is fascinating to the development planners and practitioners, principally the agriculturists, community development workers and sanitarians, in that it describes the trials and tribulations of the evolving programs, the failures as well as the successes of the many projects over time. The summaries of extracted experience are particularly relevant.

While many of the concepts and methods have by now become generally accepted procedures, there are certain experiences of the Near East Foundation which seem to be contrary to current practice in governmental or international technical assistance efforts. For example "when a training institution is established, Foundation personnel are involved in the administration of the institution as active participants, not 'advisers.'"
Also, the Foundation in its extension approach was careful in starting with agriculture (economic improvement) and gradually evolving into a broad program of education and training for farm people and leaders, making it possible to mobilize local resources, in contrast to other concepts in which the idea of community development was introduced as a special program apart from the extension services. In the Foundation's experience, the integrated concept provides the only logical breakthrough in low-income countries.

The 133-page book is well worth reading, as the experience of the Foundation has been acquired the hard way and should not have to be learned again in the same manner by the new generation of rural development workers in domestic or overseas programs. The pride in accomplishments of the Foundation is well deserved. Even the Government-paid workers will understand and forgive the authors' emphasis on the virtues of private foundation programs in contrast to the "pitfalls" of government-sponsored technical assistance activities. Nobody seriously questions the need for and value of both contributions. After all, the private programs are perhaps not quite so independent of political realities as the authors declare and the government programs perhaps not quite so insensitive to the welfare of other peoples, as the reader might be led to conclude.

—JOHN HUBER

BREAD FROM STONES, 50 Years of Technical Assistance, edited by John S. Badgene and Georgiana G. Stevens. Prentice-Hall, $3.00.

Spaceship Earth

THE MOST rational way of considering the whole human race today, says Barbara Ward, in her new book, "Spaceship Earth," is to see it as the ship's crew of a single spaceship on which all of us, with a remarkable combination of security and vulnerability, are making our pilgrimage through infinity... This space voyage is totally precarious. We depend upon a little envelope of soil and a rather larger envelope of atmosphere for life itself. Think what could happen if somebody were to get mad or drunk in a submarine and race for the controls. If some member of the human race gets dead drunk on board our spaceship, we are all in trouble. This is how we have to think of ourselves. We are a ship's company on a small ship. Rational behavior is the condition of survival.

I used to know, out in the Far East, a member of one of the predecessor agencies of AID who was a great story-teller. He would often preface a joke with "If you've heard this before, don't stop me; listen to the delivery!" It is much like that with the writings of Barbara Ward. From time to time, she may present ideas previously discussed by others. But nobody else says it quite as well. And if, as in this book, she covers ground over which she has gone before, she does it a little better.

Consider just a few random quotes.

On the balance of wealth: "This steady surge has, in the ease of the United States, brought the gross national product up to some $630,000 millions in 1964 and allowed, in the same year, an increase of over $30,000 millions. Thus, in a single year, America added to its GNP the equivalent of the whole of Africa's current wealth or 50 percent of Latin America's—both continents with a higher population . . ."

On Marx and the facts of modern life: "Marx's claim that true freedom would be achieved by overthrowing the bourgeois state and substituting proletarian rule in the form of dictatorship has been violently disproved. The bourgeois state can extend its freedoms far more smoothly than any form of dictatorship knows how to modify its controls . . ."

On the appeals of communism: "We now have the hindsight to see that the ideological fervor of communism—its zeal, its discipline, its tough demands on its followers—may appeal to a dedicated few. But given even ordinary conditions of work and hope, the mass of citizens prefer a less heroic existence... There is nothing irresistible about communism . . ."

On ideologies: "But in the 1960's the clear lines of this picture have smudged a little at the edges. Unmistakably, all round the world, another force—also in a sense an ideological force but of a different time—has clouded the Cold War quarrels and suggested that perhaps after all they are not what divides men most. This force is old-fashioned nationalism, the traditional assertion of separate national identity, the automatic preference of one part of earth to any other, the instinctive readiness to believe that rights, obligations, and at times even courtesy and mercy naturally and self-evidently cease at this seashore or that river line . . ."

For those not yet familiar with Barbara Ward's writings—there may be some—this brief book will serve as an excellent introduction.

—S. I. NADLER


Analysis of LAFTA

THIS ENGLISH language edition of Integration de America Latina (1964) presents many of the more controversial proposals of supporters of the Latin America Free Trade Area (LAFTA): higher external barriers against imports not needed for industrial development; special protection of industries in relatively less developed countries; regional industrial planning to ease the lowering of trade barriers; "multi-lateral cargo preferences" for ships of member states; plus external assistance for export financing, insurance, and payment arrangements. Some of these, such as the procedures for tariff reduction proposed by Prebisch, continue to be highly controversial.

Indeed, discords appear between the various contributors to this volume. Mikesell suggests that joint planning be limited to roads and other regional projects. He notes that any grant of

"Don't forget to leave your cards at the residence: phone the Woman's Club about the tea; call the protocol office on what to wear tonight and buy the colored paper for the Hungarian Children's benefit."

"But, George, Donald has a fever, I promised Lucy I'd help her with her homework, and the baby is teething."

"Don't be silly, honey—what do you think servants are for?"
regional monopoly through political negotiation will require agreement between LAFTA and expected sources of external financing, including the Inter-American Bank. President Herrera of that Bank outlines the aid rendered LAFTA by IDB but warns that integration in itself is no talisman. Dell thinks that release of economic potential awaits land reform and other changes encouraging the common man.

Siegel bids us to recognize a modern mercantilism and make suggestions in avowed confrontation with Adam Smith and GATT. The point is relevant and helps clarify the views of the editor. Yet the primary thrust of the Charter of Punta del Este lies in the direction of rising personal income issuing from higher productivity and lower costs. To many people this is the lodestar of the modern age. Certain proposals associated with LAFTA are bound eventually to collide with this.

Yet many parts of this book, and the high quality of leadership in the LAFTA secretariat, warrant the continued conviction that that organization will make its own contribution to the integrity and promise of the Western economy.

—DR. WARREN ROBERTS

LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, by Miguel S. Wenceslau. Prentice-Hall. $4.95.

Contributors include Juan Prebisch, Piacido Garcia, Raymond Mikesell, Felipe Herrera, Sidney Dell, Barry Siegal and Robert Triffin.

A Study in Regionalism

Established in March 1945, the League of Arab States (the Arab League) is "the second oldest continuously existing inter-governmental organization of its kind." Only the Organization of American States is older. The League has not only survived the instability of a troubled area, but has doubled its membership in the same twenty years of its existence.

In this book the author, Robert W. MacDonald, has described and analyzed in some detail the founding organization and operations of the League. Although he presumes some knowledge of the Middle East from his readers, he does treat the League in the context of the political dynamics of the area, i.e., the Palestine problem, Arab Unity, the struggle for independence, etc. The author is interested in regionalism and in the Arab League as one of the more durable regional organizations. His purpose in writing the book is to form some judgment as to the effectiveness of the League in achieving its "own self-described objectives of regional, functional and political integration." Mr. McDonald, of course, sees weakness in the League, but, by and large, he appears impressed with the League's progress.

Mr. McDonald is a student of the Middle East. In 1962, he received his Ph.D. in International Relations-Middle East. Since then he has been a research analyst for the Arab states for USIA in Washington and is currently USIA regional research officer for the Middle East resident in Beirut. Part of his research for the book derived from a visit to the Arab League Secretariat in 1960.

—ROBERT B. HOUGHTON


A Certain Brand of Angels

This book is one in the series "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective." Its author is on the side of the angels, particularly those wearing the liberal coat-of-arms, and he has done professionals a service in writing it. Most literature in English on Central America has addressed itself to a single aspect or country of this rather complex part of the hemisphere, so that it is fair to say that no contemporary book on the subject manages to be quite so comprehensive as this despite apparently imposed limitations.

That one must differ with Professor Rodriguez on such things as the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the possibility of having a land reform in El Salvador (population density 125 to the square kilometer) and the nature of the Rightist-Communist alliance in Costa Rica during the 40's does not detract from the book's usefulness. But to find him still unaware of the changes in military governments is troubling. If the Oligarchy, the Military and The Church were the unholy triumvirate which retarded the development of Latin America until recently, among the most obvious and heartening events of the past decade has been the continuing change in the Church and in the Military. It is the Oligarchy which has remained the dog-in-the-manger of social and economic reform in Central America, yet the professor says little about this class and the problem with which its recalcitrance confronts the Alliance and similar efforts, while proceeding to excoriate the Military as if the time were still the 30's and 40's.

—HARRY SYLVESTER

CENTRAL AMERICA, by Mario Rodriguez. Prentice-Hall, $4.95.
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DUTCH PEA SOUP

Contrary to the opinion which seems to prevail today, I find a new note of morality and honesty in the world. When I grew up in France, the first step of any recipe involving dried peas, beans, or lentils was: “Pick over the peas (or etc.) and remove stones . . .”; the natural assumption being that they had been added to your bag by the grocer, thus adding to the weight. Nowadays, my only problem with modern packaging (once I’ve figured out how to open the plastic) is whether or not to soak dried vegetables. Apparently there is a computer somewhere at supermarket headquarters which pre-soaks such items before scaling. Don’t count on this extra service when abroad, of course. I was delighted when I found dried haricot beans in the “native” (as contrasted to the “European”)-market in Leopoldville; but after soaking them overnight and cooking them for two days without any noticeable tenderizing, I suspected that this lot consisted of nothing but stones.

Assuming your grocer or the package can clear up the mystery of to soak or not to soak, try this famous soup from Holland the next time you have a ham bone in the kitchen.

DUTCH PEA SHOP

1 pound split peas
1 ham bone
2 celery stalks, including leaves, chopped coarsely
2 large onions or 1 onion and 1 leek, chopped coarsely
a pig’s foot (optional)
1 cup diced bits of ham
dry sausage, such as Polish sausage—two 2” pieces per serving
2 bay leaves
1-2 tablespoons salt; the amount will depend on how salty the ham was, so go lightly until towards the end of cooking time; for instance, if you are using a Smithfield ham bone, you will need hardly any salt.
½ teaspoon black pepper
4 quarts cold water

Put the ham bone, the peas, the pig’s foot if you have one, the celery, and the onions in a soup kettle and add the water. Bring to a boil, skim if necessary, and turn down the heat until a gentle simmer is reached. Add the bay leaf, salt, and pepper. Simmer two to three hours, until the peas have become a puree. Add the sausage and the ham and simmer gently another half hour, being careful that the soup doesn’t stick to the bottom of the kettle. Remove ham bone and pig’s foot.

A nice addition when serving this soup are toasted croutons. You can also use the same recipe with lentils for a hearty winter soup.
Creative Federalism

by John W. Gardner
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

A little more than two years ago, President Johnson made a speech at the University of Michigan in which he laid out his hopes and plans for the future of this country. It was the “Great Society” speech. It struck an immediate, responsive chord and became the manifesto of his Administration.

The “Great Society” phrase was not the only one in that speech destined for wider circulation. There was a companion phrase “Creative Federalism,” that described how we might achieve our objectives. Now, two years later, those words are receiving increasing attention.

“The solution to our problems,” the President said, “does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation—a creative federalism—between the national capital and the leaders of local communities.”

I want to talk with you today about “Creative Federalism”—because in my Department, perhaps more than in any other, it’s becoming a day-to-day reality.

Strictly speaking, creative federalism refers to the relationship between the Federal Government and the States. Even if we limit ourselves to that relationship we’d have a vast subject to explore. There are now dozens of laws on the books pouring billions of Federal dollars into the States each year in grants-in-aid—for highways, education, urban renewal, regional development and other purposes.

But I’d like to talk about the implications of the phrase for the whole non-Federal sector. The Federal Government has established a bewildering array of partnerships—not just with State but with local governments, with universities and hospitals, with voluntary agencies and professional associations, and with the whole of the business world.

Our space program is a complex partnership between the Federal Government, private industry and the scientific community. The Medicare program is a collaborative effort involving the Federal Government, the health professions, hospitals and nursing homes, Blue Cross organizations and commercial insurance companies. Our public welfare program is a Federal-State partnership.

The first massive Federal effort to assist local education, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, operates in recognition of the primacy of State and local authorities in the education of our children. The bulk of Federal grants under the Act are made to State educational agencies, which in turn distribute the funds to local school districts. The broad

As delivered at the Foreign Service Association Luncheon Meeting, June 30, 1966.

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Criteria and policies are established by Congress, but implementation is accomplished by the States.

This is a town that feeds on the bloated trivia of controversy, and it isn't always easy to discern the events of lasting significance. In terms of historic importance, the civil rights struggle is the most notable thing happening in this nation today. If I had to select a second item on that list it would be the emergence of these new partnerships between the Federal Government on the one hand and State, local and non-governmental agencies on the other. It has profound implications for the way we organize our society and govern ourselves in the years ahead.

It is important that this be understood by those who serve or live abroad, and who are called upon to interpret the kaleidoscope of American life to people outside this country. It is almost impossible for foreigners to understand the complex, fluid and dynamic relationship between Federal, State, local and non-governmental worlds in the United States. As a matter of fact it is hard for Americans to understand. There isn't one American in a hundred, perhaps in a thousand, who has a clear grasp of the relationships that have evolved (and are still evolving).

Unfortunately, the nature of the relationship has been very little clarified in public discussion to date. Too often the discussion has gone on in terms of the unproductive cliches produced by Big Government liberals, and Private Enterprise conservatives, the former convinced that government can do no wrong, and the latter crying "the less government the better." Virtually nothing in this debate would prepare one to understand the new partnerships.

We have long indulged ourselves in a curious rhetoric which implies that State and local governments are necessarily mendicants in any relationship with the Federal Government. It's a misleading notion.

That State and local levels must work increasingly closely with the Federal Government is undeniable. Many of our toughest problems today cut across State and local jurisdictions, so that only Federal-State-local collaboration can solve them. And the cost of solving some of our problems (e.g., basic medical research, exploration of space) is so great that only the Federal Government can afford it.

But in our great new social programs, it is only partially accurate to say that State and local governments are "turning to the Federal Government for help." In most cases it is just as true to say that the Federal Government is turning to State and local governments for help.
There is only one ultimate source of all of these programs—the American people, acting through the various instrumentalities available to them.

They are the source of all the money. When the money is collected from them by a State or local taxing agency it is supposed to represent sturdy grass-roots independence. When it is collected by the US Treasury it is supposedly transmuted into the "Federal dollars" that can only be accepted at grave risk to one's autonomy. But they are the same dollars out of the same pockets, Federal dollars too come from the States and localities—there's nowhere else for them to come from.

Similarly, for the most part the American people are the source of the programs. Occasionally, no doubt, programs are initiated that the people are indifferent to or even opposed to, but for the most part the States and the Federal Government spend their money on what the people want and believe in.

The fact is that the American people—the ultimate source of both dollars and power—choose to do some things through their local communities, some through their State governments, and some through their Federal Government. All of these instrumentalities are theirs. If they wish to strengthen one instrumentality relative to the others, they are free to do so. And in fact, for the past 35 years they have chosen consistently to strengthen the Federal Government.

And yet the American people have never intended (and do not now intend) that their Federal Government should become all powerful. That is crystal clear.

And that is certainly one of the reasons why the Federal Government has chosen to conduct its ever-expanded activities through a far-flung network of partnerships with non-Federal elements rather than through self-aggrandizement and self-sufficient operations.

But there's a better reason. There is great potential strength and endless possibilities for innovation and creativity in the scope and variety of the Federal Government's partnership arrangements. The genius of our system is to provide flexibility and diversity within a coherent framework. Through its varied partnerships, the Federal Government taps great resources of strength in American life. The private economy is the chief source of economic growth and vitality. The universities—State, local and private—harbor the bulk of the nation's intellectual resources. The professions provide the specialized talent without which no modern society can run. Non-profit or voluntary associations provide a significant means of harnessing non-governmental resources toward a public purpose. State and local governments are in a position to understand local problems in a way that can never be achieved at the Federal level.

The emergence of these new relationships proves again, I believe, the suppleness and flexibility of our institutions, and enables us to maintain the freedom and dynamism of our system in an age of enormous complexity.

What we have actually done is to bypass the old arguments. The American people have a number of shared purposes that can only be accomplished with Federal resources—national defense, social security, the exploration of space, the renewal of our cities, and so on. We are accomplishing these shared purposes. And we are doing it without abolishing private enterprise, or diminishing the role of the States, or impairing the individualism, pluralism, and voluntary tradition in American life. We are using the Federal Government to serve and enhance local government, individual enterprise, and the great varied spread of voluntary activity.

Some of the notable new programs help local agencies, public and private, to coordinate and invent programs for the particular locality. I have in mind, for example, the proposed Demonstration Cities program of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.
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Development; the community action part of the war on poverty; and the provision for "supplementary education centers" administered by my Department. In all these cases Federal programs specifically encourage local inventiveness.

I've hardly begun to suggest the many ways in which Federal Government taps creative thinking outside of government. White House conferences provide a forum for a wide range of new ideas and help blueprint action for the future. Task forces of outside experts help shape some of the Great Society programs. For example, we have had the help of literally thousands of people in setting standards and guidelines for the Medicare program.

Alert mayors have helped to devise the new Federal rent subsidy program; governors have insisted that we consider new mass transit programs. A school board member in New Jersey proposed something he called "shared time" between public and parochial schools; after being knocked around in discussion, and tried out in various places, and having its name changed to "dual enrollment," it became one of the possible ways school districts can use Federal funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Policy in American democracy is not made by imposition from the top yet an endless circular process. People have needs: their schools are crowded; their rivers are polluted; they don't have enough nurses; drug addiction is on the rise; mental retardation has been neglected. They press for action by the Federal Government and relevant laws are passed. Then under the new partnerships the money goes back again to Kokomo and Grand Rapids, and Topeka and Hartford, where local and State units plan and carry out the programs.

As you may see I am an enthusiastic proponent of these collaborative relationships. But it would be inaccurate to say that they are free of hazards or tensions or difficulties.

The most obvious hazard, of course, is that one partner will end up exploiting or dominating the other.

When Federal funds are flowing in billions of dollars, there is always the possibility that the private interests involved will find ways of influencing government policy to secure continued flow of money.

We have learned that any groups of recipients of Federal funds, whether States or cities, universities or school districts, may mobilize political pressure to insure such a flow, quite aside from the merits of the case.

Equally grave is the danger that runs in the opposite direction. With billion of dollars to dispense, it is always possible that the Federal Government may use the influence engendered by these funds to exercise unwarranted control over State, local and non-governmental activities.

I do not believe that the relationship of the Federal Government to State and local government and to private groups should ever be a comfortable one. I believe that the two parties to the relationship have purposes that are overlapping but not identical. Each must play its role and function with integrity in terms of its own purposes.

This comes out clearly in the relationship of the universities to the Federal Government. The universities have objectives that will never be fully shared (or perhaps even understood) by the Federal Government, and vice versa. The relationship will (and should) always be characterized by a certain wariness.

If we are to have a durable and creative partnership between the Federal Government and any non-Federal agency or group, there should be strength and a reasonably clear sense of purpose on both sides of the partnership.

The collaboration will never achieve its full potential if the non-Federal partner is weak or lacking in a sense of direction. As an example I'd suggest that the cities that have profited most strikingly from Federal urban funds have been those in which local leadership and initiative were strong.

The partnership is equally endangered if the Federal partner is weak and faltering. A weak regulatory agency...
dominated by those regulated will eventually be a source of sorrow to all concerned. A weak Federal research agency dominated by the universities is equally regrettable.

Because of the need for vitality in the non-Federal partner, the Federal Government has recently taken some steps that are quite unprecedented. It has deliberately set out to strengthen various State and local agencies and groups. In short, it not only seeks to share its power and resources, but it wants to make certain that the non-Federal partner has the strength and vitality to uphold its end of the partnership. The President has, for example, instructed all government departments to do what they can to strengthen the universities as institutions. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided for the strengthening of State departments of education.

But of course it’s going to take a lot more than these Federal efforts if State and local governments are to be strengthened. The people themselves are going to have to take action at the local level. We need an end to archaic government forms, an end to local corruption, and drastic upgrading of the caliber of leaders at this level. And we won’t get any of those until we get over our very bad habit of looking down our nose at State and local politics. We have to begin to respect them in order to make them worthy of respect.

State, local and private groups should not assume that the Federal Government will preserve their strength. They should guard their own strength. Vigilance is their proper attitude. It always was. It always will be.

If they do look to their own vitality, and we continue to perfect the new partnership arrangements, then we will have redesigned our nation in such a way as to throw great strength back of our shared purposes and at the same time to preserve the flexibility and diversity of the society.

PPBS (Continued from page 26)

or framework. The same can also be said with respect to matters appealed from the SIG for decision by the Secretary of State. The SIG/IRG System will lack much operational strength in coping with PPB problems, therefore, unless the Secretary of State (rather than some other authority) has the services of a central PPB staff, whose findings are available to appropriate echelons in the State hierarchy as well as to other agency heads.

Performing the central PPB review on foreign affairs elsewhere than in the Secretary’s Office would have destructive rather than constructive consequences. For one thing, it would seriously, if not fatally, undercut the Secretary’s new authority; for another, the Secretary clearly has more need to guide the work of a special central PPB staff for foreign affairs than does the Budget Bureau or the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs; he should also be in a better position to direct the work of such a group to ensure support to foreign policy needs. Finally, the executive chairmen, at whatever level in the SIG/IRG System, cannot be expected to function with confidence for very long if their decisions are reversible at higher levels (such as the Budget Bureau, for example) on the basis of central PPB systems analysis or staff findings which by right should be available to them first within their own hierarchy. A central PPB facility in the Office of the Secretary of State would appear very important, therefore, for establishing and maintaining the integrity of the new SIG/IRG System and implementing the March 2 Presidential directive.

10Unless an effective central PPB review and control machinery is available to the Secretary of State, the vertical stress in the PPBS seems likely to cause recurring troubles. To use an observation made by Professor Richard Neustadt to the Jackson Subcommittee, agency officials can push their pet issues up for argument and settlement at ever higher levels, and “there will be no very satisfactory place to stop short of the White House.”
Second, there are the substantive and operational gains which introduction of a PPB system promises to make possible throughout the community of agencies to which it applies: a sharpened conception of realistic policy goals, a set of mutually reinforcing plans and programs oriented to clear objectives, and an improved framework for setting priorities among activities and for judging the most effective allocation of resources. If a central PPB facility for the foreign affairs agencies can bring such benefits to the managers of these agencies, the Secretary of State and his chain of command are in much better positions to utilize the benefits on a regular basis than is the Budget Bureau or the President's Special Assistant. In this respect, a central PPB facility might help meet the Jackson Subcommittee's complaint that the budgetary process has little relevance to the day-to-day coordination of national security affairs. Such a facility should not undercut the authority of the regional Assistant Secretaries of State who in any case are working for the Secretary. Operationally, it should be responsive to their needs for regional or country program review support as well as to the Seventh Floor's need for support on a cross-regional or global basis.

Finally, one must consider the proposition from the viewpoint of the Secretary's already extensive responsibilities. Here, admittedly, creation of a central PPB facility would involve definite pitfalls. One cannot dismiss casually the danger that the Secretary's vital energies might be consumed in inter-agency strife,11 that he might lose control of policy through overinvolvement in the details of operations past, present, and future—not to mention the possibility of drowning administratively in paper, statistics and trivia which can and should be reviewed elsewhere in the hierarchy. But the most serious of these dangers should be avoidable through intelligent staff work and skillful management, and the others should be offset by advantages arising to the Secretary from application of the PPB techniques centrally: the opportunity to exercise greater initiative and enjoy greater flexibility in directing and utilizing both the State Department and other agencies in the conduct of foreign affairs; the possibility of better precision and more-informed judgments in making overall decisions and in advising the President; and the availability of the fullest information and most effective argumentation for use in explaining policy and operations to the public and in championing all foreign affairs budget proposals before the Congress. The Secretary of State might well be willing to risk some disadvantages for the sake of being able to carry out more effectively his principal responsibilities, including those specified in the March 2 Presidential directive.

Conclusion

The existence side by side of two such far-reaching decision-making devices as the PPBS and the SIG/IRG System, appointed to deal with the same general foreign affairs subject matters, necessitates a concerted effort to operate the two together, with State taking the initiative. Most likely it also requires establishment of an appropriate central PPB facility, and this writer would urge that State take the initiative to set up such a facility in the Office of the Secretary of State. Whether this course or some other is followed, it seems important to generate discussion and thinking on these issues.

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, October, 1966
The Welfare Side of Washington

FOREIGN SERVICE wives often know more about the social welfare problems and institutions of communities abroad than of those at home. They have worked in a wide variety of roles in cities all over the world. But for many women, even those with considerable interest and experience in dealing with social problems elsewhere, Washington is a maze of social agencies and a jumble of welfare functions. This occurs in part because their tours in Washington are largely spent in homemaking and settling into the community, a far from routine maneuver for even the veteran Foreign Service wife.

Many Foreign Service women are uncomfortable about this lack of knowledge. They are called upon abroad to explain how Americans handle pressing problems of city life, how they come to grips with the human dislocations it entails. They are aware that a new mood and tempo prevails at home. How can they get a clear view of the overall scene in the limited time available to them here? And, if they can find time to participate, where can they be most effective?

To give interested Foreign Service women some insight into a range of urban problems and the organizations dealing with them, Mrs. Randolph Kidder and Mrs. Francis Underhill, both deeply involved in community projects, arranged a series of welfare tours last spring. From the seemingly endless range of possibilities, they chose visits to Junior Village and D.C. Village, to the Children’s Center at Laurel and to Saint Elizabeth’s, and to a flourishing neighborhood center in Anacostia. While this covered only some of the problems, it proved for the fifteen women who participated a good introduction to such questions as how Washington handles homeless children and the dependent elderly persons who have no one on whom to rely; how it handles the delinquent, the mentally ill, the mentally retarded; what public and private means we have for coming to grips with conditions which thwart those who live in underprivileged areas, those who lack the resources or knowledge to surmount joblessness, ill health and the complexities of urban life.

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I USED TO TALK TO MYSELF—THEN I STARTED READING THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. I STILL TALK TO MYSELF, BUT NOW PEOPLE STOP TO LISTEN
WHERE DIPLOMATS DINE

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in the community. Mrs. Elizabeth Cantor, who heads the volunteer services in the District Office of Public Welfare, discussed the programs maintained by the District. Miss Pauline Myer, who heads a consumer counseling service in the Cardozo area, described her own and other projects of the Poverty Program. Miss Alice Stoddard, who heads the Family and Child Services, explained the services provided by private facilities in the community and their relationship with the governmental activities. For listeners recently returned from abroad, there was the strong impression of familiar problems set forth in new terms. The chief impact was of the wide scope of the effort currently being made to come to grips with the old perennials and the pervasive mood that difficulties can and will be surmounted.

Junior Village, the first institution visited, is set up to handle temporarily displaced children but through lack of institutions in the community which can mend the family structure from which they have come, it harbors many children for several years, often until they reach an age for going out into the community on their own. One major concern of the administrators relates to that very fact: How can children whose formative years are spent in such a setting learn how to participate in the outside world as responsible adults? Much effort is made to establish contact with community life by sending the children to schools throughout the District and by encouraging them to participate in Scouting and other activities. This is coupled with an effort to achieve individuality, as epitomized by the varied racks of carefully starched “Sunday” dresses in the buildings where the little girls live.

But these measures can help to a very limited extent with the basic artificiality of institutional life. Not only are the “cottages” vastly overcrowded, often with triple-layer bunks in the dormitories, but they house children of the same age and sex. Consequently, a child has virtually no contact with anyone different from himself; he is even separated from siblings. The resulting distortion of life as he lives it and as he is being equipped to live it later, is strikingly apparent to anyone who deals with Junior Village. The effects of this are a matter of great concern. In the case of very young children, it has been dramatically shown that they may not even learn to talk under such conditions or that they may regress noticeably.

Volunteers who bring outside contact are critically needed. To be effective, however, a volunteer must come regularly and frequently so as to establish a relationship with individual children. The need to be known and treated as a person is overwhelming. The children see a continuing flow of faces, anyone different from himself; he is even separated from siblings. The resulting distortion of life as he lives it and as he is being equipped to live it later, is strikingly apparent to anyone who deals with Junior Village. The effects of this are a matter of great concern. In the case of very young children, it has been dramatically shown that they may not even learn to talk under such conditions or that they may regress noticeably.

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resort. While there will always be residual instances which
cannot be handled otherwise, those for whom Junior Village
is intended, a visitor leaves with a renewed sense of urgency
in coming to grips with the problems which result in shattered
homes. Junior Village, no matter how competently staffed
and well financed, can be no more than an improvised way
station and an unavoidable breeder of problems for the future.

D.C. Village, housed in new and cheerful surroundings,
presents a marked contrast with the drab setting of Junior
Village. Here, too, an attempt is made to think in terms of
the individuals cared for and to keep them happily occupied.
But the impact of the institution on the persons within it is
unavoidably strong, starting with the fact that a resident may
retain only a minimal amount of pocket money. A visitor is
struck by the mundane aspects of making everything func-
tion where ill health and various degrees of disability are a
major factor.

Some of the persons there will be reinstated in the com-

munity if they can be made sufficiently self-reliant and ade-
quate rooming facilities can be found. But many stay on,
increasingly out of touch with the outside world. One very
elderly soul, a great-great-grandmother who has outlived
three generations of her family, epitomizes the situation of
many of the residents who comment bleakly that “no one
comes to see me anymore.” The community provides the
setting and the care but only dedicated volunteers can give a
sparkle of life for many of these elderly persons.

At the Laurel Children’s Center, the District maintains
institutions for the mentally retarded and for juvenile of-
fenders. Facilities for the mentally retarded comprise a hos-
pital, with inhabitants of all ages who are unable to care for
themselves, a sheltered workshop where those who cannot
cope with the outside world are trained in simple tasks, and
a training school where those who are educable learn
trades. The latter, which teaches such skills as house-
keeping and janitoring, barbering and hairdressing, shoe re-
pair and sewing, sends well over one hundred of its residents
to work in the community during the day. It has been found
that mentally retarded persons may have some special apti-
tudes, such as the kind of patience and affection for elderly
dependent persons which helps them make a real contribu-
tion in a nursing home. In addition to the teaching program,
group therapy and individual counseling are provided. In all
aspects of the program, there is an attempt to make life as
normal as possible. There is a long waiting list for admittance
to the institution which has more than 1200 residents. Only
a fraction of those who need such care can be taken in.

In the correctional institutions, juveniles are separated into
the first-timers, about 250 of them, for whom there is con-
siderable hope of rehabilitation, and the 550 more serious
delinquents for whom the outlook is decided less promising.
Here, again, there is a notable emphasis on the individual,
and an attempt is made to help the young person look at life
honestly. At the same time that psychologists and other trained
members of the staff are working with the child, social
welfare workers are dealing with the family, trying to amelio-
rate the environmental situation. Only after a conference of
those working with the child and those working with his fami-
ly which indicates that both sides of the picture appear stable
and offer some chance of success is the young person returned
home. The period of residence has been decreasing; of the
more than 700 released during the past year, the average
stay ranged from eleven to thirteen months.

Saint Elizabeth’s, where the mentally ill are treated, is a
century-old institution, remarkable then and now for being
in the vanguard of thought in its field. It was set up at the in-
sistence of Dorothea Dix in a day when the mentally ill were
treated as criminals. In these days of tranquilizers, it is a
peaceful place in a park-like setting of rare trees and shrubs
with the Capitol as a backdrop. It serves the triple role of
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the official American stand on such issues as admission of Peking to the United Nations, the trade embargo, and exchanges of various sorts. These measures would be put into effect in the expectation that the Chinese would thereby become reintegrated into the world community of nations and would eventually develop a more responsible pattern of behavior. Such steps, if they could be taken, would undoubtedly be useful ones, but they represent only a partial answer to the problem. The American design for dealing with Communist China must be a much broader one.

The United States must first recognize in its own mind the reality of China and its place in the world. Having done this, American policy can then come to grips with the issues requiring settlement. As long as the US maintains its Biblical position of treating China as a prodigal son who must repent before he can return to the fold, there is no hope of any progress.

From a long term point of view, American policy should be directed towards defusing the emotional content of the quarrel with China, allowing things to settle in that part of the world rather than keeping them in a state of constant turmoil. Instead of chronic peripheral warfare and occasional useless bravado about an ability to destroy Chinese nuclear power in its infancy, the US should be attempting slowly to bring about a situation in which the two sides are separated by a zone which both would agree to respect.

What does this mean in concrete terms? It involves first of all a slow American withdrawal from exposed positions, putting distance between the Chinese and ourselves. This withdrawal should be a negotiated rather than a precipitate one, both to ensure our own security and Chinese respect for the terms of the arrangement. It means of course that the United States will have to accept changes in the status quo which it is now so uncompromisingly attempting to uphold.

Once there is a mutually-respected zone between Chinese and American power, we shall probably see that many things become possible which are unattainable today. The questions of diplomatic relations, trade, UN membership and other hopelessly entangled points will thereby become reintegrated into the world community of nations and would eventually develop a more responsible pattern of behavior. Such steps, if they could be taken, would undoubtedly be useful ones, but they represent only a partial answer to the problem. The American design for dealing with Communist China must be a much broader one.

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Once there is a mutually-respected zone between Chinese and American power, we shall probably see that many things become possible which are unattainable today. The questions of diplomatic relations, trade, UN membership and other hopelessly entangled points will most likely tend to lose their emotional content and will be solved in one way or another. We shall probably also find that once their national identity is respected by the US, the Chinese will tend to preoccupy themselves more with internal questions, especially the development of their latent economic potential.

The alternative to a Sino-American understanding of this type is the continuation of a situation which enmeshes everyone without hope until the day when the Chinese are strong enough to force a solution on their own terms. The United States should be under no illusions, whatever is said about the anachronism of spheres of influence, that Peking will reconcile itself to a perennial US military presence on its borders. The day may come when the Chinese have nuclear weapons in quantity and the capacity to deliver them on US cities. If the US is still engaged at that time on the Asian mainland in the fashion of today, it will find itself faced with unenviable choices that will probably not be capable of solution without loss of position and prestige and at some risk to the peace of the world. It is up to us to see that that day does not arrive.
"Nothing to Fear"

The July Editorial on "The Rationale of Selection Out" is, as becomes the Journal, a moderate, diplomatically phrased and well reasoned rebuttal of Mr. Walters' demand for Civil Service standards and security for those involved in foreign affairs responsibilities.

Having been subjected for some 25 years to "insecurity" and "competition" which according to Mr. Walters must have by this time extinguished any professional standards which I may have possessed, and having survived some nineteen Selection Boards despite frequent policy differences with Washington, many unpopular and often unaccepted recommendations and a number of sharp disagreements with my superiors (including an ambassador currently serving in the most critical post we have abroad), I think I am qualified to call a spade a spade as far as the Foreign Service personnel system is concerned and this I shall do.

No one who puts security very high on their job requirement list should choose a career in foreign affairs. However, if a young officer wants to serve his country in the most challenging, difficult and fascinating area of its operations and if he has the professional pride and ambition to do his best and take what comes, there is nothing to fear from either the Selection Out system currently in use by the Foreign Service or the new Development Appraisal Report. Perhaps there are in Government service "vindictive superiors" and those "prejudiced" in their judgments but I have yet to run across such baseness among my superiors or colleagues. If anything, we are too soft, too lenient in the appraisal of a man's worth and potential. The only realistic alternative to our present Selection Out system would seem to be the adoption of the military "up or out" criteria. Since this operates more or less automatically and thus eliminates much of the stigma of "selection out" and in the process a great deal of "dead wood," it is certainly worth considering. Reduced to military terms this would mean illustratively mandatory retire-

ment for CAS at 60, CMs at 58, FSO-1s at 55, FSO-2s at 52, FSO-3s at 50, etc. Would this be more acceptable to Mr. Walters and other opponents of Selection Out? I doubt it.

I am convinced that the really competent and dedicated officers in AID, USIS and State covered by the Hays Bill will find the Foreign Service personnel system assuring a far greater recognition of excellence than they have ever known before. Those possessing proven abilities and leadership will go up; those who do not will be eliminated as painlessly as possible from an area of government activities too critical to our national survival to harbor mediocrity.

David G. Nes

Cairo

In Quest of Adee

I am researching the life and career of ALVEY AUGUSTUS ADEE (1842-1924) who held the post of Second Assistant Secretary of State from 1886 until his death. I would greatly appreciate hearing from anyone who knows anything about the Adee family or who was acquainted with Mr. Adee either socially or professionally. I am also interested in locating any of his letters or manuscripts. Please contact:

Lawrence H. Douglas
409 Maxwell School of Citizenship Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

Lawrence H. Douglas
Syracuse, N. Y.

Practical Use for Baboons

A Cape Town University anatomist (information came to us from the New York Times) opines that baboons are a national asset. They could be turned into "drone workers." They could become golf caddies, sheep herders, tractor drivers, porters, handymen, etc.

What if they have got a few defects? (They are excessively irritable.) This trait could be remedied by a simple electro-cautery operation.

Baboons, it seems to me, have many of the sterling qualities expected of FSOs!

Daniel H. Simpson
Washington, D.C.

What $5 Will Do

A non-profit, educational organization called BOOKS USA, has its headquarters just around the corner from the editorial offices of the Foreign Service Journal.

BOOKS USA is a private, non-profit, educational organization, which helps American representatives worldwide to explain and introduce the US to the people of the country in which they are stationed. BOOKS USA does this by supplying good, representative American books for distribution by Peace Corps volunteers and USIS personnel in the field. To put it in a nutshell, the organization sends "CARE"-packets of the mind. It has compiled 13 such packets, each containing 10 paperbacks. These packets cover such subjects as American Government and History, Understanding America, Science, American Literature, Learning English, and Children's Books.

For each $5 BOOKS USA receives from the public it sends abroad one packet of books in the donor's name. These books do not go into USIS libraries, but are presented directly to foreign students and teachers, schools and libraries. If the donor knows a Peace Corps volunteer stationed abroad, he can send the books to him for distribution.

In each packet BOOKS USA encloses a return postcard, giving the donor's name and address. This encourages the recipient to acknowledge the packet, and drives home the fact that these books are not a government grant, but the personal gift of a private US citizen. A Peace Corps volunteer in Nigeria once referred to this personal touch by writing to BOOKS USA: "This kind of thing, the little helps, make America more real to my students than any amount of foreign aid, that never affects them."

Anyone who wishes to donate to BOOKS USA or wants more information about this program, which works in the national interest and has been endorsed by President Johnson, should write to Mrs. Suska K. Massey, BOOKS USA, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Mrs. Massey is president of the organization, and is the wife of Parke D. Massey, Jr. a former FSO, who is now an International Economist with AID, stationed in Washington.

Suska K. Massey
Washington

Headlong Jump Into Paddy

Read your book monthly and enjoy, but it is too bad about the Nancy Eastman "painting" on page 2 of June issue.

Rice is not harvested in water. When rice is harvested the whole stalk is not removed—only the head.
Think about your insurance coverage

Because our benefits and rates are based on 37 years' actuarial experience of a very select group, the programs offered by the American Foreign Service Protective Association are a true bargain for those fortunate enough to qualify.

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Sometimes some of the stalk—depending on country—on tradition.
And besides that—there is never any water and how she could have done it...
And to make matters... well, just one more thing; in every harvest scene in Asia there are tens and sometimes hundreds of people in the same little paddy bringing in the grain—not just one lonesome black figure with a too-big hat standing in you know what beside a shock of something that must be the color of grain, but if it is not... editor, you should know better!

On second thought—after pausing for a half a month—I am submitting a little verse that should take up about half as much space as the above mentioned copy, and possibly could receive as much adverse criticism.

In Praise of Pause in Shade
Ancient wizard hunting fleet
On weathered garden wall today
Near sweet blue-flowered tree,
Lets sun shining through blossoms
Blend blue with scaly gray
And pausing there in tinted shade
Is a pretty thing, temporarily.

After studying that picture again (I don’t know why it bothers me so much) I have decided that the girl (it has to be a girl in the picture—men don’t do it) is possibly pulling seedlings for planting, if I knew the color of the stuff she is handling... that is: if it is green—it’s not a harvest scene the lady copied, but seedling removal for subsequent planting, or setting out in field. But seedlings are never so tall.

Saigon
Duns Scotus, 1966


Professor Boulding is not very happy with the book. In short, he finds it only slightly short of outrageous that Price maintains the existence of a thing he calls "wisdom" as distinct from "scientific images," power as distinct from truth, which is the mechanism of political decision-making.

Price is hostile to the notion of science as "a unified and authoritative system of thought that pretends to explain all types of knowledge and to guide all types of actions," because "it becomes more a rationalization of a will to power than a valid intellectual discipline."

Professor Boulding believes that recent advances in the social sciences have changed all that, and notes the existence of such institutions as Council of Economic Advisors. But he regrets that "other social sciences have not yet achieved this degree of membership in the establishment. The Department of State, for instance, is still operated on folk knowledge and is deeply hostile to the social sciences. How long we can tolerate the absurd expense and insecurity of an international system run by 'wisdom' remains to be seen."

Before we diplomats go off and eat worms, however, we should note Boulding’s final criticism of Price, which we may, perhaps, hope covers us as well. "He is a nationalist, not a humanist. Whenever he says 'we' or 'our,' it refers to only about seven percent of the human race, or at best to only a single stream of human history."

Anyone for a plea of "guilty?"

DAECA

To Those Who Contemplate Retirement

Watching the sunset the other evening I got carried away and conceived the following: If the Journal were to print it more retirees might be enticed to this promised land.

In the evening as the sun goes down nature gradually comes to life. The quail (a peculiar type of large California quail) cautiously emerges from the bush. The pilot looks about, is joined by his mate, they test their surroundings and if all seems well, the other members of the covey, one by one, emerge and begin their evening meal as they wander across the lawn.

Then comes the jack rabbit. He peers about and, once assured of the safety of his surroundings, he settles down to survey the evening horizon.

Next comes the raccoon. He sneaks across the lawn looking for hand-outs, then, if he finds none, seeks out the garbage. It is his wits against yours as to whether he will up-turn your garbage can and scavange, or whether your ingenuity has held the citadel.

Then, delight of the evening, come the deer: a doe with her fawn, or sometimes with twins; sometimes an entire family—a buck, does and fawns.

All is quiet, nature moves on as the world could send to the Association of Economic Advisors. But he regrets that "other social sciences have not yet achieved this degree of membership in the establishment. The Department of State, for instance, is still operated on folk knowledge and is deeply hostile to the social sciences. How long we can tolerate the absurd expense and insecurity of an international system run by 'wisdom' remains to be seen."

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Anyone for a plea of "guilty?"

JOHN W. BOWLING

Pebble Beach, California

To Brighten the Walls

In a manner somewhat related to discussions on the weather, everyone likes to talk about how horribly cold and unattractive the halls of the State Department are, but no one seems to do anything about it. I therefore suggest as a potential remedy that the Foreign Service Association sponsor, for lack of a better term, a photographic decoration contest, as it were. I am sure that each post around the world could send to the Association a dozen or so large photographs, suitable for framing and hanging in the hallways of the Department, of typical scenes of life, costumes, architecture or the wonders of nature of their country. Thus, ARA halls would be filled with photos of Machu Picchu, Iguaçu Falls, the Panama Canal, Tierra del Fuego, etc. and so on for the other areas. Tourist posters from government tourist agencies around the world might be another alternative, or even samples of typical textiles from those countries where such industries are sufficiently unusual to warrant exhibition. The idea presents innumerable variations; I claim little originality in the suggestion but thought it might serve to provoke some interestingly favorable results from the Association.

IRWIN RUBENSTEIN

Lima, Peru

More on Warsaw

I have read with great interest the article in the July issue on the fall of Warsaw by my old chief and good friend John Ker Davis.

"J.K." is his usual modest self in the article. He doesn’t report, for example, that one morning after his nocturnal visit to arrange for an armistice and our evacuation we found a bullet hole in the side of the automobile he had used. I think, however, that the most dangerous time for him was early in the siege when the Germans began to shell the city. We were trying to have dinner at his home when we were interrupted by shell fire. We did not know until the firing began that the Germans had artillery that close to the city. Of course we returned to the chancery immediately, the blackness of night broken only by the illumination of shell fire. We had to drive through the main street of Warsaw and compete in the darkness with Polish military traffic and farmers’ carts. It was exciting, but obviously we made it.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

E. TOMLIN BAILEY

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