
AUGUST 1967
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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

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

The dues for Active and Associate Members are either $15 or $12: For FSOs in Class V and above the rate is $15 and is the same for FSRs, Staff officers and Civil Service personnel in corresponding grades. For Active Members in lower grades the dues are $12. The annual dues for retired members and others who are not Active Members are $12. Each membership includes a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

For subscriptions to the JOURNAL, one year (12 issues), $6.00; two years, $10.00. For subscriptions going abroad, except Canada, add $1.00 annually for overseas postage.

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Ambassadorial Nominations

KENNEDY M. CROCKETT, *to Nicaragua*
BENJAMIN H. OEHLERT, *to Pakistan*

Marriages

RICHTER-ROSENTHAL. Amelia Ann Richter of the Visa Office, State Department, was married to FSO Edward B. Rosenthal, on June 30, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Rosenthal is in Washington on detail to the staff of the Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration.

WITT-ALEXANDER. Mary Margaret Witt, daughter of FSO and Mrs. William H. Witt, was married to Douglas Alexander, on June 17, in Cape Town, South Africa.

Births

MCCUSKER. A son, Ian Francis, born to Mr. and Mrs. Paul D. McCusker, on June 14, in Penang.

IRONS. A son Stephen Hatheway, born to Mr. and Mrs. Alden H. Irons, on June 16, in Oslo.

Deaths

BUTLER. George Howland Butler, Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, 1946-48, and career FSO, died on June 22, in Washington. Mr. Butler joined the Foreign Service in 1926 and served at La Paz, Montreal, Santiago, Asuncion, Lima, Panama and in the Department before his appointment as Ambassador to the Dominican Republic. He then served as deputy director, Policy Planning Staff until his retirement in 1951. Mr. Butler worked for the American Foreign Service Protective Association from 1952 to 1965 and served as the Business Manager of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL for many years.

CROSS. William J. Cross, assistant requirements officer, AID, was killed in a plane crash near Luang Prabang, Laos, in early April. Mr. Cross served in the Marine Corps from 1931 to 1964 and joined AID in Laos as provincial representative April 1965.

KESTING. Gertrude A. Kesting, FSS, died on March 6, in Washington. Miss Kesting's last assignment was at Aden.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR AUGUST

Natalie N. Daspit, wife of Alexander B. Daspit, "Costa Brava Village," cover.
John A. Graham, photographs, pages 29 and 30.
S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 37.
Alan Fisher, USIA, photograph, page 39.
Lynn Millar, photograph, page 41.
Howard R. Simpson, cartoon, page 52.

The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contribntions and will pay for accepted material on pnblication. Photos shonld be black and white glossies and should be protected by cardboard. Color transparencies (4 x 5) may be submitted for possible cover use.

Please inclnde fnll name and address on all material snbmitted and a stamped, self-addressed envelope if return is desired.

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

Address material to: Foreign Service Journal, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Snite 505, Washington, D. C., 20006.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Printed by Monumental Printing Co., Baltimore.

PAY RISE WANTED

IT was a broiling day outside the Capitol on that Thursday, June 22, but inside the Caucus Room of the Old House Office Building the noiseless air-conditioning made everything cool and serene. It was an important meeting for all federal employees, including members of the Foreign Service. The Committee was considering a proposal by President Johnson to increase all federal salaries by 4½ per cent. As he called the meeting to order, Chairman Morris K. Udall of the House Subcommittee on Compensation, looked at the 300 faces before him and remarked that the big turnout was "very heartening."

The Foreign Service Association was represented by First Vice President Outerbridge Horsey who presented a statement. The representatives of a number of other associations of federal employees also read statements.

The Foreign Service Association, said Ambassador Horsey, supported the principle of substantially equal pay for Federal professionals and comparable levels of responsibility in private enterprise. Pay rises in the past have mainly been directed at the much larger, relatively low-salaried groups, such as postal employees. Although the same percentage rises were applied to professional grades, the gap between Federal and private professionals has been growing steadily greater, and greater in percentage terms as the level of salary increases. A Bureau of Labor Statistics study in early 1966 showed that this "comparability gap" ranged from 6.6 per cent at the GS-7 or FSO-8 level, to 14.2 per cent at GS-15 or FSO-2, and the general assumption is that the gap continues to grow wider in the upper ranges. The Administration bill proposes a flat 4½ per cent increase this year at all levels, with one-half of the comparability gap between closed by new legislation in 1968 and the remainder in 1969. The Association's position was that ½ of the gap at all levels should be closed this year, and that this year's legislation should provide that the remainder would be automatically extended in 1968 without the need for new legislation. The Association supported proposals to this effect advanced by the newly created National Federation of Professional Organizations.

Chairman Morris K. Udall (Arizona) of the House sub-Committee made it clear that he welcomed this kind of testimony. He also offered some valuable advice:

"You should know," he said, "that the final decisions on pay bills are based on the desires of the lower-paid employees, chiefly the postal workers, because they have the political muscle.

"I know professional employees don't like to organize, attend meetings, lobby," he continued. "But there's nothing improper or undignified about making a case before a congressional committee, or telling your story to a member of Congress. This is all a part of our political system."

Salaries paid professional employees, Representative Udall added, were furthest behind comparable rates for similar jobs in private industry. But, he opined, it would be a matter of "simple justice" to increase them. The government, he said, was "starved" for professional talents to operate its many new and expanded programs.

But there was a huge stumbling block: He could see little hope of professionals earning the salaries they deserve unless they "organize to let their weight and influence be known."

This is perhaps the first time that the Association has taken an active public position on such an issue and it should be noted that its action was first proposed by a junior officer. The Association proposes to watch pay legislation developments closely and to take such other initiatives as promise useful results for all its membership.

It is expected that hearings on the proposed pay rise will soon begin in the Senate.

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AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

NATALIE N. DASPIT, wife of Alexander B. Daspit, Development Assistance Advisor with the US Mission to the OECD, Paris, painted the JOURNAL's August cover from her terrace in Cadagués on the Costa Brava. Mrs. Daspit had a one-woman show at the Galerie André Weil in Paris in June. Our cover artist has a Degree of Fine Arts from Tulane—"received many years ago—but have been too busy moving to six overseas assignments (plus Washington several timcs) these last 20 years, with husband and sons, to paint seriously and regularly."

Ambassador JOHN M. STEEVES, since entering the Service in 1947, has served almost exclusively in Asia in a wide variety of assignments. Before being appointed Director Genral, he was Ambassador to Afghanistan for four years. He attended the National War College and graduated in 1951. For approximately 16 years before entering the Service he served in India, primarily as an educator and later with OWI. He was the first FSO to serve as Political Adviser to the Commander in Chief, Pacific. From 1959 until his appointment to Afghanistan in 1962 he was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs in the Department.

DAVID E. SIMCOX, an occasional contributor to the JOURNAL, is a career Foreign Service officer now serving at Accra. Last winter he spent some of his home leave traveling in his own, his affluent USA. His article, "My Own, My Affluent Homeland" is the result.

JOHN E. HARR, who evaluates the Plowden Report for the JOURNAL on page 24, served with USIA in Israel in the early 50s. Mr. Harr was a research associate on the staff of the Herter Committee in 1962 and then joined the Department to work on implementing Herter Committee recommendation No. 3—creation of a foreign affairs programing system. Mr. Harr subsequently became Director of the Organizational Development Program (ACORD).

DAVID R. RAYNOLDS, who wrote "Who Makes Foreign Policy and How?" (page 18), entered the Foreign Service by examination in 1956. His last foreign assignment was on the Executive Secretariat of NATO from 1962-4 as an international civil servant. Following ten months leave without pay at the foot of the Wyoming Rockies to write two books, he returned to Washington for duty with the Bureau of Public Affairs in 1965. His first book, "Rapid Development in Small Economies: The Example of El Salvador," was published in March by Praeger.

LANSING COLLINGS has been in the Foreign Service since 1939 and is now Consul General in Istanbul. Mr. Collins' delvings into the history of that fascinating city have resulted in other JOURNAL articles, such as "Palazzo Corpi."

VICTOR WOLF, JR., has served in Baghdad, Tehran, Khorramshahr, Istanbul, Isfahan and again Tehran since entering the service in 1952. His present assignment as Arms Policy Officer in the Office of Munitions Control under the GPM umbrella, as well as the assignment described on page 31, are giving him functional experience in politico-military affairs.

JOHN A. GRAHAM graduated from Harvard in 1964 as a geologist and spent the next six months hitchhiking from Istanbul to Calcutta via Africa, then writing as a "stringer" for the Boston GLOBE in Southeast Asia. Mr. Graham entered the Foreign Service on June 24, 1965, married January 3, 1966 and arrived with his wife, Mimi, in Monrovia on February 16, 1966. The Grahams head "upcountry" whenever possible. Baby Malory Anne, born December 16, 1966, took her first jungle river boat ride like an old hand.

ROBERT G. CLEVELAND is a career Foreign Service officer who is currently serving as Director of the Office of Public Services in the Department of State. Mr. Cleveland served in Washington with a war agency in 1940, then four years in the Navy, before joining the Foreign Service in 1947.

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INDEX TO ADVERTISERS—AUGUST, 1967

FOCUS ON FINANCE

MUTUAL FUNDS—PART III

By EDMUND J. REINHALTER

Assistant to the President, Loomis, Sayles & Company, Investment Counselors

Servicing the Investor

There is perhaps no other method of investing today that is as convenient and flexible as mutual fund investment. The special services now offered by most funds make it possible for the funds to service individuals over their full lifetime and adjust for the changes in objectives and needs as required. A brief description follows of several key plans.

Accumulation Plan—Almost every fund provides an arrangement where the investor, after an initial deposit, can make subsequent investments on a regular basis. This can be done in a voluntary way or through a contractual plan that can be set up for a specific amount over a specific period.

This systematic form of investing is the fastest growing service provided by mutual funds and has received particular enthusiasm among those who like to get into the habit of investing money on a regular basis. In most cases, the funds allow the investor complete discretion over the handling of dividends. They may be automatically reinvested or taken in cash. The accumulation plan is a very convenient way to invest and over one-third of all mutual fund accounts are represented by this method of investing.

Open Account—This method is for the investor interested in making individual investments with little regard for timing and amount of purchases above minimum requirements. Here again a special service such as automatic dividend reinvestment is available with most funds.

Automatic Dividend Reinvestment—Almost all funds provide investors the service of having dividends reinvested automatically and thus offer the opportunity to

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put cash dividends to work immediately upon payment. This service is generally provided for all types of accounts. The service has increased rapidly in popularity and is now used in well over half of all fund accounts.

Withdrawal Plans—A simple and convenient arrangement can be made by the investor whereby he can receive a level periodic payment from the fund rather than just the quarterly income dividends and annual capital gains dividends. These dividends are seldom paid more often than four times a year and may vary in amount. Under a Systematic Withdrawal Plan the investor can receive a check monthly, quarterly, semi-annually or even annually if he chooses. However, the real value of this plan is for those investors who would like to receive a monthly check for current needs and want to be able to count on it not only coming in each month but being of a fixed or level amount. Most funds currently require the investor to have a minimum holding of $10,000 and it is not unusual to place a limit of 6 percent annually on the monthly withdrawals. This requirement tends to preserve the original amount of capital rather than having it slowly decline as the withdrawals are made. The withdrawal plan is becoming increasingly popular for retired persons who enjoy the convenience of having a monthly check paid to them from their investments.

Plans Under the Keogh Act

Mutual funds are playing an important role in connection with retirement funds for self-employed individuals and their employees. This is provided by the Self-Employed Individual Tax Retirement Act of 1962, perhaps better known as the Keogh-Smathers Bill. Any self-employed person who desires to take advantage of the tax-savings features of the legislature can invest in mutual funds shares by having an established, qualified plan and a custodial account. Fund sponsors are prepared to offer considerable assistance in setting up such accounts.

Investing in Mutual Funds

There are generally two methods by which you can invest in mutual funds. You can be *sold* shares with a sales commission added, the commission commonly referred to as a "load." These shares can be acquired through a securities salesman or broker if that firm also offers mutual fund shares in addition to its usual brokerage business. A second way of buying a "load" fund is directly through salesmen representing the fund itself, several of which have developed extensive marketing operations. The largest percentage of investment in mutual funds is carried out in these two ways.

On the other hand, you can *buy* shares at net asset value ("no-load" or no sales commission added) in a number of funds. Shares in "no-load" funds are generally purchased by writing directly to the fund sponsor. These funds have no salesmen or elaborate distribution system and thus do not charge a sales commission or load.

There are about sixty "no-load" funds now in existence, almost three times the number of ten years ago. Although these funds account for a small fraction of the total mutual fund industry, they currently have substantial assets of more than $2 billion owned by some 250,000 shareholders in every state and many nations. These funds cover the same wide range of objectives, services and performance as load funds. "No-load" funds offer the same investment opportunities and plans as "load" funds but the investor is not faced with sales charges of 8 to 9 per cent of the amount invested.

Prospective investors are cautioned not to confuse sales

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charges or "loads" with management fees. *All* funds charge shareholders a fee for investment management. Sales or "load" charges are the commissions paid the salesmen to sell shares of the fund and have nothing to do with the investment performance of the funds.

Your primary objective in purchasing fund shares should be to invest your capital with competent investment managers whose effort is directed toward achieving your specific needs. There is no relationship between this and the sales "load." In many cases, the "no-load" fund is the only public image the particular investment manager has and he is keenly interested in doing a sound investment job for shareholders. Set forth your investment objective, get good advice, and make your own decision.

These three columns on mutual funds have been written to assist your planning in a key area of your total financial program—the investment segment. Their content has been specifically designed to increase the readers' awareness of mutual funds and the function of mutual funds in the investment environment. For those investors desiring professional investment management for their assets on a continuing basis in a convenient and practical way at relatively low cost, the medium of the mutual fund should be considered.

Investment Counsel

The next column of "Focus on Finance," appearing in the October issue, will discuss what has been referred to as the "New Profession." This is investment counsel, the personal tailoring of securities portfolio to the particular needs, requirements and objectives of investors who by virtue of their substantial amount of capital qualify for investment counseling services.

25 YEARS AGO

AUGUST, 1942 IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Tangier, 1942

Harry H. Schwartz throws this flash of light on the gathering tension in North Africa:

> I arrived in Tangier at the end of 1942. The week before, a German-occupied house which had been used to plot Allied shipping courses through the Straits for German U-boats had been blown up. The week after I arrived British guards and pouches from Gibraltar were blown up on the quay in Tangier harbor. The streets were full of anti-British rioters for a week. I rapidly came to believe I had gained an exciting career.

Civilian supplies to French North Africa

In the chapter of his book "Affairs at State" entitled "Adventures in North Africa," the Honorable Henry S. Villard explains the importance of the policy of supplying civilian needs, the violent opposition to it in the United States right up to the landings in November, and the vital role played by the consular agents. As the officer in the Department responsible for implementing the policy, Harry had a hard time. The policy had been established at the top level but was almost imperceptibly supported there.

In August 1942 a Department Bulletin announced that economic help to French North Africa had been resumed. Two French ships sailed August 9 for Casablanca with non-military supplies for the civilian population. American consular agents stationed in Morocco, Algier and Tunisia were directed to supervise the distribution.

Dairen, 1941-42

Augustus S. Chase, who spoke Chinese, and W. Garland Richardson, who spoke Japanese, manned a Consulate at Dairen before Pearl Harbor. Dick Richardson has sent some recollections of the time:

After hearing by radio of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Sabin and he began to burn codes and papers. As they carried loads to the basement furnace a Japanese policeman peered at them through the glass top of the front door, pedaled off on his bicycle, and half an hour later came back to announce: "The Mayor says will you please stop burning so much paper. The ashes from the chimney are dirtying up the streets." He was quite polite about it as he was one of the regular policemen. A few days later the Swiss Consul, Bryner, and his assistant came to take over the files. The Japanese military police (Kempeitai) with them were anything but polite. They insisted on going through the files. Sabin refused. Taking advantage of the long and acrimonious argument that followed, Dick and Bryner's assistant began making an inventory of the files. As each cabinet was finished the assistant put on the Swiss seal. Then they told the disputants what they'd accomplished. Sabin struggled not to laugh and Bryner grinned. The Kempeitai were furious. Bryner refused to break the seals without an order from his government. He came that afternoon and took the files away.

Exchange of persons

On August 25, 1942, the *Gripsholm* arrived in New York with 1,451 passengers from the Orient. They included nation-

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als of sixteen countries. There were about 60 officers and employees of the Foreign Service and 180 of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Treasury, Justice and other Departments. The Honorable Joseph Clark Grew was the ranking American. There was Willys R. Peck, Minister to Thailand, Frank P. Lockhart, Consul General at Shanghai, Richard P. Butrick, Chargé at Peiping, Eugene H. Dooman, Counselor in Tokyo, and Consuls General Addison E. Southard, Clarence J. Spiker, Harold B. Quarton, John K. Caldwell, and Irving N. Linnell. Among the younger officers were Charles Bohlen, Everett Drumright, Thomas Estes, Fulton Freeman, U. Alexis Johnson, Horace H. Smith, and Edwin F. Stanton. There were some newsmen. One of them was Joseph W. Alsop, Jr.

At Lourenço Marques, the exchange point, some 39 FSOs and employees involved in the exchange had found transfer orders awaiting them that obliged them to extract their baggage from 10,000 other pieces and stay behind when the *Gripsholm* sailed after the exchange had taken place at that port.

Once the *Gripsholm* had left Lourenço Marques and things had settled down a little, an Executive Committee of Foreign Service officers was formed to help gather information and prepare reports. There were officers of the day, office hours, and daily assignments. Machinery was set up to make loans to passengers.

Walter W. Hoffman, who had been in Hong Kong, has provided the following recollections of this exchange:

I have many memories of the trip. The difficulty is to choose the most memorable. Perhaps it was the heart-warming reception we received unexpectedly from the ships of a convoy assembled in the harbor of Lourenço Marques. There were scores of vessels at anchor there and they gave us a tremendous welcome—flags flying, whistles blowing and crews cheering—as the *Asama Maru* and the *Conte Verde*, which brought us there from the Far East, steamed past them to the dock.

There was the occasion when I and several others—I think Emmy Argullo and Tom Weil from Shanghai were with us—were savoring civilization in Lourenco Marques's leading hotel. After the makeshifts of our internment and the sketchy accommodation of the *Asama Maru*, clean linen, sparkling crystal, obsequious waiters and the soft music of the orchestra were truly appreciated. When, all of a sudden, we heard the Star Spangled Banner being played, we took it as a personal compliment and jumped proudly to our feet. We quickly resumed our seats, however, with red faces, hoping that no one had noticed us, when we realized that the orchestra was merely playing selections from Madame Butterfly.

Upon disembarking at Lourenço, elaborate precautions were taken to insure that there would be no encounters between the two groups being exchanged. The Japanese transferring from the *Gripsholm* to the *Asama* were routed along one side of the pier and we, moving in the opposite direction, made a wide detour to avoid confrontation with them. Whatever difficulties or unpleasantness had been anticipated or feared were greatly exaggerated and groundless. Missing one of my suitcases, I returned from the *Gripsholm* to the *Asama* and walked the length of the vessel, descending to the bowels of the bow to the oriental steerage, where I had been lodged. Although the ship was crowded with Japanese, no one paid the least attention to me or questioned my presence. The suitcase eventually turned up on the *Gripsholm*.

As soon as we were free from Japanese control we were put to work. One immediate necessity was the issuance of visas to all the non-American citizens who were being repatriated with us. There were many of these since the

group included South Americans and Canadians, not to mention the alien wives of some citizens. For their entry into the United States, the letter of the law had to be obeyed and all provided with Section 3(2) visas.

An assembly line was set up in one of the public rooms of the *Gripsholm*. There some 20 or so clerks and vice consuls were arranged in a semi-circle. Each performed one act in the visa-issuing process. My station was at the very end of the line where I added the final signature. Of course there had been no screening or question of eligibility. Visas were automatically granted, even over the protests of one South American Minister who insisted that his—and his country's—dignity would be compromised if he were not issued the diplomatic visa to which he was entitled but for which there were no facilities. The procedure was futile. Upon arrival in New York, admission depended on the results of the meticulous screening to which all, without exception, Americans as well as aliens, were subjected by the FBI.

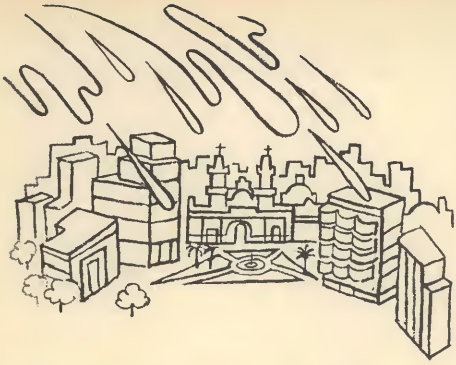
I could go on at great length. There was the time when Consul General Southard was ordered, by a Japanese sailor, to move away from his favorite spot at the head of the first class stairway on the grounds that he was wearing out the linoleum. There was the floating drydock which we encountered in mid-Atlantic, abandoned and burning. The *Gripsholm* circled it. There was no sign of life. As there was nothing we could do we sailed on, leaving it to its solitary drifting. There was the excitement and pleasure felt by Donald Lamm, a keen ornithologist, at seeing his first albatross in the neighborhood of the Cape of Good Hope. And there was the thrill of going ashore in Rio—setting foot on American soil once again, apart from the fascination of the place itself. It was in Rio that we read the first account of the landing at Guadalcanal.

A daughter, Margaret Ellen, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Leo J. Callanan on August 12, 1942, in Boston. Leo was then Consul in Pernambuco. From early school days Margaret Ellen had but one goal: nursing. While attending Ursuline Academy, Bethesda, Maryland, she gave her weekends and holidays to service as Nurse's Aide at Providence Hospital. After graduating she entered the Washington Hospital Center School of Nursing. After graduating there she took the Board examinations in the District of Columbia and became a Registered Nurse. She has worked at Beebe Hospital in Lewes, Delaware, and at George Washington Hospital, and is now at the Hospital Center here in Washington, D.C. Leo himself retired in 1955 and took up work in the U.S. Catholic Conference (formerly N.C.W.C.) Immigration Department. He is still working there full time, mainly on individual immigration problems and matters related to them.

FORTY YEARS AGO

The musty 1927 vintage bouquet of this JOURNAL item makes it worth repeating:

The American ceremonies at Paris on July 4 included the placing of a wreath upon the tomb of Lafayette in Picpus Cemetery, addresses by the Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Sheldon Whitehouse, and others, at the Place des Etats-Unis, and a banquet in the evening given by the American Chamber of Commerce in France and attended by 400 men. A former Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, made the principal speech at the banquet. It was also featured by the presence of the six American flyers, Chamberlin and Levine, and Commander Byrd and his companions. For the first time in the history of radio, messages were sent to the United States. The long distance radio speakers were Marshal Foch, the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Bokanowski, Commander Richard E. Byrd, and Clarence D. Chamberlin.



Postscripts to Post Reports

by Ted Olson

I. Mexico, D.F.

Punctually every day at five, somebody
(maybe the Aztec rain god) parks a tank-truck
as big as a mesa over Cuauhtémoc's city
and opens the spigot. You could almost think
Wells's time-machine was reeling backward,
undoing four centuries of desiccation,
and tomorrow you'd wake up in Tenochtitlán,
an Aztec Venice, as Bernal Díaz found it.
But punctually, in thirty minutes exactly,
the spigot turns off, the tank-truck rolls away
to take on tomorrow's load.

All that summer
we scanned the southern horizon. The maps insisted
there ought to be mountains. There weren't. July . . . August . . .
September . . . We began to get discouraged.
Then one morning we woke to an air that stung
like shaving-lotion, looked out—
Glory be!
Resplendent, resurrected, all that the billing
had promised, and better: Popocatepetl!
Easter in October, an Aztec Easter.

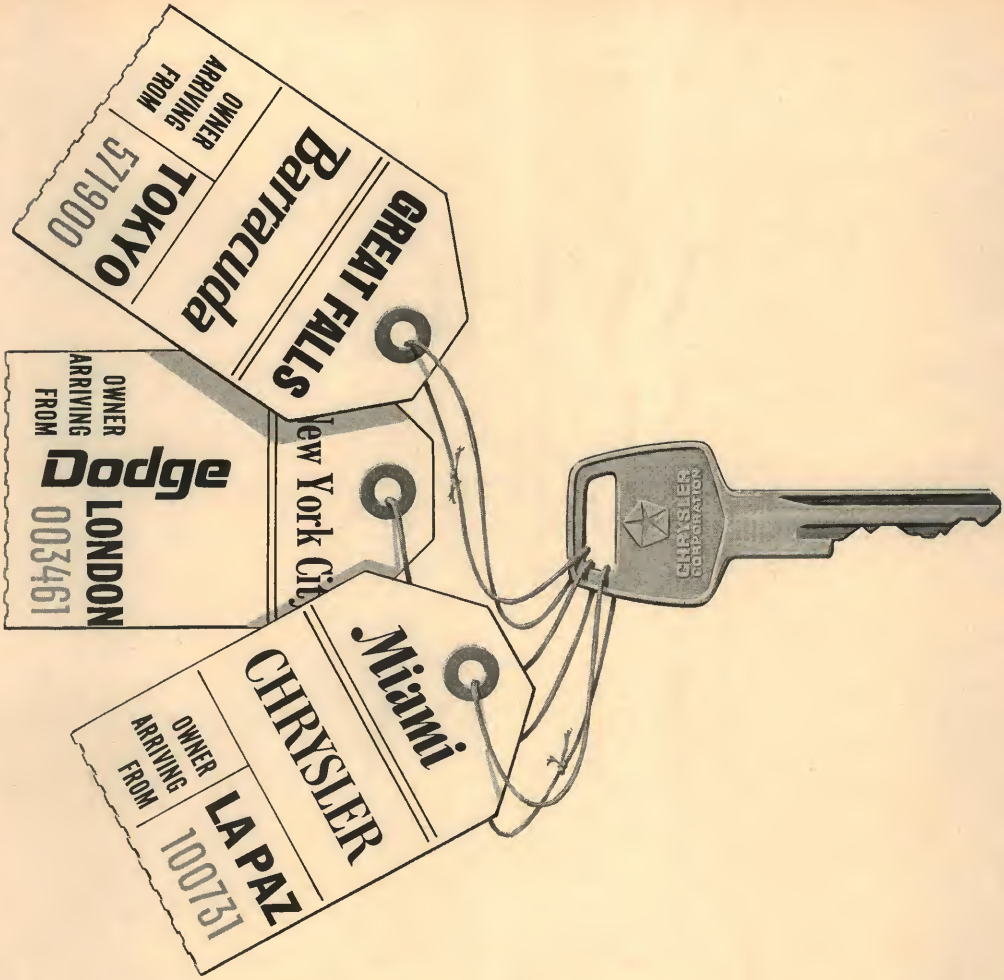
II. San Salvador

In San Salvador they tell you that Izalco
(the volcano) puts on a fireworks fiesta
if he and El Salvador decide they like you.
In San Salvador at twilight the señoritas
unfurl like evening primroses, to promenade
in pairs around the plaza. They primly ignore
the caballeros, counter-promenading
and primly ignoring them. The pretense continues
for all of fifteen minutes.

In San Salvador
they tell you of the junior officer who requested
a transfer, possibly because neither Izalco
nor the señoritas would reveal their hidden fires.

III. Between Rimini and Ravenna

So this is Caesar's Rubicon—
this torpid trickle that any nimble
twelve-year-old could vault for fun!
Surely if I were to choose a symbol
for the long shot, the rash gamble,
I'd say Congo, or Amazon.
I couldn't, though, put to it, name you a one
who ever crossed either. Perhaps what matters
is the man's dimensions, not the waters'.
Perhaps it takes the coincidence
of a time, a Caesar, and great events
(and just a pinch of promotional sense)
to give a river consequence.



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WHO MAKES FOREIGN POLICY, AND HOW

DAVID R. RAYNOLDS

OBSERVERS of American foreign policy are consistently intrigued by the people who make it, and how they do it. Knowledge of America's vast power suggests that we have wider policy alternatives than most countries, and that choices once made could be more drastically effective in world terms. Because much of American policy is public knowledge, the flow of information constantly tantalizes with new questions about what may happen next. Since we are not a hermit kingdom, the "who" and "how" questions will continue to be raised in the years ahead.

There is doubtful utility, however, in asking the "who" and "how" questions without a prior attempt to sketch in some of the fundamental limits of the American policy matrix. First of all, what are we like—and what are foreigners like?

A Look at Us

There are roughly two hundred million Americans at present, with a bit over one percent living abroad at any point in time. We are thus the fourth most populous country, but have more nationals outside our borders than any other state. Our population is poly-racial, religiously diverse, but culturally fairly homogeneous. Literacy is high, with an unusual stress on formal education. More than half the world's college graduates are Americans.

We are an extremely wealthy nation by any human experience. Our rich (the top 10 per cent of taxpayers, according to Internal Revenue) have taxable incomes of $13,000 or more per year. Life spans for the people as a whole are long, and starvation is an isolated, individual event.

Though our ethic stresses individuality, most of our interpersonal activity is conducted in a complicated series of semi-formal relationships within organizations. The corporate form is very significant, and few foreign treasuries have an inflow of funds as large as those of our largest companies. Our form of national, state and local government has retained the same structure for almost two centuries, which makes it one of the oldest in the world.

A Look at Them

There are about 130 foreign countries in the world, plus a number of dependent territories, with a total population of over three billion people. There is great diversity among the 120 countries with which we have formal diplomatic relations, as well as among the countries that we deal with in other ways. More than half the foreign countries have popu-

lations of under six million people; only a handful have national incomes as large as the annual production of California or New York. For much of the world, individual incomes are low, life spans are short, and famine is an increasing threat.

Political change in the rest of the world is frequently explosive. In capsule terms, during 1966:

—International wars stopped between Indonesia and Malaya, and between India and Pakistan. International wars continued in Vietnam and the Yemen. Border clashes continued on the Israeli-Arab frontiers.

—Violence inside Indonesia took the greatest human toll in 1966. Internal violence was also important in China, Uganda, Iraq and the Sudan.

—The established governments of the Central African Republic, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Ghana, Syria, Argentina and Burundi were overthrown by coups-d'etat.

—Among other important, but more constitutional changes, governments shifted in India, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and Germany. A new Prime Minister in South Africa followed the assassinated incumbent.

The transitory nature of many foreign governments, as indicated above, imposes one of the limits on modern diplomacy.

Most of the foreign countries belong to one or more formal international groupings, the largest being the United Nations. The international formal framework is designed, in part, to provide standard seating arrangements for nations, though governments may change. The current international institutions are generally new, and generally weak. None is all inclusive; for example, two states were exploding atomic weapons in the air in 1966, a practice most states had foresworn by treaty.

Prediction Theory

Foreign policy formulation requires a modicum of knowledge of the past and present, and certain assumptions about the future. The brief catalogue above highlights the possibility that the future may be very hard to predict, even on the short run. Some computerized studies of just what kind of human activity can *not* be predicted are disturbing. To take a classic case:

—The greatest single concentration of mass, current economic data is tabulated daily on the New York Stock Exchange. Computer studies of price changes in individual stocks were made to see what formulas might account for the changes. The closest mathematical description was a *random walk*. This is the kind of numerical change which would result if a computer printed random numbers, each one linked within a range of (say) from 95 per cent to 105 per cent of the last previous number. The random walk theory suggests that at the Stock Exchange, the actions and reactions of most stockholders cancel each other out, with the net changes unpredictable.

If no individual, and no computer, can predict a stock's price five minutes hence, it may be even more difficult to predict the situation in Country X next month or next year. Who are the people who have to work within such a framework of uncertainty?

The Visible Saints

New England theologians used to say that neighbors could identify those who were going to heaven. The heaven-bound were the visible saints. No one was so arrogant as to set himself up as a saint on his own declaration; even Cotton Mather used to claim he wasn't sure where he was going.

Just as New England used to have visible saints, so the United States has people visibly and certainly making foreign policy. The candid observer is entitled to discount inflated individual claims, or adjust for false modesty, when seeking to identify who makes policy. Any reader is invited to make his own list; any two readers on comparison might be surprised to find how much such lists would coincide.

As an outline of this approach, the number of individuals making American foreign policy would seem to be on the order of 1,000. Probably 600 are inside the United States ,and 400 abroad. By category, there would be about 20 elected officials, and 80 officials specially appointed by elected officials. The largest category would be about 600 professional diplomats (FSOs and FSRs), including some at the top ambassadorial positions. Perhaps another 200 officials inside the national government have a hand in making foreign policy, as well as another 100 miscellaneous individuals not on the federal payroll. In more detail:

—The President and Vice President are the most important of the elected officials. The others (roughly 18) would be members of Congress and, depending on circumstances, perhaps a state Governor.

—The 80 appointees include the Secretary of State and other high-ranking appointees inside the Department and serving abroad on ambassadorial assignments or special missions. Some members of the Cabinet and the subcabinet are also in this category, as are a few members of the White House staff, and a few experts employed by the Legislative Branch.

—Of the 600 FSOs and FSRs, FSOs would predominate. Of the FSOs, roughly half entered the service by examination at the junior level, while the others joined in one of the lateral entry programs. Overall, half of those in this category would be abroad at any one time, and the other half within the United States.

—Among the 200 other government officials making foreign policy, we would expect to find the majority in the United States. Their parent agencies are too numerous to catalogue. Due to the diversity of employing agencies and missions, this is not a cohesive group. However, there is occasional reciprocal friction between this group and the FSO/FSR group.

—Most diverse of all are the roughly 100 individuals in the miscellaneous, non-governmental category. Here we would find the foundation spokesman, the newspaper pundit, the TV expert; also businessmen, academicians, labor leaders, minority group leaders, churchmen. Almost all of them live and work in the United States, with occasional forays into the foreign world.

As the reader puts names in each category, he will notice that the system is rather flexible. First, he will find that some who are in one category today were in another in the past; that is, ex-diplomats become elected officials, elected officials become appointed officials, appointed officials become foundation presidents, etc. This suggests both a diversity of past backgrounds, and a diversity of future expectations for members of the policy making groups.

A second feature is that the 1967 list, when filled out, would not be quite the same as last year's list, or next year's list. Individuals drop off for various reasons: death, senility, resignation, and in many cases, by policy happenstance. The man sent to ride the tiger in Country Y last year may have done so well that if he stays there, this year he's outside the main policy vortex. As individuals drop off the list, so new ones come on: perhaps by new appointment, perhaps because their skill has become "visible," perhaps because the tip of a political tornado touches down on their area of responsibility.

Naming the policy makers can be precise at a given moment, yet vaguely dissatisfying as a long-range analytic tool. We want to know more than today's names. This is why so many observers focus on group styles as being a valid way to capture the "who" and "how" of foreign policy making. The underlying thought is quite simple: that organizational or professional style controls the individual more than the

individual can shape the organization, or profession. In the discussion which follows, some generalizations will be made about the external attributes of the policy makers, the policy context in which they work, and how they behave in that context.

External Appearances

Suppose we could examine the thousand policy makers at home and abroad, perhaps through one-way mirrors. What would we see? First, we would notice that almost all were males. A few would be under 40, a somewhat larger number would be over 60, but the great majority would be in their 40's and 50's. They would almost all be energetic physical specimens.

Looking at their past records, we would find that almost all had active military duty in World War II or since—an attribute shared by about ten percent of the American population. Academic records would show that almost all had four or more years of formal college education—whereas in 1967, less than nine percent of Americans twenty-five years old or older had reached that educational level. From their tax returns, we would find that all were paid enough to put them in the top ten percent of American taxpayers—though several million Americans would be enjoying even higher incomes.

With rare exceptions, American policy makers have had experience records of years or decades in foreign affairs. Whether they began issuing visas in the Foreign Service, or as skilled observers on the campus, involvement with foreign affairs over time distinguishes the policy maker from most citizens.

No matter how diffident some may be in their disclaimers, the men who make American policy exercise enormous personal power. One reflection of this: at present, more than one percent of America's college graduates each year try to get into the Foreign Service at the bottom of the ladder. Meanwhile, many other skilled individuals are competing for the elective, appointive and miscellaneous categories of policy power.

What is the working context for these rich, educated, actively competitive Americans?

The Policy Context

Policy operations are carried out in real time, not in the abstract. Today's things must be done today. There is no statistical context; a given action succeeds or fails precisely one time out of one, not nine times out of ten. Though each policy action is unique, there is also a policy continuum—that is, so long as Country X exists, we will have lesser or greater policy problems with Country X.

Some observers of American policy making find it incomprehensible because they confuse this complex process with one or another of two simplified models which have had great intellectual currency in recent years. The scientific model is best known. This consists of a system of problems which can be dealt with by repetitive and impersonal physical manipulation. A valid "scientific" approach will work for different, properly trained manipulators, over space and over time. Today a human appendix can be extracted in the same way in New Guinea and New York; gravity worked on Newton's apple as well as Eve's.

Policy between nations, on the other hand, is ever changing, and highly personalized. The current France is not post-Napoleonic France, nor is the current French foreign minister the reincarnation of M. Talleyrand. If pushed to extreme generalization for the policy context, one might almost say that the precise formula which worked yesterday wouldn't work today, and that the results achieved by any particular practitioner would not be duplicated by another.

Another false trail has been blazed by a mathematical model used in game theory. This is the "zero-sum" formulation, which can be translated as "I win a penny, you lose a penny." The penny changes hands; no new penny is created, nor is an old penny destroyed. This formulation, quite analogous to theories about the conservation of energy, can be highly deceptive when applied to human activity. In real life, people who match pennies enjoy the activity itself, as well as the transfer of the physical pennies—so that even that simple example has a sum larger than zero. Final human outputs are worth more than the sum of all measurable inputs on an input-output matrix. In the foreign policy context, after an action is taken, things will never be the same again—opposing forces don't cancel out, they bear grudges.

Certainly we can set up some outside parameters for the policy context. Almost all the individuals who will have any importance to American foreign policy (citizens and foreigners) for the rest of this century are alive today. We have mapped most of the surface of the planet where they live. If we wish, we can inventory the physical objects on it. These are very wide parameters, however, and the fact that they can be described doesn't materially lessen the complexity of policy choices. Nor does it render superfluous the dexterity of American policy makers.

Action Within the Context

Short of persistent and conspicuous success, the exercise of policy power has few built-in guarantees. Elected officials are at the periodic mercy of organized constituents, who, meeting in November, can remove them from access to policy matters. The appointees of the elected officials serve at their sufferance. Members of the professional FSO/FSR group are dismissed through the obscure workings of the euphonious "selection-out" process, or shunted aside into management duties. Those outside government struggle to maintain their access to policy councils. In short, there is no tenure, and nothing fails like failure.

Worse, the thousand policy makers compete amongst each other on a continuous basis. As suggested previously, they are housed within many buildings, ranging from the White House to obscure chanceries abroad. Each edifice contains supporting players, many of them only average or below when compared to others at the same site. The policy maker, however, cannot be content with being outstanding at his physical station; he is competing world-wide for incremental power in making national policy. His power can erode when problems cease to come his way; it can expand when additional problems are put before him.

Worst, the policy makers are dealing with foreigners. There is no simple periodic table of elements to guide them through the maze of cultural differences, language confusions, ill-disguised forms of enmity. With whom does one agree? What can one agree? And what is agreement worth?

Policy makers are aware of the built-in challenges of the problems with which they deal. Some observers would ascribe arrogance to anyone tangling with problems of this magnitude. A more charitable analysis would point out that the problems are essentially human in origin, hence susceptible to human amelioration. The policy maker may enter foreign affairs at first with the conviction that he knows the solutions for the world's ills—this, for example, is a common view after the passage rites of the FSO orals or the PhD process. Experience in a few languages, cultures and concrete situations drives home a sense of personal inadequacy and uncertainty. Further experience and reflection, however, shows the budding policy maker that uncertainty is a principal feature of problems where men cannot totally predict the future. Once this realization is absorbed, the policy maker can operate on the rough-and-ready basis that while he himself does not comprehend all the variables in a given situation, he is

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My Own, My Affluent Homeland

DAVID E. SIMCOX

I AM at the age when I no longer consider two years a long time. But at the present dizzying pace of change in the booming United States, the Foreign Service officer who returns on home leave may be a little stunned to see a decade's changes and wonders have been compressed into a brief two years. Snow was an unfamiliar sight after two years in the tropics, and I noted on landing that it still lent an orderly, antiseptic look to the landscape, giving it symmetry, concealing the litter, and scourging the insect pests that afflict warmer lands. I had forgotten the well-groomed, proper look of the American landscape. It is as if no blade of grass dares grow unplanned.

In a way it is a humbling experience to return. Seeing once again this humming powerhouse of a nation, it seems almost presumptuous to claim to represent it abroad. We are Americans and the product of American society. But as we serve tour after tour abroad, our American perspective subtly changes, our horizons slowly shrink to those of the smaller, humbler nations in which we often live and with which we deal. Since our diplomacy is increasingly the diplomacy of international assistance, and because we deal with needy societies, by exposure our economic standards of measurement contract; almost unaware, we abandon those of the opulent United States and assume those of the countries where deprivation rather than opulence is usually the rule.

For the first time on this visit to my native land I saw some meaning in the pretentious neologism "re-americanization." We must periodically see and feel the pulsation of this rich nation of ours if we are to appreciate fully its place among nations and grasp and redefine to our own satisfaction its message to the rest of the world.

It is the all-pervading affluence of the United States of the late 1960's that most impresses the returning diplomat. The trappings of prosperity are everywhere evident. Roads teem with late model cars, and few foreign or economy models are among them. What once were country lanes are now four-lane highways. Burgeoning subdivisions continue to devour the countryside. Mass-merchandising stores are packed with goods once limited to the rich or the gourmet. And there is instant credit—tight money notwithstanding—for any and all who would purchase the gleaming appliances, furniture, and all other artifacts vital to human happiness.

The symbols of leisure rise everywhere. Bowling alleys resplendent in brick, steel and neon. Established golf courses have receded before the inexorable creep of housing developments, only to be replaced by more courses farther out on the urban perimeter. Even houses that can at best be called

petit bourgeois sport swimming pools (nothing down—thirty-six months to pay). The spreading professionalization of sports sends rank upon rank of husky young men against each other for the pleasure of the all too sedentary American. Their salaries for half a year's work would make the Foreign Service officer boggle. Men are even paid to roll, repeatedly and expertly, a bowling ball down an alley. And other men even pay to watch them in what surely must be the most monotonous spectator sport ever devised by living man. One can't help being struck by the ease and effortlessness with which Americans live in the midst of their wealth, as if man had never risen from the mud or scratched the earth with a stick.

One also wonders whether Galbraith's diagnosis of America's propensity for "private glut and public squalor" may still be fully valid. The private sector may indeed be glutted, but the public sector now is hardly squalid. No one can

complain now about inadequate highways; instead, we bemoan their steady intrusions on the landscape. New schools have risen like willows on a river bank, and the mason and the contractor are as frequently seen on our campuses as the professor and the research fellow. Policemen are better paid, better trained, better equipped than ever. Even so, public concern over crime remains high. But even crime in this blessed country bears a genteel stamp of affluence far removed from the desperate delinquency of Calcutta, Cairo, or the slums of Rio.

Aside from Vietnam, so many of the nation's preoccupations seem to be those arising from its very affluence. Because of our productivity we have polluted our rivers and tainted the living air. Because of the immense scale of our consumption we have overloaded our system of waste disposal and littered our lands. Because leisure and travel are now within reach of all we have crowded our ski slopes and our beaches, thronged our national parks, and turned our lakes and streams into noisy boat raceways. But the average American is now aware of these problems. Characteristically, he knows that enough money, enough brains, enough effort will be applied to them and they will be whipped. Just as they have always been.

After two years in a small, unstable, and impoverished Latin American country I marveled like any immigrant at this panorama of riches. It was almost as if I was seeing it for the first time. And in a way I was, for the continuing boom had packed far-reaching changes into the two years of my absence.

Traveling across the fat land, I hoped to grasp somewhat the dry figures of the economists. This is what it means in terms of goods and services, I thought, to have a gross national product approaching 700 billion dollars. How rich can a country become, I asked myself. What, if any, are the natural limits of a nation's development? Can a nation become "overdeveloped," if that term has any validity? What about the average individual American, is he now approaching the outer limits of his capacity to consume the flood of goods, services, and amusements the American cornucopia is capable of dropping on him? I have wondered before and I wonder more insistently now whether the United States may not be some sort of economic mutation among nations, a freak produced by whatever genetics may govern the historical origin and evolution of societies that is not likely to be reproduced.

For those of us who deal with the rest of the world, this final question is a vital one. Implicit in the liberal philosophy underlying our society are the propositions that man, if not perfectible, is at least improvable ,and that progress must inevitably come once all the proper factors are in place and at work. Certainly these propositions inhere in the whole concept of foreign assistance.

Our foreign aid programs may not always aspire to reproduce American style societies and living standards throughout the underdeveloped world. But it begins with the premise that even the poorest of the poor may at least be transformed into another Israel, another Puerto Rico, or even another New Zealand. The idea that just plain luck might play a role in determining success or failure is inadmissible. There is no room for the notion that the wealth of a chosen few nations of the earth may be the product of unreproducible historical circumstances. But when I see the inconceivable wealth of the United States spreading over the land like a rich pudding, and when I observe the ease and harmony with which 200 million people have learned to live together in a single, vast political community, I can only sense that my country has become what it is through an accident of history.

The implications of this country's unparalleled wealth are a little troubling. What does such a uniquely rich nation have to say to the rest of the world? Indeed, can the United States of the second half of the twentieth century even speak the language of the growing ranks of the have-nots? I have found my fellow Americans surprisingly well informed on the dry facts of the capital needs of the developing nations, UNCTAD, and the OECD. The American press and television handle these highly technical subjects admirably. But what of the common ground between the two-car-owning American burgher and the Pakistani ox cart driver? Or between the so-called American poverty case whose $300 monthly income exceeds the annual earnings of the underemployed Latin American city dweller.

Here in the American midwest where I spent my home leave, remote from the influence of the Washington Post, the New York Times, and the Eastern Establishment, I sensed a growing indifference—even impatience—toward foreign poverty. In any event there is a deep ignorance about the nature of the sub-culture of poverty itself. The success-

ful world speaks to the backward one across a vast and misty chasm. National news media have spent a lot of time telling the American people that the economic gap between rich and poor nations is widening. My impression is that there is a comprehension gap and it's widening too.

I told a successful businessman about the difficulty of day-to-day life at my previous post because of the shortage of water throughout the city.

But why of all things was water in short supply, he asked.

The city had grown rapidly, I explained, like most Latin American cities. The water system had not grown with it. That and poor maintenance meant it could no longer meet the demand.

He made it clear the answer had somehow left him a little unsatisfied, a little baffled as to how something as vital as water could not be provided. Such a simple problem. No problem at all, really. The necessary planning, appropriations, bond issues if necessary . . . possibly a slight increase in users' rates to defray added costs. Put the engineers and contractors to work and—there, water for all.

The thing is that it is simple, or should be. But how could I make him see that in the oppressive environment of poverty nothing is simple? A citizen of a country whose history is virtually an uninterrupted string of successes can hardly appreciate the dismal truth that nothing fails like failure.

Of late the press and television documentaries have brought news of impending famine in India. My fellow Americans are, as usual, well informed of the situation. They have seen pictures of the parched, eroded earth of Bihar, seen the scrawny oxen, read statistics on American wheat shipments. But they seem to view it all with detached compassion and more than a little bewilderment. India continues to starve even though the Americans have proved that there is nothing easier than producing food. The American begins to feel fatalistically that India will always starve. I found little in the way of indignation that our aid has worked no miracles in India. In fact, I found little resentment toward foreign aid of any sort to any country. Few Americans now seem to hove high expectations of what our foreign assistance can accomplish. Perhaps this indicates maturity and healthy realism. They don't seem to rail about foreign aid the way they used to, not even in the more conservative areas. But this is not necessarily a good sign. At times I get the feeling that many Americans have come to accept the annual aid outlay with resignation, in the spirit of a rich man paying a small stipend to a poor relative who otherwise might embarrass him socially.

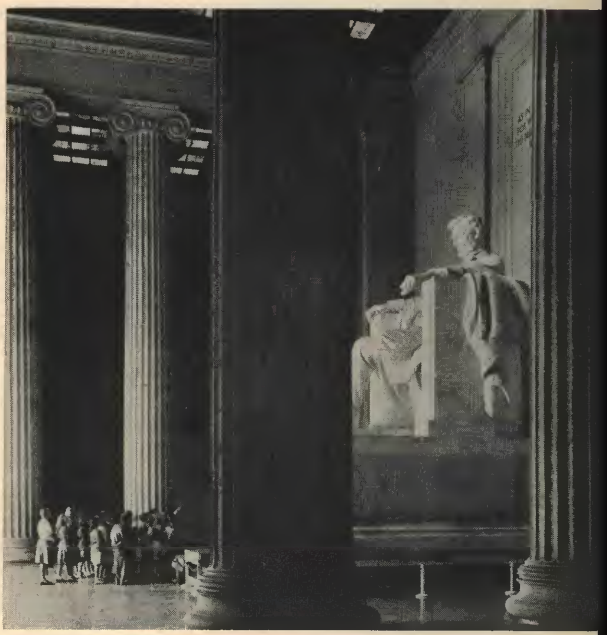
I'm convinced that the comprehension gap is real and that we of the so-called foreign affairs complex, the international press, the academicians of international relations, and the columnists have all contributed to it. We have popularized such terms as "revolutionary world," and "the winds of change." That once noble phrase, "revolution of rising expectations," threatens to replace "God is love" as the preferred chestnut of sermonizers and luncheon club speakers. In State Department parlance there is unthinking use of the terms "emerging nations" or "developing nations," almost as if their "emergence" or "development" were preordained by history. This terminology was made in all good faith, but it is heavily tinged with the peculiar optimism and dynamism of the USA.

If the willingness to accept change is the criterion, then the United States is still the most revolutionary society in the world. Unlike any other, our country is imbued with dynamism, willingness to innovate, and the conviction that progress is born only of change. The "old ways" have never known sanctity here.

To picture the average underdeveloped country as in the grip of revolutionary fervor and virtually bursting with pressures is somewhat extreme. And it overlooks the fundamental fact of their deep resistance to change.

The companions of poverty, whether that of the unemployed Appalachian coal miner, the Indian peasant, or the Latin American slum dweller, are apathy and profound conservatism. The revolutionary spirit burns hottest in the leadership classes of the underdeveloped countries. But even here the fervor does not match the glowing phraseology of our literature. Undeniably the new middle and industrial classes of the disadvantaged nations are experiencing rising expectation. And although they are slowly acquiescing in changes, they are even less eager to accept the sacrifices that the changes themselves entail.

I am making final preparations now to leave this land of wonders and return abroad. But I still am not jaded with marvels of this country that are so taken for granted by the permanent resident. The mail I depend on arrives every day. Letters are not lost or stolen. I call anywhere in the country



in brief minutes simply by dialing a series of digits. My problem is not to obtain a telephone but to resist the sales pressures of the phone company to equip every room with an instrument.

But I can't help but meditate on the uneven blessings that flow from development. Across the road from our family farm a new Westinghouse plant is rising. A reed-fringed pond where geese fed and where I once fished for bream and perch is being filled by bulldozers. The asphalt of a parking lot is spreading over the pasture. Another corner of the farm where a small branch once trickled lies interred under the futuristic slabs of an interstate highway interchange. I can only have faith that all this progress is worth the price.

It appears that this massive, bustling United States is entering still another cycle of growth that will further widen

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Some observations on H. M. Diplomatic

JOHN E. HARR

HAVING observed in recent years the very slow progress of the major recommendations of the Herter Report, I became curious about how the British were faring with their counterpart, the Plowden Report (so-named after Lord Plowden, Chairman of the Committee on Representational Services Overseas). The Plowden Report (1964) had many points of similarity to the Herter Report (1962) even though it was concerned in large part with a unique problem—amalgamation of the Foreign Service and the Commonwealth Relations Service.

One notion I had in mind was that there might be some ideas or examples out of the British experience with the Plowden Report that might be worthy of at least serious consideration for our own situation.

In London recently, I visited the Foreign Office and had a number of interviews in the administrative area; with Sir Colin Crowe, the Chief of Administration; with his deputy; and with heads of the major branches. The welcome was a warm one and I found my curiosity very much reciprocated. And I found that the oldest of clichés is, after all, still very true: the world is indeed small. Despite some obvious and basic differences, the similarities in the problems of our two services are quite striking.

I would like to report here generally what has happened as a result of the Plowden Report and to describe some specific administrative innovations that might be worth considering. The facts I obtained in the interviews; the observations and conclusions are very much my own.

Implementation of the Report

The Plowden Report was implemented almost in its entirety, and needed action was taken swiftly and decisively. Recommendations not susceptible by their nature to quick action appear to be well-established as policy guidance. There are several reasons for this overall success. One was the sponsorship. The Herter Committee was private in character while the Plowden Committee was appointed by the Prime Minister, which does not guarantee success, but certainly helps.* The Report was accepted by the government and by all the political parties. The Committee was well constituted in terms of bringing together the major interests and points of view. Members included a Labour M.P. and a Conservative M.P., a former head of the Foreign Office and a former head of the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO). Lord Plowden, who has been compared in these pages to W. Averell Harriman,** apparently was a very effective chairman. He was able to reconcile conflicting opinions and produce a realistic and far-reaching report. Finally, there was general recognition that the Foreign Service needed some rejuvenation and that some form of amalgamation of the two personnel groups had to happen sooner or later. The "rightness" of this central reform carried much of the rest with it.

Amalgamation of the Two Services

Amalgamation of the Foreign Service and the Commonwealth Service (creating the newly-named H.M. Diplomatic Service) has been carried off successfully in less than two years. Foreign Service people were automatically incorporated into the new Service. CRO people were also incorporated, but since technically they had previously been in Home Civil Service conditions of employment (e.g., in such matters as grade structure and retirement policy) they were allowed during the first year of the new Service to express a preference for transfer to one of the regular home departments. The majority opted to remain in the new Diplomatic Service. There has been much deliberate cross-fertilizing through the assignment process, so that many former CRO men are now serving in non-Commonwealth countries, and former Foreign Service people are serving in Commonwealth countries.

The amalgamation of any two services inevitably raises questions in the minds of members of those services as to what effect this might have on their own careers. There were fears on the part of Foreign Service people on themes that might be heard here if, for example, AID professional-level persons were to be integrated into the FSO corps. The Commonwealth Service had expanded quickly (as many former colonies became independent and joined the Commonwealth), entrance examinations were not thought to be as rigorous as for the Foreign Service, and the suspicion was that Commonwealth men had moved more quickly up the grade-scale than Foreign Service people.

Conversely, there were probably fears among CRO people that an "old-fashioned" and overly class-conscious atmosphere from the Foreign Service might prevail in the Diplomatic Service. Both sets of apprehensions were to some extent the result of that very lack of understanding between the two Services which was generally seen by those responsible as one of the strongest arguments for integrating them. The probability that the concerns were exaggerated is suggested by the fact that instead of proving dysfunctional, the amalgamation (in the opinion of the persons I interviewed) has indeed given British overseas representation a much-needed shot in the arm.

Also, potentially negative feelings were dampened to some extent by substantial improvements in the allowance system as a result of the Plowden Report. Some disputes about such conditions of service as allowances had been largely responsible for setting up the Plowden Committee in the first place.

Although the two services have been amalgamated and there is unified administrative support (in the form of the Diplomatic Service Administration Office), the two Cabinet posts and the two ministries (the Foreign Office and the CRO) continue to exist.

Unified Representation Abroad

It was the strong position of the Plowden Report that all overseas representation should be performed by the Diplomatic Service and that the creation of additional overseas services by other Ministries (on the CRO model) should be avoided. Consequently, the British have no counterpart to the foreign services of USIA, AID, the Department of Agriculture. Their model is similar to our commercial function. That is, overseas work is carried out by members of the Diplomatic Service in such fields as assistance and informa-

*I don't mean to imply that the difference in sponsorship by itself is sufficient to explain the success of the Plowden Report as compared to the difficulties in implementing the major Herter recommendations. The latter obviously involves a much more complex story, one yet to be told.

**See: Zara Steiner, *Problems of the British Foreign Service*, issue of August, 1964.

tion while ministries or offices in London (such as the Overseas Development Ministry, the Central Office of Information) concern themselves with policy guidance, budgets, or backstopping. There is, of course, secondment of technical specialists from the Home Service in overseas assistance work, but the point is that management of the assistance program is the responsibility of a Diplomatic Service officer in the British Embassy.

An interesting sidelight is that in the 1943 Eden Reforms, the British thought they were stealing a leaf from the Americans by combining their Diplomatic and Consular Services to create a single Foreign Service (as we had done in the Rogers Act of 1924). Ironically, it was only shortly afterwards that we began creating the multiple foreign services that we still have today, while the British have been able to stick much more closely to the ideal of a single service, now fully achieved with Plowden. And, of course, before Plowden the Foreign and Commonwealth Services operated in different countries and never in the same country as our multiple services do. The Hays Bill, representing one of the major Herter Committee recommendations that failed, was, in effect, an effort to steal a leaf from the British by creating the framework for a single service.

Differences in Functional Fields

Partly because of the unified representation overseas, the British pattern of functional fields differs from ours. For example, information work abroad is a major functional field for the Diplomatic Service, as is development assistance. One gets the impression that British administrative staffs are proportionately smaller than ours overseas (though not at headquarters), possibly because they do not have our multiplicity of agencies operating abroad. At any rate, it is clear that administrative work abroad is sub-professional for the British, except for the top jobs in some of the larger embassies. There also seems to be greater use of what the British call "locally-engaged" persons.

The British have succeeded in making the commercial field a highly-respected, attractive function for their professional diplomats. It overshadows what we call economic work (which of course the British also do in connection with political analysis and development assistance). Trade promotion is clearly emphasized. Aside from the well-known reasons for the importance of trade to the British in general, there has been an administrative effort to reward and legitimize the commercial function for the professional diplomat. It can be said that younger officers have the clear impression that they will not reach the top without having had a good stint of commercial work.

The Plowden Report stressed the importance of area and functional specialization, as did the Herter Report. Given the strength of the generalist tradition of the British Administrative Class, there is little danger that the Diplomatic Service will become over-specialized. One's impression is that Zara Steiner's prediction is quite accurate. "The emphasis," she wrote, "will still be on the general-purpose officer though he will have had a good deal of experience in a functional field or in one particular area of the world."

Single Grade Structure

In effect, the British maintain a category system such as ours, but they do so within a single grade structure in an effort "to avoid the extremes of integration and fragmentation."* To explain this requires first the clarification of some terminology. In Britain, the Administrative Class (formerly called Branch A in the British Foreign Service) is equivalent to our FSO corps, and the Executive Class (formerly Branch B in the British Foreign Service) is equivalent to our FSS category at the middle to high grade levels. Their Clerical level is equivalent to the lower FSS grades.

The Plowden Committee proposed putting these groups together in a single set of ten grades, ranging from the lowest clerk to the highest-ranking career person in the Foreign Office (the Permanent Secretary), with salaries ranging from $1,100 to $25,000. The point is that status distinctions are removed publicly, although distinctions between Administrative, Executive, and Clerical personnel are maintained internally. Everyone is a member of H.M. Diplomatic Service, but entry points and promotion streams are quite separate internally. The Report points out that the scheme "brackets grades in such a way as to make it difficult for anyone to be publicly labelled as in one stream or another. An officer who may now feel bound to describe himself as a member of Grade 3 of Branch B of the Foreign Service rather than by his diplomatic or consular rank could, under our proposal, describe himself simply as a member of Grade 6 of the Diplomatic Service."

This has undeniably been beneficial, and there have been other advantages: greater flexibility in administration, a sounder basis for lateral entry, and a linkage with the grade structure of the Home Civil Service. The interesting thing is that what might strike one as a sort of patchwork grade structure in the Report has turned out well in practice.

Still, one wonders why it is necessary to maintain the distinctions internally. It is a good bet that Executive Class officers, who are restricted to Grades 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9, and continue to wear the label of Executive Class, are also wondering about this. The argument is that the same things that happen when internal class distinctions exist will happen *without* the distinctions. That is, the Administrative Class man with his superior qualifications will move on up past Grade 4 without need of any labels and only the rare Executive Class officer will do so. So the point is, why maintain invidious labels?

There is, in fact, a strong possibility that another special study committee now in existence, the Fulton Committee, which is studying the structure of the Home Civil Service, will recommend a "best qualified person" system that will obliterate the Administrative and Executive labels. If so, the Foreign Office will probably have to follow suit.

Lateral Entry

As mentioned, the single grade structure has provided a sounder basis for lateral entry (called "bridging" in British parlance). With Administrative and Executive officers sharing some of the same grade levels, it is easier to assign a very promising Executive Class officer to a job normally calling for an Administrative Class officer, to test him as a candidate for bridging. Probably more important is the fact that the British have managed to achieve and maintain a regular level of lateral intake yearly, equivalent to 20 per cent of the yearly intake of junior officers by the basic examination method. They are pleased with the results of this policy, including considerations of morale.

Promotion System

Promotions are handled by panels of senior officers as in our case, but the method of operation is quite different. Panels are composed entirely of senior officers who are sta-

(*Continued on page 45*)

*Quotations are from pp. 28-30 of the Plowden Report.

Understanding BU$INE$$ *Better*

R. G. CLEVELAND

I NEVER go near an Embassy unless I need my passport extended."

"The British Embassy does more to help business than the American Embassy."

"No Foreign Service officer ever came near our plant in Ruritania."

"Embassy officers are afraid to strain our ties with the Government of Lower Slobbovia by trying too hard to help US firms there."

These are extreme examples of the criticism the Foreign Service often gets from American business abroad; despite a lot of recent progress in improving Foreign Service-business relations, many businessmen are still pretty critical. However, most US businessmen abroad don't have these negative opinions; rather they are stereotypes, based on simple ignorance or on some unfortunate incident, which have been given broader circulation than they deserve.

The Department has been actively working to better business-Foreign Service relationships abroad. For this purpose, close ties have been established with business groups, among them the Business Council for International Understanding (BCIU), which is supported by many major American companies who operate abroad. BCIU operates a consultation program between Foreign Service personnel and American international companies. This is a major undertaking, which has very successfully established excellent and new channels of communication between Government and business. Both Foreign Service and business personnel have found it of real assistance to their work.

BCIU also manages an orientation course at American University for businessmen and their wives going overseas for the first time. This has had most beneficial results.

Early last year, a BCIU committee of top executives met with a State-Commerce group headed by former Under Secretary Mann to consider relationships between the Foreign Service and business abroad. This meeting produced the useful action program described in CA-10850 of May 31, 1966 to all diplomatic posts.

One idea for strengthening Service relations with business was to assign FSOs to spend a few months in a business environment. This idea was considered jointly by the Department and BCIU for some time, and in August 1965 it was decided to assign an FSO-1 as a "guinea pig" on an experimental basis.

I was peacefully enjoying my home leave in Massachusetts when one day the phone rang; an anonymous personnel officer was on the line, saying: "Congratulations on your new and challenging assignment." Over the years I have learned to treat such approaches with grave suspicion. Translated into plain English, a "challenging assignment" means "watch out!" Nevertheless, the idea of dwelling in the precincts of private business had its appeal, and of course an FSO always goes where he's sent and does what he's told without question!

So, in mid-September 1965, I found myself shuttling between Washington and New York, trying to work out my "sabbatical with private business." There seemed to be many different ideas as to what I ought to do. I did not fail to take advantage of this as it gave me a free hand to work out my own destiny.

At the outset, I had no idea of how to plan the program. The BCIU had established a committee for this purpose, but after some very interesting meetings, we agreed I'd better steer my own course. John Habberton, the Executive Director of the BCIU, gave valuable help by providing contacts and giving daily guidance. Without this, my task would have been pretty hard.

By the end of September, the plans for a six-months' exposure to twelve major firms were pretty well set; on October 4 I started at the First National City Bank of New York a "sabbatical" that was to end in the heart of the New York garment district in mid-April 1966. Before describing my experiences, perhaps a word about my objectives. As I saw it, I had a double objective: half to understand American business in its total setting—in its relationship to its whole market rather than simply the overseas portion. The other half was to expose an FSO to business executives who would hopefully gain through him a better understanding of the foreign policy process.

Selecting companies was not easy. On one hand, it was obviously good to see as many different types as possible; on the other hand, I didn't want my visits to be short and superficial. As it turned out, the problem of choice was partly resolved by the interest, or lack of it, on the part of various companies. One or two major companies with large overseas interests decided to "sit this one out" and let others do the groundwork. This helped a little to narrow down a very large

field of possibilities.

Another problem was geographic. Should I cover a lot of the United States or should I concentrate my activities in the New York area?

Fortunately, most major international firms have headquarters in New York City, and the BCIU is there. So I decided to center my stay in New York; this was fine personally and turned out to be sound in terms of coverage. As things developed, I spent plenty of time outside of New York, took trips to the Carolinas and Georgia and had an interesting time in Trinidad. The other benefits of living in New York were remarkable. Not only did I benefit from one of the worst theatre seasons in history, but also got caught in the famous blackout and transit strike of recent history!

The First National City Bank was my first host; I spent four weeks in that enormous but lively bank. I started out at a lecture program for officer personnel which turned out to be exceptional. The men who lectured were articulate, interested in their subject and obviously making an effort to sell their own end of the business. Thanks to the lectures, I could size up many senior bank officers and choose my future contacts. I took a special interest in three activities: credit, operations, and international.

The City Bank has grown to be an enormous institution with an astronomical number of daily transactions and thus has to rely heavily on computers. It was quite an experience, in the main computer center of the Bank, to see ultra-modern IBM equipment doing almost instantaneously work that would take literally thousands of clerks long hours to perform. The time unit is now the "nano-second" or millionth of a second! One Bank officer said: "It isn't that the computer saves us money; we simply couldn't get the people or find the time to handle this volume without it."

The International Department, under Walter Wriston (son of Henry Wriston, whose name is a byword in the Foreign Service) is an aggressive, fast-growing operation, proliferating branches around the world with young and extremely confident people, all of whom are foreign policy oriented and whose relationships with the Foreign Service overseas seem very good.

Pan American Airways was my next stop; I spent nearly three weeks at their operations headquarters at John F. Kennedy Airport and corporate headquarters in the new PanAm Building. PanAm was most hospitable. I sat in on meetings, observed maintenance and supply operations and had talks with many senior officers on all phases of airline activities. Among the most interesting physical facilities of PanAm are its modern jet engine overhaul facility at JFK, its world-wide communications setup, and its highly sophisticated computer installation for handling reservations as well as all the intricate inventory and accounting activities of a major airline.

The famous New York blackout took place during my stay with PanAm; I had just got out of the elevator bringing me down from the 50th floor of the PanAm Building, when the lights went out. I heard later that a PanAm Board of Directors meeting broke up a few minutes later and several board members were actually stuck for hours in the elevators half-way down the building.

Regarding the blackout itself, I did a real "double-take"! I was walking up Park Avenue when the lights went out; at first I didn't react at all, having been in blackouts which occurred more or less regularly in most of the posts I have served at: London, Paris, Sydney, Bangkok, Bucharest, and Belgrade. Then I suddenly came to and said to myself, "But this is New York, it can't happen here!" Although it has all been described in the press many times, the blackout was a curious and heartwarming phenomenon. There was a holiday spirit, and a friendly attitude that no one believes exists in New York. Perhaps O. Henry could have done it justice.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about PanAm is its management. Juan T. Trippe, its founder, continues to be the chief policymaker of PanAm and, by any standard, is an authentic genius, having the capacity to think in the largest global terms and at the same time to be concerned with detailed aspects of airline operations.

Another outstanding feature of PanAm's management methods is the large amount of resources spent on training. In-service training goes on all through an employee's career. Without such a program it is difficult to envisage an immense, far-flung operation such as PanAm functioning effectively. PanAm is most anxious to develop closer working relations with the Foreign Service and was particularly cordial and hospitable to me. One side effect of my visit to PanAm was Mr. Trippe's interesting talk to an AFSA luncheon last spring.

I spent a week with Farrell lines, a subsidized American steamship line which operates to Africa, Australia and New Zealand. It is a small company compared to most of the others I visited, but it is hard-driving, competitive, and well managed by the original entrepreneurs, the Farrell family. Thanks to their openness and friendly spirit, I had an inside view of the management of the line and of the complex problem of operating a subsidized steamship line.

Columbia Broadcasting System next provided a number of interesting opportunities for observing mass communication media. I attended a two-day course in the technology of color television; I saw the Ed Sullivan show being put together and met a number of the colorful characters who make CBS the successful operation that it is. An interesting feature of CBS management is the way they are trying to decentralize. The various divisions are each headed by a "president" who is given this title on the theory that he will feel that "the buck stops here." This leaves the Chairman, Mr. Paley, and the President, Dr. Stanton, theoretically free for long range policy matters. This evidently works fairly well, although the resignation of Fred Friendly as head of CBS News last winter illustrated that there are a few problems!

The advertising agencies—Young and Rubicam and J. Walter Thompson Company were my hosts late in December. At Young and Rubicam, I attended several Plans Board meetings. These Boards include senior executives of the Agency; they study proposed marketing and advertising programs. These offered a concentrated exposure to most aspects of the designing, marketing and advertising of consumer products. At J. Walter Thompson, I saw many of the top account executives and discussed problems and organization. I found advertising agency people very different from the "Madison Avenue" stereotype. Perhaps because they work in the world of ideas, they seem to think a good deal like Foreign Service types. Advertising is still a rough, competitive game, but probably more stable than it was twenty or thirty years ago.

The week after New Years' was spent at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, in the Wall Street area. This was also the week of New York's famous transit strike! I got to the Federal Reserve by walking forty blocks from my apartment on East 63rd Street down to 33rd Street and 6th Avenue, took the Hudson tube to Hoboken, and took another tube back across the river to downtown New York; in the evening I reversed the process. The New York Fed maintained full operation during the strike by hiring buses and cars to bring its employees to work. A few days with the Fed is a must for any future sabbaticals. It is highly organized to explain and demonstrate US monetary policy and problems, such as gold flow and open market bond operations. The officers of the Bank are outstanding experts in international monetary policy and international liquidity.

My four-week stay with IBM at its various plants and offices was just about the high point of the exercise. To put me in the right frame of mind, IBM ran me through their

Executive Computer Concepts Course at Poughkeepsie which operated about 14 hours a day for 6 days. This was a highly organized concentrated dose of data processing, starting from the abacus and ending with the super-duper machines of the present and future. We learned how to do simple programing and actually to operate the machines. My fellow students were top executives from customer firms, including several presidents. The only drawback to this exercise was IBM's rather stern views on alcoholic beverages; after 14 hours we certainly needed that dry martini!

My final week with IBM was spent at the office of the IBM World Trade Corporation in New York. This subsidiary manages IBM operations overseas. Although a separate entity, it meshes its operations closely with the domestic company and there is good communication between them. In IBM World Trade there is great expertise on doing business overseas and full appreciation of US foreign policy objectives. I had useful discussions with IBM personnel relating to matters like East-West trade and the problems of doing business in Japan and France.

At IBM I met and observed in action an extraordinary group of talented, highly-motivated, and exceptionally well-trained individuals from Mr. Watson, the Board Chairman, down to salesmen and technicians.

My three weeks with Texaco offered great contrast to many of the other companies I saw. The international oil industry with its complex of technical, political, financial, and logistic problems offered in many ways the most meat in the field of foreign policy. Texaco operations are world-wide, especially when the activities of its affiliate Caltex are included. It is one of the top American corporations and is said to be the most profitable oil company in terms of return on capital invested. My stay with Texaco provided a liberal education in all phases of oil operations, exploration, production, refining and marketing. I was taken through an extremely interesting exercise relating to the whole process of geological exploration, drilling, production, and distribution of crude oil. Much time was spent on the discussion of technical, diplomatic, political, and economic aspects of petroleum exploration and production overseas.

My final week with Texaco was spent at its large refinery in Trinidad. The Textrin Refinery is the largest single unit in Trinidad providing about 20 percent of the GNP and a large slice of Government revenue. The problem of running a huge, foreign-owned and operated firm in a newly-independent, less-developed country would supply enough material for a textbook. Textrin is fully sensitive to its environment and handles its Government and labor relations with tact and finesse. It is rapidly reducing the number of foreigners working in Trinidad and is doing its best to train local personnel to manage and operate the refinery. It appears to feel secure in Trinidad and continues to make large investments and to expand the refinery to handle a larger volume and a wider range of products.

General Electric Company provided me with a short but imaginative program which provided a fine picture of its philosophy, management, methods and problems. On my first day at GE headquarters in New York, I saw top management in action and met with the President and Chairman. Then I spent time with International GE discussing plans to expand aggressively abroad. I took special interest in the work of GE's management development, labor relations and behavioral research staff.

I saw only a small portion of the total GE operation. GE is enormous but very decentralized. Full control of company operations has been delegated to a number of "profit centers" far removed from corporate headquarters. These elements act entirely independently; top management concerns itself primarily with financial management and putting the right man in the right job. Because of its decentralized character, the development of managerial talent appears to be a major concern. GE is also determined to move ahead rapidly in the international field, but with the various GE components acting more or less independently; each major division has or will have its own overseas operation, receiving advice and guidance on a staff basis from IGE.

My last host was United Merchants and Manufacturers, a large integrated textile firm with plants throughout the South and East and abroad, with a management, converting and selling organization in the New York City garment district. United Merchants is in textiles all the way from simple cotton yarn through the finest upholstery fabric, to a large retail organization, Robert Hall clothes. I took a swing through their textile mills in the South which are modern and well equipped. These plants are not unionized; but racial integration seems to have taken place without friction; management-labor relations seem good. The plants were working at capacity as the US textile industry has been going through one of its relatively rare periods of prosperity and full employment.

What did I get out of all this? It was a unique and rewarding experience providing a fresh outlook and a new insight. I dropped a lot of stereotyped ideas; I met and enjoyed many interesting and friendly people; I had an intensive education in business philosophy and methods. It was useful for me, and I think would also be valuable to many other members of the Foreign Service.

The major change that seems to have come over business in recent years is vastly increased volume and the development of management techniques to handle it. All the companies I visited (they are all large and successful) employed data processing not only for operations but as a management tool. They all recognize that data processing is in its infancy and see unlimited opportunities for better use of the improved equipment now coming on the market. Business also seemed much more democratic than it did when I worked in New York before World War II. Certainly, top management today is infinitely better trained and educated than they were at that time.

A most important by-product of the "sabbatical" was the chance it gave me to meet and talk directly with top-notch business people about the Department and the Foreign Service and about foreign policy in general. Many of these had never seen a live Foreign Service officer before, and did not have a clear picture of the Foreign Service. Thus, there was an especially useful public relations component: people saw that Foreign Service Officers "put their pants on one leg at a time" like everybody else.

In my report to the Department on my sabbatical, I recommended that the program be continued. If we are to continue to make contact with top management, the person selected should be a senior officer. At the same time I have recommended that we should continue to experiment with different types of programs. For example, a 30-day course for groups at the FSO-5 level on business and its problems would be useful. Increased use of advanced management courses offered by various universities would meet many of the objectives of the sabbatical program. Harvard and MIT offer very high caliber advanced management courses; in the business world, selection for these courses is the equivalent of selection for the War Colleges and Senior Seminars in the Foreign Service. I think we should assign officers to Harvard and MIT on the same basis.

The companies I visited were an excellent cross-section—progressive, public spirited, and successful. Of course, many other major companies are interested in international trade and investment; these will provide opportunities for future "sabbaticals" that would be of great interest and would help equip the Foreign Service to assist American business with its international problems and responsibilities. ■

The "money bus," author's wife at right.

6:12 to Koindu

JOHN A. GRAHAM

DAWN comes quietly to Bolahun. It is the rainy season in this far Northwest corner of Liberia and a layer of heavy wet clouds hovers over the green hills like a woven country blanket. There is no sun—just the light coming bit by bit to change the black sky to gray. Puddles of fresh rainwater stand in the dirt road; drops hang in the tall grass and drip from the jungle trees. There is no sound. It is a world of green and gray and silence.

The buildings of the Holy Cross Mission stand out white against the monotonous jungle backdrop. Neat fields of grass lie in between. Beyond tower the crowns of cottonwood trees that have been here considerably longer than Bolahun.

The Episcopal Fathers first came to Bolahun in 1922, when the area was but a green void on the map of the country. The village built up around them hut by hut. A magnificent Church was built, then school rooms, a clinic and more houses. Still the tiny cleared spot in the West African jungle remained unknown—until the coming of author Graham Greene on his "Journey Without Maps." Today twenty missionaries, both lay and religious, plus three Peace Corps Volunteers, teach at Bolahun.

It was 6:00 a.m. as my wife Mimi and I walked softly along the path to the road. Six American friends, representing Peace Corps, USAID and the Holy Cross Mission were already waiting for us. A good part of the village was waiting too, for today was market day in Koindu, a large commercial village 40 miles away in Sierra Leone. Women dressed in gay wrap-around *lapas* waited beside cardboard boxes of bananas and kola nuts. Palm leaves wrapped foul-smelling piles of *eddo* roots. A pair of angry roosters waited, their feet bound together. The buzz of excited Kisi and Bande words flotated over the road. It was Sunday—market day—and the best chance of the week to trade the local gossip.

Suddenly the gossip is hushed by a banging and wheezing in the distance. In a second, our West African "coach royal"—the "money bus"—lurches around the bend in tune to a chorus of protesting rivets. With a last bellow of white smoke from its rear, it shudders to a stop before us.

The money bus in West Africa is usually a colorfully battered old British delivery van whose every turn of the wheels looks to be its last. It's a farm-to-market vehicle—always overloaded, seldom overlooked and never over-rated. In Monrovia, the capital, it is the cheapest means of public transportation, and the bane of every other driver on the road.

Our money bus was a made-over pick-up truck with a solid roof welded on. A hard wooden bench lined each side of the rear with a worn out spare tire in between. The front door was kept closed by a strip of inner tube and the thing stayed on the road only by the will of God.

There is a secret to money bus travel which the Westerner soon learns. The idea is never to find the most uncrowded spot in the place—but the opposite. The more tightly you're wedged into the bus, the less you bounce; the less you bounce, the more likely you are to survive. We

The road to Koindu.

The "money bus" unloading at Koindu.

Moslem trader at Koindu market.

crammed on board—26 in all; then the produce—most of which was fortunately lashed on top.

With a snort, the 6:12 to Koindu was on its way with at least eight of its human cargo hanging on with a vengeance.

The road down from Bolahun can best be described as a long ditch broken by intermittent patches of level ground. The bus rolled from one side to the other, avoiding the worst and steam-rolling the rest. The road strikes through the jungle like a tunnel. An occasional small village appears by its side, the thatched round huts looking clean and scrubbed in the morning light.

About six miles outside of Bolahun, the road crawls up and over Bishop's Hill. Bishop's Hill was undoubtedly put there to test the faith of incoming missionaries. The money bus wobbles up the slope in first gear while all its passengers accordion into two painful lumps at the rear of each bench. Woe be to the poor soul who is squirted off! The bus goes down the hill as it went up—except that this time the two painful lumps are pressed against the front.

At the base of the hill is a stream. Across the stream are thrown five logs. Our money bus driver—being something of a faint heart—stops and carefully positions his front tires on the logs before crossing. It is said that the more cavalier drivers close their eyes and dash.

Ten miles from Bolahun the road flattens and widens into one of Liberia's major up-country arteries. Picking up steam, our money bus passes the town of Foya, then the bamboo pole across the road that signals the border of Sierra Leone. The jungle has thinned by now, and large expanses of open savannah roll on into the solid gray sky.

The road worsens again. Driving on the left hand side now only convinces us that one side is as bad as the other. The bench gets more unyielding, the roosters underneath it more restless.

A single hut bumps past on the left; then another, then a zinc-roofed Lebanese store. After two and a half hours our colorful paint mixer wheezes into the big central market of Koindu and grinds to a stop.

Watching us unload must have been like watching a magician pull those innumerable scarves out of a hat; and we were but one of dozens of money buses in for the day. A hop down, a few gingerly steps to see if our knees still worked, then forward to joust with the wily Moslem Mandingo traders of Koindu.

The market is laid out in long rows of covered stalls, with a large open space for the food bazaar. Color and sound and smell make a market and the market in Koindu is no exception. Hundreds of strange-tongued voices call out enticements to buy. Hundreds more were muffled in the earnest tradition of Arab horse-trading. Shrill voices traded the week's news. Women sat beside piles of peanuts, kola nuts, coffee beans, rice, bananas and peppers. Babies' heads bobbed from their mothers' backs, held in by gay *lapas*—a marvelous multi-purpose piece of fashion which serves as both a wrap-around dress and baby pack. Yards of patterned "tie and dye" fabric hung from the sides of stalls besides magnificent embroidered Mandingo gowns. *Lapa* cloth was for sale in wild patterns of every sort. Sides of beef hung behind vendors of nuts and bright red and green peppers. A dish pan full of dismembered pig kept its owner busy brushing off flies. A little monkey on a chain dashed up and down stealing bananas. The smell of wet palm leaves, blood, tobacco and spices mixed in the heavy air.

Up and down the road, around and around were the voices and puddles and colors. Finally, with arms full of bright African cloth we called a halt.

Our faithful bus was waiting for the return trip to Bolahun. Its hard wooden benches were waiting. We shoehorned our way in and with a bang were on the way. At least one tender posterior rode back that day padded with three inches of newly bought cloth. ■

Koindu market women selling eddoes.

Nerve Centers 1967 Style

VICTOR WOLF, JR.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS in the 1960s require an extremely close synthesis of the civilian and military elements of American government to facilitate rapid decision making. The Command and Control systems were created in the early 1960s at least partially to meet this need. They are designed to provide the President and his key advisors with all necessary information from all sources in a timely fashion to permit such effective decisions. As one of the State Department Representatives in the National Military Command Center (NMCC), the Defense Department component of that worldwide system, for the past eighteen months, I observed some of the policy and operational problems arising between State and Defense and with other agencies of the Government. These problems arose both when crises erupted and in more "normal" circumstances, particularly with regard to politico-military coordination. They deserve pinpointing after we have examined Command and Control itself in general and the NMCC in particular.

The NMCC is the Defense Department equivalent of the Operations Center (S/S-O) in the Department of State. The NMCC processes information on current military operations for the President, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and provides them with fast communications facilities. It thus parallels S/S-O's similar services to the President and the Secretary of State with regard to current political matters. The NMCC and the Operations Center are linked by a broad range of communications facilities to each other, the White House, CIA, other government agencies and to diplomatic and military posts and commands at home and abroad.

The NMCC is organized as a fulltime operational agency of the Joint Staff within the Operations Directorate (J-3). The NMCC is *always* under the command of a general or flag rank officer who works a shift schedule supported by an Operations Team. (The Department's Operations Officers in S/S-O are likewise on a seven-day-a-week, 24-hour-a-day schedule.) After duty hours and on weekends and holidays, this Duty General (or Admiral) represents the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Although he does not have, as a rule, the authority to make command decisions except in very special, unusual and limited circumstances of an emergency nature, he does have the responsibility for making all significant information on military problems and operations available to the President, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and key members of the Joint Staff. In the absence of Joint Staff personnel, he may be called on to order and monitor the execution of missions by the unified and specified commands. He also has the responsibility for making essential information of a military nature available to other agencies such as State and CIA as required. To assist him in these tasks, the Duty General is supported by an Operations Team of military officers dealing with operations in the several unified and specified commands, communications, intelligence, public information, computer operations, some foreign languages and xerography. Additionally, representatives of such agencies as State and CIA are members of this team.

In 1963, State and Defense agreed to exchange representatives in their respective centers. Five Military Representatives, officers of the Joint Staff at the Lieutenant Colonel level, were placed in S/S-O in order to provide immediate expert technical information on military affairs to the Secretary and the Executive Secretariat. Similarly, five mid-career officers from S/S-O were assigned to the NMCC to "man" the State desk on a round-the-clock basis.

It should be noted that the State Representatives in the NMCC are *not* serving in the Pentagon under the State-Defense exchange program so that they do *not* fill "slots" in Defense (as do State exchange officers.) They are *not* properly called liaison officers in the regular policy or intelligence channels between State and Defense. (These liaison functions are actually carried out between State's geographic bureaus, G/PM and ISA in one case, and DIA and INR in the other.) The State Representatives sit in the NMCC specifically to link the Executive Secretariat and J-3 in this nerve center of military operations. Thus, they can play a certain catalytic role in the operation of the national Command and Control apparatus to ensure that the principal officers of the Government, particularly the Secretary of State, have all the information they need to focus on crisis-related decisions. Their concern is not only completeness of information, but also timeliness. Their deadlines are minutes away and not at next week's meeting. In the process, they also make available useful information on political and diplomatic matters, including the "atmospherics" of international relations, to officers of the Defense Department, particularly the Command Center/J-3 but also including some officers in the Department of Defense and other areas of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The roles played by the State Department Representatives in the NMCC and the Military Representatives in S/S-O perhaps give a useful insight into the special complexities of Command and Control in the 1960s. Primarily, of course, the issues involved are those dealing with "crisis management." The fantastic efficiency of transportation, communications and weaponry, and the portents for their imminent improvement, reveal the importance of rapid processing of information and its speedy transmission to the decision makers. The State and Military Representatives in the NMCC and S/S-O participate directly and constantly in this process. It is their primary reason for existence. Their respective positions are not, however, analogous. The State Representative is a generalist in a special situation. He is expected to master the political elements of all problems arising at the NMCC, regardless of whether the "flap" deals with his area or function of specialization or not. Yet, additionally, because he is a generalist in a part of the defense establishment dealing with current national security operations, he must frequently inject himself into these matters without waiting for a request from the Duty General or a member of the Operations Team. He as the generalist is the one on duty in the NMCC most likely to understand the political implications in a situation which his military colleagues may view as entirely within their province. This injection of political factors, be it a request for a certain military message to be passed to State, a political briefing for officers of the Joint Staff, alerting the Duty General to a political aspect of a military operation or the facilitation of communications between action officers in State or Defense, is the basic method by which the State Representative "represents" the interests of the Secretary of State in the Pentagon. Few other officers of State are as directly responsive to the Secretary's views, transmitted through the Execu-

tive Secretary and the Operations Center, on the political elements of current military operations in crisis areas. (G/PM, of course, has general responsibility for State of the broad range of non-crisis politico-military affairs involving State and Defense, including especially military aid programs.)

The Military Representatives in the Operations Center have a similar role as the repository of military expertise nearest the Secretary of State and are constantly queried about the ramifications of various military situations. They must constantly provide information on the capabilities of US and foreign military forces in situations where the Department has foreign policy responsibilities. Frequently, therefore, the Military Representatives and the State Representatives find themselves looking at the same situation from different directions. The State Representatives make available to the Duty General and other Joint Staff officers political information and guidance from the Department or insights into situations where US military forces may be employed. The Military Representatives make information available to the highest levels in State on the capabilities which the Joint Chiefs of Staff or foreign forces have in connection with emerging and fast-moving politico-military situations.

These differences in roles reflect some of the problems that can arise between the two Departments and indeed within one or the other Department. They also spotlight some of the difficulties in the operation of the Command and Control apparatus in "crisis management" and political coordination with military operations and it is to these that I now turn.

1. *Exchange of Information*: Both State and Defense, of course, recognize the right of the President to any and all information generated by either Department and supply such information without question. The number of officers in both Departments who are hesitant about exchanging certain categories of their own information with the other agency, even on a restricted basis to senior officers, has declined sharply in the past two years.

The remaining hesitations frequently reflect, I believe, not only an honest desire to keep private the personal "in house" views of key officers before they are adopted by the Department concerned and to ensure close holding of sensitive matters but also to conceal differences on policy matters. Such withholding cripples the other agency in developing views for Presidential consideration. It could indeed give rise to unpleasant suggestions that the withholding agency wishes to put its opposite number at a disadvantage to ensure that its own view is adopted by the President as policy. The elimination of such possible, albeit remote, misunderstandings not only inside the Government but also among the public and particularly the mass communications media is one good reason behind the increasingly generous practice of exchanges of all but the most restricted categories of privacy information between Departments. The most important reason for this policy is, of course, the need to get the best decisions—decisions based on the fullest information. Now, those who still hesitate on generous information exchange must ask themselves: Dare we run the risk that any senior officer of the Government might make a recommendation to the President based on incomplete knowledge of all aspects of a problem because he did not have pertinent information from another agency on time?

2. *Control Over the Use of Military Force*: *Post World War II*: The American constitutional order prescribes that the military establishment perform missions assigned to it and delimited by duly constituted civilian authority. Members of the military establishment and officers of State, of course, accept and obey this prescription as an integral element of the system. In practical terms, however, American military operations were rarely, if ever, limited—that is, curtailed—in any significant way for *political*, as distinguished from *strategic*, reasons before the Korean war in 1950-51. (The decision to "go" for Germany before Japan in World War II was largely a strategic choice concurred in by most, but not all, senior military commanders and did not really involve political limitations on the application of American military power, only on *where* the available total was to be applied.) This was because American war aims, particularly in the period of total global war, had until then been defined by the paramount constitutional authority as "unlimited" with "total victory" or "unconditional surrender" as the national goal and had generally been legally clarified by a declaration of war. The trumpet was sounded—no holds were barred except for purely military or the most urgent humanitarian reasons—and American commanders were permitted, indeed ordered, to apply the full range of their military skills and all available power to destroy the enemy's power to make war and to force his surrender.

However, the "New Wars"—like Korea and Vietnam—have taken place in the thermonuclear age and perforce for limited objectives. (Thus, the national objective in Vietnam is not to destroy the Hanoi regime but to turn its energies away from the coercion of the people of the Republic of Vietnam.) Therefore, for the first time, in the period since 1950, the principle of civilian control has led to the actual *limitation* of field operations by American military forces. (It could, of course, be argued that the various decisions leading to the "unlimited war" policy in World War II, such as the demand for "unconditional surrender" by Germany and the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan, were, as Presidential decisions, evidence that civilian control dominated the waging of war during the period, 1939-45. This is, of course, true and civilian control is nothing new. What is new is that civilian control is presently being used to *limit* the operations of the defense establishment. The armed forces are now required to use less than their available strength to achieve limited goals. This is surely more complex and certainly a new departure from the previous practice—practically sanctified into tradition—in which the civilian authorities merely formalized the normal desire of the national will to achieve total victory rapidly and decisively through the application of total power. This tradition was, of course, incinerated in the heat of the first atomic explosion.)

Both State and Defense, therefore, must shift gears from an abstract acknowledgement of a principle which never limited the defense establishment before to the development of techniques to apply it through limitations needed in the real thermonuclear world. Both agencies are encountering new difficulties and frustrations. Defense must unlearn some of the doctrines that have guided its operations for generations. State must make its foreign policy recommendations to the President under the glare of a new interpretation of the longstanding principle of civilian control. Finally, the public at large *must* accept the imprecise and frustrating concept of limited war for limited goals as an essential restrained discipline of the thermonuclear age.

What this means for inter-agency relations should be clear. Defense is sometimes impatient with State for "holding up operations." State is frequently concerned that Defense "doesn't understand the political limitations or dangers of a wider war." Hopefully these frustrations are dissolving as each agency gains more experience in and tolerance for the particular pressures the other agency endures. This empathy is essential in this complex era with its distinctive demonstration of the Clausewitzian imperative that the application of military power is but the continuation of state policy by other means. Since Alamogordo, *all* agencies must couch their recommendations to the President in responsible and restrained terms—with their eye on the mushroom cloud, as it were.

3. *Inter-Agency Communications*: *The Atmospherics of Crisis Management*: In addition to the matter of information

exchange discussed above, there are clearly occasions when communications—in the larger sense of the word—between the agencies break down at some level. It is a danger, for example, at the upper and middle working levels in Washington. To avoid a fruitless slanging match, let us acknowledge from the outset that officers of both agencies are occasionally guilty of lack of sympathy and empathy for their counterparts. This is true, I believe, not because of any sinister design. Rather the cause lies in the unfamiliar pressures inherent in contemporary "crisis management." These pressures add a delicacy and complexity to national security affairs not ordinarily encountered until very recently. They stem basically from the thermonuclear age, the revolution of rising expectations and the ubiquitous nature of the mass communications media. In spite of our pride in our competence, very few of us in State fully comprehend the generation of problems posed by these developments and their fusing in the 1960s. (Of course, other agencies have the same problems in understanding these qualities of the "new world." Grasping the ever-expanding implications of the *noosphere* of Teilhard de Chardin plagues not merely the theologian but the bureaucrat, the military officer and the diplomat as well.) The command levels of government have only recently grasped their import—and must constantly transform this understanding as new developments make it necessary. Is it any wonder that the working levels of the two agencies, particularly those in Command and Control, must still learn to communicate with each other? The several exchange programs between State and Defense are a step in this learning process as indeed is Command and Control itself. However, two problems—one administrative and one human—remain to be dealt with, if possible.

The administrative problem revolves around the types of positions involved in the exchange programs. Clearly, some of these assignments are highly desirable and carry with them great prestige and opportunities for usefulness. Some of them are particularly meaningful in the special area of inter-Departmental communications. Yet I sense that there are other jobs and other exchanges possible which can add significantly to inter-agency harmony. Perhaps some additional exchanges in one form or another into parts of the Joint Staff in addition to the FSOs in NMCC/J-3 and Policy and Plans/J-5 would be useful? And what about a senior Foreign Service officer in the Secretary of Defense's immediate office?

The human problem concerns the need to diminish the misunderstandings that still are occasionally seen between the two agencies. While some officers in Defense are unsympathetic to our special problems and viewpoint in State, this is largely beyond our power to affect directly. We can, however, make indirect contributions here by checking the attitudes of contempt, superiority, impatience and lack of involvement with military problems which characterize the attitudes of some few FSOs toward the military. Clearly, we cannot expect our military colleagues to be sympathetic to us if we do not afford them the same courtesy.

4. *The "Horseholder" Syndrome*: The complexity of national security affairs facing the government today—in addition to more purely bureaucratic reasons—has contributed to the creation of a network of immediate staffs to serve the principal officers of the Department as well as other agencies in Washington. The staffs assist the principals in mastering the almost inconceivable volume of paper flowing through their offices and culling out those portions thereof needed for intelligent decision-making and recommendations. This small but widely spread group of staff officers resemble nothing so much as the legendary elephant described by a number of blind men: different groups of the bureaucracy perceive only those qualities most noticeable to them. To the country director or functional specialist, or the officer in the various military services in the Pentagon, the staff officer in the Executive Secretariat or the Joint Staff is a paper-shuffling old fussbudget who has lost touch with reality while arrogantly using his superior's position to justify the most extreme interference with the product of the experts. They view the immediate staff frequently as rather useless, rather boring and permanently obstructive—a pimple on the perfection of their expertise. Our military colleagues call them "horseholders."

Yet, clearly, the "horseholders" serve the needs of the principal officers for whom we all work. Why? It may be that the line officers do not produce papers that meet the needs of the decision-makers. The principals, after all, want utility, not aesthetic pleasure. If the "horseholder" re-shapes the product of the bureaus or the individual services—and gets away with it, it seems reasonable to assume that the reformulations of the staff somehow are more useful to the principals than the original product. It may be pertinent—if somewhat distasteful to friends in the line bureaus—to suggest that the bureaus can best reduce these "objectionable" qualities of the "horseholders," not by carping and snide remarks but by *speedy* production of papers that are *useful* and *usable*. Barring that, the staff officers must still fulfill their primary mission of serving the principals in the way that satifies *them*—even if the *amour-propre* of their associates in the line bureau is bruised in the process.

This responsibility of the "horseholders" does not, of course, excuse them from great care in how they use their positions. If they misuse or misunderstand their roles, they can, for example, create particular difficulties in the Command and Control apparatus. This apparatus has not yet worked out a foolproof system of determining priorities for requests for information. In normal times, the various Command and Control elements through the Government disseminate the needed information through regular reporting. The problem arises during crises. Then the requests for information flood into the NMCC, S/S-O, the White House Situation Room and the CIA Situation Room. The requests come from the "horseholders" to meet the real (or imagined) need of the principals, the task forces specially created to "manage" the crisis and from the other components of Command and Control. Every request is represented to be of the highest priority and is frequently duplicated by introduction into the information collection process at more than one—indeed every available—portal. This further complicates the already tense and frequently confused atmosphere in which a crisis is "managed." In such circumstances, where priorities are determined by the rank and importance of the principal officer for whom the request is made and the force with which it is presented together with the fear these factors may inspire, the "horseholders" bear a particularly heavy responsibility in ensuring that the Command and Control apparatus can continue to function as it should. If this is not done, the Command and Control apparatus is afflicted by a species of congestion of information flow which some of our colleagues in the Pentagon call the "horseholder syndrome." The symptoms are clogged communications channels, unanswered questions, improperly used personnel and a general malaise pervading the whole apparatus. An attack of this disease could be dangerous in time of crisis if allowed to rage unchecked.

Although the "horseholders" were the primary subject of this section, the lesson here goes beyond them. The point is that Command and Control is a machine that is only effective if the people who man it are properly used. If they are misused, the system will perform less efficiently that it could, to the detriment of the principals. Probably only a minority of officers in State or Defense know enough about Command and Control to understand its possibilities and limitations. More State officers should familiarize themselves with the workings of the system—both S/S-O and other components in

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JOHN M. STEEVES

New Responsibilities For An Old Service

As Director General of the Foreign Service, I have been doing considerable thinking these past months concerning the future role and the ever increasing responsibilities of the Foreign Service. My motive in sharing some of that thinking with the readers of the JOURNAL is to stimulate my service colleagues and those outside of the Service, but interested in it, to do likewise.

From this vantage point the question which must be uppermost in our minds is whether this oldest of services of the United States Government still has a paramount role to play in the all-important field of foreign affairs and, if so, what is it?

Is careerism in the field of foreign affairs, as traditionally conceived, passé or are the basic concepts which have been the foundation of the Foreign Service as the Foreign Service of the United States now invalid?

When all possible alternatives are examined one cannot escape the conclusion that the arguments supporting the maintenance of a professional, merit-oriented, highly motivated career system is more valid today than at any time in the history of our nation. The question is really not *whether* we should continue to opt for a career system, but what new concepts must be employed to meet new demands.

A good place to begin in initiating a current review of this important issue is to draw attention to the observable phenomenon that the proliferation of representation abroad has reached almost staggering proportions. This fact concerning our nation's activities is so self-evident as to need no statistical substantiation. It is also a fact that currently approximately 80 per cent of those engaged in representing US Government interests in other countries are not under the direct supervision of the Department of State, which is our department of foreign affairs. Career members of the Foreign Service of the United States are a smaller contingent still within that remaining 20 per cent. Some may reason that the career Foreign Service segment of this expanded body of representatives has been proportionately so reduced as to warrant loss of identity and distinction when, in fact, the trend in that direction is already far advanced. The same line of thought may suggest to some that any attempt at unique recognition of the Service be abandoned in favor of a different concept which would incorporate all who serve the foreign affairs establishment at home and abroad whether that service be temporary, long term or without regard to department or organization to which one may be attached. A mutation of this would suggest, at least, the placing in one service all those under the Department of State canopy.

My firm conviction, based on observations at home and abroad, is that if ever the United States needed a carefully selected, professionally trained, highly motivated and disciplined career Service it is now. A parallel conviction is that the changing demands of the future years will only enhance that requirement not diminish it.

If the thesis which argues for a select career service to form the core of our expanded program of representation can be proven to be invalid, it naturally follows that any discussion of recruitment techniques, training and Service disciplines and rewards are out of place. We should focus our attention instead to a recruitment system which hires talent from whatever source that may be available to meet the requirements of the moment. If, as I believe, however, the concept of a career corps is indispensable to the country's present and future needs, we must adopt wise policies to preserve it. The maintenance of a highly professional career corps does not in any way disparage the collateral need for a variety of talent from Government sources and elsewhere bringing a wealth of experience to bear upon our total foreign affairs problem. In fact, the two concepts are complementary rather than antagonistic, for the greater expertise at the center for continuity and guidance (to say nothing of the whole area of management) make it possible to utilize more perfectly the services of those temporarily attached for the performance of special tasks associated with it.

In developing this concept of our foreign affairs establishment, one reaches for parallels by way of illustration with some trepidation, for no two situations are sufficiently alike to provide an absolute precedent. There is, however, sufficient similarity to our armed services to warrant a comparison. The professional cadres of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force are composed of career professionals who have elected these careers as life professions. They accept the disciplines, intensive training and inherent restrictions on their private lives in order to dedicate the major portion of their professional years to this particular national requirement. They are not only appropriately rewarded in the very performance of a patriotic service but also have some of these more selfish yet legitimate needs satisfied. Security, responsibility, honor and even continuing recognition in retirement are all a part of an incentive program which, happily, draws capable men and women into these services. No one would ever suggest that the central core of professionals are nonessential to our country's security. To these career corps are added countless men and women of talent for a variety of essential tasks, either temporarily or for more extended periods, in peace as well as war.

In the broad essentials our foreign affairs establishment has some striking similarities. The fact that the career Foreign Service does not wear uniforms or handle visible weapons does not essentially change the facts. Continuing and timely consideration needs to be constantly given to the techniques of recruitment, training, raising of professional standards, together with providing conditions of service and disciplines to be observed and rewards to be granted in recognition. But the removal of this stiffening in our foreign affairs establishment by muting or weakening the career Foreign Service can only be inimical to the country's fortunes.

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EDITORIALS

CONSUL EX MACHINA

SPREAD over Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and filtering back to the United States are the more than 30,000 American citizens who were evacuated from troubled areas during the Middle East crisis. There has never been a mass evacuation of this speed and scope before, carried out with such efficiency and such little public notice. Under all but the most extraordinary circumstances this would have been a major news story around the world; but the plight of the 30,000 in June received less public attention than the difficulties of several hundred Americans in the Congo in July.

Modern journalism has a rule of thumb that a story has to have a sharp focus, and the focus should be on as few individuals as possible. A suicide on the sidewalk is more "news" than a riot involving hundreds. Floyd Collins dying in his cave was bigger "news" than a foreign war.

So no one will ever hear how 30,000 American men, women, and children escaped from the Middle East, many with only hand luggage. They won't hear how the word to move out was passed in Cairo in the middle of the night. Or how the overland convoy moved through the desert from Iraq to Iran. Or how so many piled up in hotels in Rome that their presence began to conflict with the normal tourist season for other Americans, untouched by the crisis.

Even for those who escaped, the memory of events is blurred. One common thread which runs through the accounts is the efforts of "the American consul." Actually, the term as used by them covers everyone in the American missions involved with the evacuation; Ambassadors as well as code clerks. Our readers know that the great evacuation was managed by people, not machines; but the American public will never hear this. If they think of it at all, they will credit the Consul ex machina. For our part, we deplore the myth, and salute the men and women who did credit to us all. ■

WASHINGTON SUMMER

As we face the prospect of another Washington summer with all its attendant ills—stifling humidity, lawns chocked with crabgrass, children nagging about what startling activity is in the offing for the day—we might contemplate a few of the joys that our Nation's Capital can offer. A cross-city ride on one of D.C. Transit's air-conditioned buses, for example, or a dip in the Tidal Basin to restore one's peace of mind. A leisurely luncheon at any of the several gourmet restaurants within easy walking distance of New State. For those altogether bored with the city's more pedestrian recreational possibilities, there is always a quiet stroll through Dupont Circle, breathing deeply of the air redolent with the odor of "pot." If none of these pastimes appeal, we are truly sorry and can only offer the following advice which Satchel Paige once proffered when asked how to keep the hop on one's fast ball. We believe the advice equally applicable for the summer ahead:

Avoid fried meats, which angry up the blood.
If your stomach disputes you,
lie down and pacify it with cool thoughts.
Keep the juices moving by jangling
around gently as you move.
Go very light on the vices,
such as carrying on in society.
The social ramble ain't restful.
Avoid running at all times. Don't look back.
Something may be gaining on you. ■

THE FABRIC OF OUR TIMES

Winchester.
Manchester.
Chichester.

1967 began with radios and juke boxes emitting the lament of a vocalist that Winchester Cathedral didn't do nuthin', with the result that his baby left town.

The year has also brought the so-called "Manchester Affair." Manchester did do something. Depending upon which critic or commentator you read, he did the right thing, the wrong thing, or something other than the critic or commentator, himself, would have done. As we go to press, Jay Epstein has taken Manchester to task for passages allegedly in the original draft of Manchester's book but deleted before publication. This Epstein is not to be confused with Mike Epstein, acquired by the Washington Senators (the ball club, not the group on Capitol Hill) from Baltimore.

And then there has been Chichester, who sailed alone more than 28,000 miles from London to Australia and back, and has been knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

The fabric of our times seems to be poly*ester*. That would, of course, be a man-made fabric. There is probably a moral somewhere in all this, but we are not sure what it is. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

Would you believe it—there was only one official party given in Washington on the Fourth of July? This was an expansive do given by the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club in the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology. The 1100 or more guests included foreign and US ambassadors and high level officials of the US government but the bulk of the guests were, as the organizers of the party intended, young foreign and American diplomats.

The Museum provided a perfect background for a patriotic celebration. When the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Eugene V. Rostow, spoke to the guests he stood before a huge American flag that once flew over Fort McHenry and inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star Spangled Banner." Other decor included Prairie Schooners, water wheels, cigar store Indians and antique trains. Some women wore 1776 dresses while others looked more in line with 1976.

The American Light Opera Company and a Haitian combo provided entertainment. Dancing went on all evening. There was a prodigal supply of food and drink and since no appropriations were available for the party, a powerful amount of foraging was necessary. American distillers provided gin and bourbon. A company in California sent two dressed lambs. Snazzy desserts were created especially for the event by the Washington Hilton and General Mills.

Since it required hard work and skill to produce the big success everyone who had a hand in the organization deserves mention. The president of the Junior Foreign Service Officers' Club is Richard Aherne. The co-chairmen of the Independence Day Committee were Genta Hawkins and Peter Beneville. Other members of the committee were Ann Swift, Lynn Bender, James Reeves, James Carter, Donald Woodward and Lucy R. Briggs.

What the Others Did

Not everyone, of course, could get into the JFSOC party. The common people had to fend for themselves. Washingtonians looked longingly at their cars, bicycles and donkey carts; as many as could manage it scampered out of town.

Between July 1 and 4 the city presented a strange geographic schism. If, for instance, you stood at the corner of 19th and S or Wisconsin and P, or if you rode a Wisconsin Avenue bus, you would have said the usual, "Why, the town is deserted!" But, on the other hand, if you circulated in other regions—near the White House, the Capitol, the Washington Monument, or the Lincoln Memorial, you would have been convinced that Washington was the most overpopulated city in the country.

The densest pack-'em-in occurred on the evening of July 4 when vast masses assembled around the Washington Monument to wait for the fireworks. Most of these were tourists—easily identified because they wore the most bizarre costumes that 50 states could conjure up. But there was also a considerable infiltration of locals. Suddenly at 7 o'clock a terrific windstorm blew up. Trees quaked and writhed as they do in the prairie states when a twister blows up. Next came a downpour. It was a sad spectacle, the mad rush for shelter. It was the wettest colony since rain ruined the Bonn embassy's garden party on July 4, 1956.

It was very disobliging of the weather to quicer the fireworks. Up to that time the day had been fine and the tourists took advantage of it to see not only the standard sights but divers "specials" such as a "Folklore Festival" presented by the Smithsonian and the National Gallery's Gilbert Stuart show—a suitable token of Independence Day since the artist did portraits of all the early Presidents.

One factor that contributed to the silence of central Washington during the holiday period was the growing tendency of Americans to imitate the French in "faire-ing le pont." This year since the Fourth of July fell on a Tuesday, many shops and offices bridged the gap between Sunday and Tuesday by remaining closed on Monday. Those remaining open received an inordinate number of calls from employees announcing sudden illness. On top of this, "One more martini, please" Club got into full swing on the preceding Friday.

It looks like a gala summer for tourism. So far there has been only one dissident note: About 2000 Shriners who had planned to attend their annual convention here, cancelled their hotel rooms, giving Washington's high crime rate as the reason. However, let no one get discouraged. At least 100,000 others will turn up—undeterred by the crime rate.

Award

Coolly and deliberately she picked the No. 9 iron out of her golf bag. Coolly and deliberately she smacked three times. No, not a golf ball but a man's backside. The scene happened in England. Mrs. Alec Rundle, Member of the British Empire, St. George's Hill, Bell Marsh, Surrey, was studying her ball at the 18th hole at Effingham Golf Club when a strange man popped out of the bushes. He was stark naked except for a red beret. Perhaps it was the red beret that drove Mrs. Rundle unswervingly to the right solution. At any rate she gets the August award for her cool action in getting out her No. 9 iron. After all this sang-froid, it is a pity to record that Mrs. Rundle's game went off after the 18th hole. "The incident," she said, "definitely put me off my chip."

Washington Dog Days

Perhaps this will find you simmering in the heat of Mogadiscio, Kuala Lumpur, Yaounde, Abidjan, Paramaribo or Buenaventura. Think of cooler climes if you will, but don't think of Washington. The merciless dog days are on us. It was a dizzy transition from a chilly May to a singeing June. It seems irrational to have the furnace working on Saturday and the air-conditioning the next Monday.

There was one mitigation: May's cloudy, cool days (total rainfall 4.14 inches) permitted the grass to retain its vivid green color for longer than usual and the spring flowers, such as narcissus and pansies, to hang on until the petunias, verbenas and impatiens could get into full swing.

There is a crush of tourists but, considering Washington's eccentric geography, it is no wonder that these have little contact with Washingtonians. The regions around the Capitol, the White House and the Washington Monument are so jammed that even one of those cheeky gray squirrels would not have the nerve to push his way into the Lincoln Memorial. In-

creasingly, tourists find it impossible to divorce themselves from the radio—even for five minutes. The minute they emerge from their cars they turn on their transistors and the commercials fracture the atmosphere of the summer day.

Many tourists are hurrying through Washington. They have a sacred rendezvous: Montreal's Expo 1967. A memory going back to the Panama-Pacific Exhibition at San Francisco in 1915 cannot recall any Fair that has caused more stir. There is something magic in its sudden éclat because its popularity seems to have come on suddenly and not to be the result of the calculated ballyhoo that launched the last New York World's Fair.

Critical Hour and Everything

In this critical hour when the holiday season is upon us and practically everyone, willy-nilly, is preparing to live beyond his means, it would be gratifying to report that those pay rises applying to active Foreign Service personnel and to retired Foreign Service officers were in the bag. But alas!, the best we can do is to provide a little shored-up optimism.

Bill S. 624 sponsored by Senator Fulbright which would fetch an average increase of 6 per cent in the annuities of retired Foreign Service personnel has now been approved unanimously by the Senate. So far so good. Now it will go to the House—to the sub-committee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations, a dependency of the Foreign Affairs Committee. It is unlikely that hearings will begin before the end of July. No serious opposition to the bill is anticipated.

The status of the bill that would bring a rise in pay to active Foreign Service is this: The hearings that began on April 25 ended just before the July 4 recess (see page 2). The executive sessions will start before the end of July. Our most reliable adviser opines that action in the House and next in the Senate is not likely to be concluded until the end of August. However, if the bill is passed it might be made retroactive to July 1.

New Fast Train

The April 1965 issue of the Washington Letter related new plans for speeding up rail travel through the North East corridor from the Virginia suburbs of Washington to Boston. Predictions were heard that in a short time a speed level of 150 miles an hour would be effectuated on the Washington-New York stretch of line—a speed equal to that of the crack Japanese Express between Tokyo and Osaka.

Now comes the time to report progress. On a specially improved 21-mile stretch between Trenton and New Brunswick, N.J., the Pennsylvania Railroad has now conducted successful experiments at 156 miles an hour. New style coaches made of aluminum, instead of steel, were used on a new, wider track, thus eliminating bumps and clackety-clack.

Regular service will be inaugurated in October. Only segments of the line will, however, permit a speed of 156 miles an hour. The average for the next few years is likely to be 110 miles.

Nevertheless it will be a boon because the 226 miles from Washington to New York will be achieved in only three hours. The fastest present train, Congressional, takes three and three quarters hours and most trains take four hours.

How to Avert Boredom

Overheard in Chevy Chase Magruder's:

"Well, I shopped for five hours. I wasn't looking for anything in particular and I wasn't tempted by anything. So I took the next bus and came home."

And Now For Shrubs

The December issue provided you with a list of flowers that flourish in the difficult Washington climate and soil. Here is a list of shrubs that do well in these parts. This list was obtained from Jack R. McMillen who compiled "A Checklist of Trees and Shrubs in Arlington National Cemetery."

1. Showy Forsythia
2. Pink Azalea
3. Common Purple Lilac
4. Common White Lilac
5. Gardeners Weigelia
6. Crape Myrtle
7. Falconers Mockorange
8. Lelands Firethorn
9. Anthony Waterer Spiraea
10. Bridlewreath Spiraea
11. Chinese Snowball

Uses for Booze

Overheard in a locker room:

Man of about sixty: "I hope they have got pecan pie today. I'm still crazy about desserts."

His golfing companion, about the same age: "I thought that civilized people got their sugar from alcohol."

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature. Here is a candidate from Serb:

Ostajte ovdje! . . . Sunce tudeg neba
Nece vas grijat' k'o sto ovo grije;
Aleksa Santic
(Alex Schantich) 1864-1924

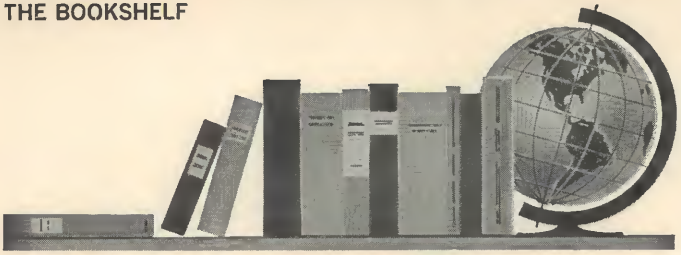
(*Go not away! Stay here! How could the sun in those alien skies warm thy heart as this sun does?*)

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler

"Dear, you've just got to forget what the Post Report said."

THE BOOKSHELF



Scrutiny of the State Department

ANATOMY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT will probably get less attention than it deserves. Some analysis of the three reasons for that judgment may help to keep the reader on track in deciding whether to be for or against Mr. Simpson's main theses. They are that the State Department should establish higher standards for entry into its career ranks; do a far better job of training and assignment, with less rotation; and hire and support a General Manager who can modernize the Department. The reader should not put the book away in confusion or indifference. Points of view, evidence of failure, and ideas for change in which the author believes so strongly should not be obscured because:

1. *The book is perplexing.* Many Federal authors, when writing about their own agencies, have a tendency to demonstrate two characteristics which puzzle and confuse the general reader. First, they almost always make an early assertion that their books have been difficult to write—and then go on to create quite the opposite impression. This is not hypocrisy. What they mean is that compulsion to write has created difficult decisions of intellect and emotion on one side of the equation and institutional loyalty on the other. Second, they project the first difficulty into their books in a manner which only an insider can understand. They renounce the discipline of the scholar or professional author, and combine description and shrewd analysis with guarded confession, somewhat evangelistic pleas for change, and a few poorly disguised prejudices. Mr. Simpson is no exception on either score. Warning that he is not has the sole purpose of adding to, not detracting from, his book's impact on the reader.

"Anatomy of the State Department" would be a poor investment of time if Mr. Simpson really persuaded his readers that it was a difficult book to write. Had it been difficult, his obvious sincerity would be a sham. The mere fact that he is able to criticize with no discernible reluctance or pain helps to offset the confusion caused by the second tendency just mentioned.

2. *The book often mixes anatomy with pathology.* It is not semantic pedantry to ask the reader to distinguish between Mr. Simpson's treatment of the anatomy of the State Department and his more than occassional venture into discussion of the pathology of the Foreign Service Officer Corps. When he sticks to anatomy, the strengths of the author's analyses and descriptive materials are most obvious. Furthermore, his "anatomy" has a noteworthy and pleasing economy in words. This is particularly noticeable in Mr. Simpson's discussion of the complex roles and relationships of the Secretary, the Department's coordinating role, and problems in the field of intelligence.

When Mr. Simpson examines pathology, he alleges more than he proves and frequently oversimplifies far from simple forces and phenomena. For example, the statement (page 37) that rotation undermines the Department "by assuring that the bureaus most plagued by rotation can never permanently learn anything, can never accumulate an adequate reservoir of knowledge or intuition regarding any country, subject, or problem" is illustrative. Similarly, the scattered indictments of promotion policies and methodology contain as much discussion of Corps pathology as they do of departmental anatomy.

If the reader will keep the distinction in mind, it will not be difficult to decide which is which. Then it will become possible to form rational judgments about Mr. Simpson's suggestions for improvement in the functioning of the Department—to agree or disagree with him.

3. *The book presents no action plan.* Mr. Simpson leaves his readers dangling. They know *what* he wants done, generally *why* he advocates changes he proposes, but he stops short of presenting an action plan. Without doubt this shortcoming distracts attention from the author's perceptive discontent about faulty or outmoded departmental structure and method. With notice, the reader perhaps can accept Mr. Simpson's omission of an action plan as deliberate. Perhaps the author believes that by refusal to spell out specific remedies his book will ultimately lead to more agreement on what needs to be changed. Perhaps he hopes that actions then will be designed to meet prevailing conditions, and will be more effective than proposals put on paper in 1967.

In any event, Mr. Simpson's lack of an action plan should have at least two beneficial results. It should encourage his "new breed" to revolt more quickly than he thinks they will. It should give heart to any interested reader to advance his own plan for getting and keeping better manpower for careers in foreign affairs and for improving management of the State Department.

This attempt to explain and mitigate three factors which may turn the reader's attention away from the merits of "Anatomy of the State Department" does not constitute an unqualified endorsement of the book. It has faults. There are some factual inaccuracies, none major enough to require correction in a review. At times Mr. Simpson trips over his own emotions. Despite the promise of the preface, he does not do as good a job of beginning with "why" as his career equipped him to do. His chapter on the Congress does not have a clear focus or message. He paints too many brilliant highlights in his picture of "the sword." Nevertheless, Mr. Simpson has written a useful book. I hope it has a growing body of readers.

—ROGER W. JONES

ANATOMY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, *by Smith Simpson. Houghton Mifflin, $5.95.*

He Tells It For What It Is

WHAT Ziegfeld did for The American Girl in the Roaring Twenties, what Ernie Pyle and Bill Maudlin did for G. I. Joe in World War II, Jim Lucas seeks to do for the American soldier in Vietnam today.

"The Ernie Pyle of Vietnam," Jim really gets around: from the Mekong Delta to north of the seventeenth parallel. He lives and works and talks with the troops; the air-conditioned bar atop Saigon's Caravelle Hotel is not for him. He writes in a sparse, down-to-earth style that comes pretty close to being corny. If he has left out of his book the name and home town of any American he met in Vietnam—

and he met hundreds—surely the omission was inadvertent. (One may recall Mark Twain's reported comment on Noah Webster's famous work: he loses the reader's interest by introducing too many characters.)

His vignettes of the daily life of the US serviceman in Vietnam reflect compassion, insight, and attention to homely detail. He tells it for what it is: death, danger, heroism, hardship and laughter. He is not afraid of sentiment—nor of sentimentality. But he does know his subject, the American soldier, and he sticks to his subject, leaving to his fellow newsmen the onerous responsibility of evaluating and recommending US political and military policy towards Vietnam.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

DATELINE: VIET NAM, *by Jim G. Lucas. Award House, $4.95.*

Dimensions of Hope

THE history of Vietnamese and American pacification efforts in Vietnam has been replete with partial successes and, unfortunately, occasionally with obvious failures. A listing of the reasons for the less than satisfactory results would fill a book. Dr. Nighswonger has compiled such a list and indeed filled a book in so doing.

The Nighswonger book is as close to a definitive study on the specific subject of pacification in Vietnam as has been written. It is not a book designed for the general reader on Vietnam, but is one which should be particularly instructive to the serious student of Vietnam and to Americans civilian or military—destined for service in pacification or political work in Vietnam. Combining his personal experience in pacification efforts with a careful research job involving especially valuable interviews of people with a wide variety of personal exposure to pacification in Vietnam, the author has made a genuine and pertinent contribution to the body of knowledge on Vietnam.

Among the host of problems which have alternatively caused pacification efforts to flounder, the author points out the linguistic and cultural problems of American-Vietnamese communication when dealing with such conceptions as democracy and governmental responsibility; the need for thorough and realistic planning, careful cadre recruitment and training, close supervision of project activities, and careful orchestration of the multiple civilian and military elements which pacification entails; the futility of the application of economic and social programs in the absence of adequate security for the population and for those programs; and perhaps most importantly, the requirement for adequate political input and the development of a meaningful political ideology around which both cadre and population can be oriented and motivated.

Many of the errors committed by both Vietnamese and Americans in earlier years can still be observed in Vietnam today. Nevertheless, as the author indicates, by early 1966 considerable progress had been attained in cadre programs, more realistic planning, and pacification organization. The future of pacification efforts is not without hope, provided that restraint is exercised in visualizing the dimensions of that hope. Of critical importance for pacification in the future is to pick up and fully appreciate the thread which runs throughout this volume, namely, that pacification essentially orients around human beings, and that significant, lasting changes in the direction of human thought and action are not achieved quickly or without intense and extended endeavor. As Nighswonger puts it in his closing paragraph: "The sophisticated methodology and quasi-religious motivation of Communist insurgency are severely challenging the West in the realm of human factors, and the response must be more sustained and creative than it has to date."

—JOHN J. HELBLE

RURAL PACIFICATION IN VIET-NAM, *by William A. Nighswonger. Praeger, $12.50.*

Seven Weeks in North Vietnam

WILFRED BURCHETT, an Australian newsman of pro-Communist sympathies, reports in "Vietnam North" on his seven weeks in North Vietnam during the spring of 1966. This book is, in effect, a sequel to his "Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War," in which he told of his eight months with the South Vietnam

Three Wheel Taxi, Saigon, by Alan Fisher

National Liberation Front.

In his travels and interviews in North Vietnam, he sought to learn how North Vietnam, an underdeveloped, agricultural country of 17 million population, envisaged waging —and winning—a war against the United States, "the richest, most highly industrialized, most militarily powerful country in the world." On the basis of his talks with political and military leaders and his own observations throughout North Vietnam he concluded that the entire country is confidently "preparing for the worst" and a very long war. Moreover, it is undergoing a gigantic revolution in its way of life in order to minimize the destructive effects of US bombing.

In his interviews with President Ho Chi Minh, Premier Pham Van Dong, Defense Minister General Vo Nguyen Giap and other ranking offcials, he elicited their views on the course of the war, as well as their ideas on the prospects and terms for peace negotiations. His recital *in extenso* of what they said is of much interest—and it is presumably reliable. While his pro-Communist slant and selectivity in writing about conditions and attitudes in North Vietnam greatly lessen the credibility of his accounts, still they are not without value—above all, for the knowledgeable reader who can separate fact from fabrication.

—Robert W. Rinden

Vietnam North, *by Wilfred G. Burchett. International Publishers, $4.95.*

For the Busy Reader

In "Why Viet Nam?", Frank Trager, Professor of International Relations at New York University, reviews the history of Vietnam (with special attention to the war against the French, the Geneva Conference and the Diem government) and examines the rationale of the US commitment in Vietnam.

In his appraisal of President Diem, Trager concludes that Diem failed to meet the challenge of Communist insurgency because he did not understand the enemy's tactics and strategy, nor did he understand Communist protracted warfare. Diem's adamant loyalty to his family and its misbegotten advice contributed much to the ignominious end of a true Vietnamese patriot.

As for US intervention in Vietnam, Trager states that the United States is there "by treaty and agreement and by invitation." Moreover, if the independent nations of Southeast Asia are to have the chance to restore, rebuild and reconstruct the political and social base for nation-building, the Communists must be made to realize that "their military probes, their wars-by-proxy, their 'wars of national liberation' and their other forms of aggression no longer pay."

Trager regards the bombing of military targets in North Vietnam as long overdue and avers that "one would be hard-pressed to find in recent history another example of self-restraint exercised by a big power over so long a period." The risks of escalation in Southeast Asia can be confined if the United States keeps to its declared objective: "the defense and security of the Republic of Viet Nam, not (unless endlessly provoked) the destruction of the Communist North Viet Nam."

The bibliographic notes and documentation of this book are very useful. It is not, however, a scholarly work. Written in a popular, hard-hitting style, it seems designed for the busy reader who wants the facts (and their interpretation) without academic quibbling. Professor Trager's cogently argued case should meet that need.

—Robert W. Rinden

Why Viet Nam?, *by Frank N. Trager. Praeger, $4.95.*

The Manifold Aspects of Senator Fulbright

Biographies are like portraits. Much depends on how the biographer or artist treats his subject. Washington journalist, Tristram Coffin, the author of this first full-length biography of Senator Fulbright, has subtitled his account Portrait of a Public Philosopher. In rendering it, he has focused on the Senator as polemicist, questioner, dissenter and social critic.

Unlike some portraits, this one is not ugly. In fact, parts are rather flattering. Chapter Two, for instance, begins with this literary garland: "Senator Fulbright is a modern Prometheus. He defies the gods and myths of modern society to save man from the horror of atomic doom. Like Prometheus he is not moved by arrogance or rebellion, but rather by a concern for man, in the plural and abstract." Many of us who have met Senator Fulbright or know something about him would find it difficult to appreciate this kind of exaggeration, however much we admire and respect him.

Except for an interesting set of photographs in the middle of the book, the biographer follows no strict chronological development but weaves various topics back and forth, illustrating his points with anecdotes of major events, glimpses of President Johnson, General MacArthur, Senator McCarthy, John Foster Dulles and Senator Fulbright's colleagues. This is interesting for two-thirds of the book but the last third is devoted almost entirely to the Vietnam issue and several key speeches of the Senator. Since this controversy has occupied the Senator's attention for the past two years compared to the other sixty of his life, the portrait appears to lack proportion.

That Senator Fulbright is an interesting, challenging and complex personality is unquestionable. But he deserves a better written biography than this. It is hoped that such a one will be written about the scholarly gentleman who is the junior Senator from Arkansas.

—Felix Lieder

Senator Fulbright *by Tristram Coffin. Dutton, $6.95.*

Opportunities in Government

How many times has a friend or acquaintance approached you and said, "I have a nephew who is interested in the Foreign Service. Do you have any advice I could pass on to him?" In addition to offering to talk with the young man, you could also suggest that he read Flint Du Pre's "Your Career in the Federal Civil Service." It will give him a good picture of the careers open to him, including the Foreign Service.

This book is basically an examination of the opportunities open to the 30,000 young men and women who enter the Federal government each year. It also explains what preparation they should undertake in high school and college. The book covers initial examinations and employment, training, pay, promotion, and details regarding many specific jobs.

Flint Du Pre, a former newspaperman, has had a long career himself in government. His book indicates that he believes the Foreign Service offers one of the more attractive careers available in government.

—John Ausland

Your Career in the Federal Civil Service, *by Flint O. Du Pre. Harper & Row, $5.95.*

It's What the Dudes Saw That Counts

Marshall Sprague in "A Gallery of Dudes" has found a novel and enjoyable way of making us see the evolution of the Far West. Through his 296 pages he has paraded nine flamboyant personalities, mostly Europeans, most of noble lineage. We follow their adventures, we observe their impact on the Americans and the impact of the Americans on them. In the process we learn a great deal about the settlement of the West.

In these days we meet among others the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied,

the Marquis de Mores and Count Pourtalès, Lord Milton and—not the least picturesque of the lot—Theodore Roosevelt. Some of these worthies kept careful records; some of the records have become important to history. "They wrote well about what they saw," says Mr. Sprague, "and their writings helped Americans to evaluate themselves at a time when they were too busy building a new world to have time to think."

Mr. Sprague writes as well as his characters. His style is spare and lean but when a bit is required for a picturesque scene or a sharp epithet is required to define a character he finds the glow and epithet.

If you are searching for a book to give as a gift, for young or old, well or ailing, dizzy or somber, you have it here.

—JOHN MCCHESNEY

A GALLERY OF DUDES, *by Marshall Sprague. Little, Brown,* $8.75.

Lost H-Bomb Made Waves

THE first American H-bomb to go on public display was shown on the poop deck of the *Petrel* on April 8, 1966, off the Mediterranean shore of Spain. "One of Our H-bombs is Missing . . ." is an account, half journalistic, half instant-history, of what happened last year after a SAC B-52 with four H-bombs collided with a KC-135 during a routine refueling five miles over Spain on January 17.

Flora Lewis (Mrs. Sidney Gruson) is an accomplished correspondent, most recently for the Washington POST. Resident in Paris, where her husband manages the European edition of the New York TIMES, Miss Lewis acknowledges help by several hundred people in putting together her account. As she points out, there are three basic themes which could be developed: the mechanics of picking up the pieces after an unusual disaster; the effects of a nuclear mishap on the relatively isolated Spanish farmers and fishermen who were most directly affected; the impact of such an incident in international affairs. As might be expected, her private and official sources were most helpful on the first topic, most vague on the last.

Thus the book is studded with factual vignettes, some of which seem banal, or ludicrous when juxtaposed with the essential problem. When Ambassador Duke staged his famous swim-in to demonstrate that the Mediterranean was not radioactive (a rumor which was crimping tourism in the area), American movie starlets making a Western nearby tried unsuccessfully to get into the swim. To mark off cleared areas at Palomares, Air Force men trailed pastel rolls of toilet paper along the ground. Back in the United States, the Department of Agriculture made the AEC bury the dirt contaminated with plutonium extra deep in the dump in South Carolina, because it was foreign soil which might carry pests.

Much of the book is written in a bright, almost conversational style. Several chapters toward the end, however, bring a sharper focus when reporting the recovery efforts for the fourth bomb, which fell in the sea. Tape recordings made during the dive of the *Alvin,* a three-man submarine with four portholes five inches wide, reflect the tense operating conditions on March 15th, when the last bomb was finally sighted. Because the sea search and recovery took so long, toward the end of the operation most official impatience had shifted from SAC to the Navy.

The people of Palomares and the fishing town of Villaricos can not live unchanged by these events. Miss Lewis interviewed some, can report initial reactions, but suspects that it is too soon to judge the profounder turbulences in their lives. As to the potential effects on the international plane, the author notes that SAC manned patrol missions were cut back by fifty percent in early 1966; that refueling over Spain stopped; that the air bases in Spain were transferred to the US Tactical Air Command in Europe (headquartered in Wiesbaden), and finally, that the agreements relating to the Spanish bases come up for reconsideration in 1968.

—DAVID R. RAYNOLDS

ONE OF OUR H-BOMBS IS MISSING . . . , *by Flora Lewis. McGraw-Hill, $5.95.*

Side Street in Gerona, Spain, near Palomares, by Lynn Millar

BRITISH AMBASSADOR FACES THE HAREM

LANSING COLLINS

THERE are perils in the Foreign Service—in anyone's Foreign Service and it seems that it has always been so. Our story relates the trials and tribulations of a British Ambassador in Constantinople in the times of Good Queen Bess.

When our man arrived on the scene, trade between the Near East and Europe had been controlled by treaties between the Eastern Rulers and the Western Nations for some 800 years, in fact, since Harun-al-Rashid granted the "Franks" guarantees and special facilities in the Ninth Century.

The protagonists in the great struggle for trade routes and commerce with first the Byzantine Empire and then the Ottoman Empire were Genoa and Venice. In 1535 or 1536 another power, France, got into the contest. A treaty was signed by Francis I and Suleiman, the Magnificent. This aroused the English whose shop-keeping abilities were later to be noted by Napoleon.

Up to this time, nearly all goods from the Near East used to reach England through Venetian hands. But there were some hard-nosed characters in England who saw no reason for paying Venice for what England could do for itself. In 1553, Suleiman granted the English trading rights on the same terms he had extended to the French and to the Venetians. The French and Venetians fought back and got the special rights canceled. London was slow to react, however, and it was not until 1578 that the English representative, William Harborne, arrived in Constantinople. He was, in effect, the first English envoy to the Sublime Porte (Babiali or exalted door, so named because the Sultan's Grand Vizier handed down decisions beside a high gate of the Palace). Harborne arranged for an exchange of letters between the Sultan Murad and Queen Elizabeth (hers was written in Latin addressed to "Augustissimo Invictissimo Principi Sultan Murad Can") and in June, 1580, the Sultan issued a Charter of Privileges to British traders giving them all the rights of French and Venetians.

The treaty went into effect, and the first British ship under the British flag arrived in Constantinople June 9, 1584. "The Turkey Company" had been formed in London to handle the trade and in the next five years 19 ships made 27 voyages bringing kersies (coarse ribbed wool trousers), tin, lead, cony skins (hides) and other products of Britain and taking away the treasures of the East: silk, indigo, spices, alum, grosgrain, earpets, wine, cloth, currants and raisins.

One feature of the Turkey Company's charter, which would have delighted certain modern solons who seem to enjoy squeezing Foreign Service appropriations, was the fact that the Company paid the Ambassador's, Consuls', and other employees' salaries, representation, and other expenses. In 1590 this totalled £20,000 for the Embassy in Constantinople and £12,000 for the Consuls at Scio, Tripoli, Alexandria, Patras, and Algiers. (To some it might appear that, as usual, the Embassy was giving the Consuls the short end of the stick.)

In 1592 another Royal Charter for 53 merchants was issued to the "Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant" with Sir Richard Osborne as Governor. This so-called Levant Company prospered for hundreds of years; it was actually a merger of the former Turkey Company and a British company for trade with Venice.

In 1588 Edward Barton succeeded Harborne with the title of Ambassador, established himself in Pera along with the other "Frank" Ambassadors, and proceeded to promote trade with Britain in a big way. The French, Venetians and the Harem led by a redoubtable figure called Safiye were miffed and determined to undo him. So in 1594 the Harem tried to pull a "fast one" on Barton that did not quite come off but must have caused Her Majesty's Ambassador many a bad hour.

At some time before 1594 Barton had moved from the heights of Pera to a large house on the Bosphorus with spacious gardens going down to the water in what is now Findikle (Place with Hazel Nuts) about where the Guzel Sanatlar Akademisi (Fine Arts Academy) is now situated. In order to get him into trouble and possibly declared *persona non grata* some or all of his competitors (we call them *chers collègues* now) working doubtless through the indefatigable Safiye got enough of the citizens of Tophane (Ball-house, hence Arsenal) a Moslem quarter close to Barton's home to complain of his conduct and habits so that, in a fit of pique and fury, Murad, by then dominated by the Harem issued the following order, of special power as it was written by the Sultan himself:

8 June 1594.

ORDER TO THE CADI (Judge) OF GALATA:

You have submitted a written report to my Exalted Porte through the former Cadi of Mecca, the honored City, May his Virtues Increase, to the effect that a great crowd of Tophane inhabitants have had recourse to your Court, declaring that the Ambassador of England and his retinue are living in the Arab Ahmed House in Tophane

but, far from behaving decently, they indulge all the time in every kind of disorder, and some libertines come from outside and join the debauchery and bring in prostitutes, in short, there is no depravity and foulness of which they are not guilty. Moreover, since the aforesaid house is on the sea side, they hide and smuggle away fugitive slaves; they make music and strike the nuque at prayer-time; they tip filth on to the tombs of Muslims and commit several similar offences. Therefore the Muslims deposited a paper, stating in writing: 'Either you expel the Ambassador or else we set fire to the quarter.' In every respect it is better for the Muslims that those people should live in Galata, in the houses where they used to live formerly.

Therefore my illustrious commandment has been issued with the words: 'He shall live in the houses where he lived formerly' written in the Imperial hand.

I have decreed that when (Sir Henry Barton) arrives you shall urge and exhort the aforesaid Ambassador so that, according to the signification of this My Glorious Command, he shall leave the above-mentioned house, come and dwell in the houses which he formerly inhabited, and let an end be put to his offences to the Muslims as described. You shall not allow the aforesaid Ambassador to make any excuse or pretext in this respect, but have him expelled from the aforementioned house."

(Register copy in Istanbul, Basvekâlet Arsivi, MD 72, p. 173; no. 329; published in Latin characters in Refik, Hicri onbirinci asidra Istanbul hayati 15-6 No. 30)

As Barton was a pious Lutheran and was striking the *nuque* (a thick board hit with a hammer) because church bells were forbidden to summon his staff and community to prayers and hymns it must have been quite a jolt to the Foreign Office to learn of the "goings-on" in the British Embassy. Barton himself must have realized that, even though dalliance was in flower in England in those days, if the word of the Cadi's order ever got to the Governor and Company of Merchants and those worthies realized that all this high life was being financed by them he had had it! Round one was getting a bit sticky!

Why Murad had been taken in is not too hard to understand. He was in a poor mood in 1594, beset with troubles. In 1589 the Janissaries had mutinied; in 1593 the Spaniards had taken Patras; competent advisors were lacking; under sweet Safiye's control the Harem intrigue was growing; and to have the Ambassador from the one nation which had not been involved at Lepanto, the nation whose fleet had destroyed the Spanish Armada misbehaving in this way was just too much! Murad died the next year, "a victim of melancholy and a morbid imagination . . . the discharge of a cannon broke the windows of his kiosk as he reclined on a divan . . . supposing that this portended his death, he died in a fever under that impression," to quote Dr. Robert Walsh, former Chaplain of the British Embassy and author of "Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor."

Sir Edward, for Barton had been knighted at some point along the line, decided to obey the order and "play it cool." He returned to his former house where the British Embassy remained, near to the Tower of Christ, until Lord Elgin moved to the present site of the British Embassy (now Consulate General) in 1799 or 1800. The Levant Company kept on paying his salary and expenses; British commerce prospered; and good Queen Bess, if she ever heard of the accusations, said nothing but must have had a good chuckle over Barton's predicament. Round two for Barton!

Mehmet III became Sultan in 1595 and Sir Edward must have had pretty good relations with him for he accompanied him on a campaign against the Hungarians in 1596, unfortunately becoming ill and returning to Constantinople very shortly. He retired to an island in the sea of Marmara to recuperate but died there either Christmas Day 1596 or January 1, 1597 and his tomb may still be seen near the Monastery of the Panaghia (Panaghia Camariotissa, rebuilt by John V Paleologus in the 14th Century).

This was the time when Harem control began in dead earnest. Mehmet III, under the influence of sweet Safiye, had his 19 brothers and half brothers killed to protect his position as Sultan, so he thought; really it protected Safiye. Harem influence and intrigue increased and some say brought about the eventual collapse of the Empire. One doughty lad, Ibrahim, admittedly a weak and debauched character but nonetheless earnest, thought when he became Sultan in 1640 he could lick the system by starting his Harem from scratch. He had several hundreds of his predecessor's ladies done up in sacks and dropped into the sea but he must have missed a couple because he got the bow-string headache cure himself in 1649. Others before him and some after disposed of surplus Harem items in the same way but none operated on the grand scale of Ibrahim.

But to return to Sir Edward. He had made his points. No British Ambassador has been overtly accused of such depravity since then and for hundreds of years British trade with the Levant flourished.

The point where Ibrahim's inherited Harem was disposed of has also been of some use to male visitors to Istanbul under too heavy Harem control. When ushering VIPs and their wives about, all foreign males in the city have taken pride in pointing out the spot and casually mentioning the incident. It has a calming effect, lasting sometimes even as much as a couple of hours! But the American Consulate General is considering abandoning this special feature of its VIP city tour. After all Ibrahim did get the bow-string and Harem control is apparently here to stay. It is smarter, like Sir Edward, to roll with the punch! We cannot all hope to be as lucky as he was. The spirit of sweet Safiye lives on. ■

probably as competent as anyone else who deals with that field.

Responsible action within this kind of situation may strike some observers as overly cautious. Those who don't recognize quicksand stoutly maintain that the shortest distance between two points is . . . Experienced travelers in the miasmas of foreign policy are required to beware of quicksand, pitfalls and other obstacles, and reach their objectives in reasonable time. Survivors in this business are not normally seen sprinting off in all directions, blindfolded.

Policy formulation must involve a combination of estimates and evaluations about the past, present, and future. The policy maker needs to know the capabilities of the United States, as well as the capabilities of the foreign country or countries concerned. Knowledge of capabilities can only be achieved by mastering chunks of incomplete data. More important is the estimate of intentions, both American and foreign. What should we do with our power? With what tenacity will the foreign power use its assets? Within the perceived limits of capabilities and intentions, the policy maker now weighs alternative policy solutions. Some may conflict with American intentions or capabilities, and be discarded; others may not fit the foreign challenge.

The policy maker does not do all this work himself, of course. He has rapid access to an enormous supply of data, and one problem is to screen it for the most pertinent material. While some assistants assure him of an overabundance of information, others help winnow it out. Along the line, many are suggesting policy possibilities, and stressing factors in the formulation which should not be overlooked. Small wonder that at the end of the process, the policy maker may feel a bit tentative about his plan. In this sense, American policies are not inflexible. On the other hand, when enunciated to the public or to a foreign government, an effort is made to present the policy crisply and with a clarity that may make the policy seem more definitive than it actually could be.

Looking at the spectrum of policy making activity, it would seem that individual practitioners prefer varied strategies and tactics. Frontal assault, though most spectacular, is seldom employed. To the victim, it smacks of rape, and contaminates future relationships. At times stealth may be needed, despite the prodding of critics who would prefer the Joshua technique, with blaring trumpets. Most importantly, policy makers have avoided recourse to the ultimate solution, which has never been more than an arm's length away for over twenty years.

Though it is certainly too soon to judge American policy in the last twenty years, the restraints put upon violence may turn out to be even more significant than the vast peaceful expenditures of American treasure abroad. While the conclusion of World War II was declared, before the fact, to be non-negotiable, the Korean War ended in protracted negotiations though it started as a sharp military attack. In the current Pacific engagement, negotiation and manoeuvre have been the constant and crucial factor. Under present circumstances, there appears to be no national desire to exclude America's policy makers from all or a part of the world arena.

To summarize the style features of our policy makers, there would seem to be three salient points. First, the policy makers show an awareness of complexity. This is accompanied by a seasoning of personal humility in private, if not on the rostrum. Second, though almost all policy makers have a firsthand experience with organized military violence, they show a proven preference for other means to obtain desired ends. Finally, American policy makers still behave as if they felt it necessary to show "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." ■

tioned in London, and they meet once a month for half a day. Staff assistance is provided by the Personnel Office. In other words, promotions are handled much more economically month in and month out. It strikes me that there are advantages beyond sheer economy. Officers on the monthly panels are able to keep an eye on certain cases over a longer period of time. They are able to relate promotions and assignments in a much more meaningful way than our system allows. For example, if a high-level, demanding assignment opens up, the panel might be able to spot a very promising officer at a grade or two lower (a "flyer" in British parlance) and consummate the assignment and the promotion at one stroke.

"Over-Age" Recruitment

The basic examination process for junior recruits to H.M. Diplomatic Service is roughly similar to ours (although much more rigorous), but is restricted to ages 20 to 26. There is also a "Supplementary Open" competition for candidates in the age bracket 27-39 (known as "over-age" recruitment). About 15 vacancies are declared annually for this age group, compared to 30 vacancies for the 20-26 age group. I was told that a great deal of store was placed by this system (and it was endorsed by the Plowden Report) for its value in bringing into the Service recruits who had already made their mark or had gained useful experience in other fields, such as the business, military, and academic fields. Typically, high quality candidates are attracted, men who have performed successfully and who are mature, but who deliberately choose a change of career to the foreign affairs field.

The two methods of recruitment are carefully related to one another. Depending on his age and qualifications, the "over-age" candidate will come in at Grade 5 or 7 (6 is reserved for the Executive Class) and will be at roughly the same grade and age level as comparable recruits who entered at Grade 8 and have moved up in the meantime. In other words, both the junior recruits and the "over-age" recruits will have served a form of apprenticeship, the one group in the Diplomatic Service and the other in various occupations deemed to have relevance to foreign affairs careers, with neither group having an unfair advantage.

Final Comments

I believe these surface impressions provide at least a rough idea of the impact of the Plowden Report. Deeper study, of course, would yield much richer understanding of some interesting questions such as attitudes among various groups toward amalgamation and the grade structure, the nature of specialization in a single service system, and how effectively the various functions and coordination of the whole are carried out.

There are some obvious differences between the British and American situations (for example, the difference in size of the two Services) which might inhibit adopting some of these ideas, but in general, I think they are fresh and at least worthy of serious consideration. If one or another of these ideas seems radical, it is a potent argument to point out that the British, with their image of a very conservative and traditional foreign service, have already done it and are quite pleased with the results.

I have selected the more salient and interesting changes the British have made. In doing so, I don't wish to give the impression that H.M. Diplomatic Service is entirely trouble-free. The British are very much concerned about problems in such areas as training, selection-out, swollen ranks at the upper middle levels, expanding their recruitment base beyond Oxford and Cambridge, new technology (use of computers, programing system). But in general, they appear to be moving ahead very progressively. ■

the gap between it and its poorer cousins. We are rapidly approaching a trillion dollar economy.

And then what? Most Americans, I think, are willing to accept the responsibilities toward the rest of the world that their great wealth entails. They are a little disconcerted by the increasingly apparent fact that the rich do indeed get richer while the poor get poorer. The impression is inescapable that even Americans of deepest good will are increasingly baffled by the intractability of poverty and seek refuge in fatalism. "The poor ye have always with you."

I, for one, think Americans are willing to accept this long range responsibility. But those of us who deal with foreign problems as a profession could help by being more honest with ourselves and with those whom we represent about the true face of the world's poverty, about its depth and durability.

For one thing, we should acknowledge that the poverty we seek to cope with is as stubborn and baffling a phenomenon as any ever encountered in the American experience. We must ever bear in mind that impoverished societies have their own peculiar logic that is quite alien to the logic of dynamic industrial societies. This assertion may be a commonplace, but the trite truth of it is often disregarded all the same.

Let us help banish the notion that poor countries, deep down beneath their quaint exteriors, are really nothing more than American-type societies temporarily down on their luck. And let's admit that there are societies that will never achieve or accept development as we understand it. As a beginning, we might cease trying to see our own peculiar American sense of urgency as present in the underdeveloped world. From this illusion springs much of the unjustified lyricism in our literature of foreign aid. Let's cease encouraging the impression—only now beginning to die painfully in the American electorate—that much of the world is on the verge of catching fire economically.

Above all, let us try to balance a little the mentality that tries to apply facilely concepts of breakthrough, "crash programs," "take offs," and even revolutions to the plodding process of development. Perhaps the outstanding recent example of the "breakthrough" syndrome was found in the trumpetry accompanying the birth of the Alliance for Progress. As an example of American foresight in hemispheric relations the Alliance has no parallel. Yet from the first it has been forced to bear a debilitating burden of excessive expectations, not least among them the notion that in a mere ten years it could push most Latin American nations over that mythical crest we have come to think of as separating the developed from the underdeveloped. Our own attitudes of this sort are hardly appropriate for inspiring the patience the American people must develop in looking at foreign assistance.

If these seem like crushing truths, we might recall that even Sisyphus, according to Camus, learned from his ordeal that crushing truths perish when acknowledged. The world is simply not "breaking through." The American people, whose task is not quite as futile as that of Sisyphus, should be aware that if amelioration comes at all it is hardly likely to arrive in such dramatic fashion. By such rhetoric we have encouraged other Americans to believe that the end of foreign assistance is in sight. But we know that in one form or another rich America will face increasing demands for its help for a long time to come. Acknowledging all these crushing truths ourselves, we will be in better spirit to help the people of the affluent United States to view the world's poverty with neither fatalism nor impatience and to accept that their responsibilities grow along with their unique wealth. ■

the other agencies of the national security community. Improvements may be possible and may be better seen from outside the system. Such suggestions, however, can only be given meaningful attention if those who propose them have at least taken more than a superficial look.

5. *"Layering" in Politico-Military Affairs*: Command and Control can best be seen in action in a crisis. Then it is that the efficiency developed and the problems to be overcome surface before the eyes of the participant and the observer. During my eighteen months in the NMCC for State, I participated in and observed the "managing" of a number of crises—continuing Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Kashmir in autumn, 1965, Nigeria, and Indonesia. In all of these "flaps," one problem seemed to come to the fore again and again. This was the problem of "layering"—the intrusion (so it seemed) of an excessive number of bureaucratic levels in all agencies of government between the recommendation and the decision.

This was particularly noticeable when State wanted Defense to do something involving the deployment of forces and equipment. At such times, the State action officers occasionally went straight to JCS—through the NMCC or directly to the action officer—to ask for the desired action, frequently assuming that *all* clearances elsewhere in Defense could be finessed. The impatience of State's officers on these occasions is understandable; they want the job done now and they dislike any delays. We all abhor (or claim to) bureaucratic red tape. Yet, bureaucracy is neither good nor bad of itself. Its quality is defined by how it is used—or misused. In this particular instance, we at State must understand that civilian control in Defense is a seamless garment. We cannot pick the times when we want the principle applied on the basis of convenience only. It would be unreasonable to expect the defense establishment to understand anything but consistency in applying the mechanisms of civilian control.

In these circumstances, of course, there are techniques available to speed the process while yet maintaining a balance between political and military factors. The Operations Center can, for example, at the request of the State action officer, alert the concerned JCS action officers through the State Representative on an informal basis to give the military ever-useful lead time in arranging deployment of men and equipment. The State officer thus may gain a time cushion while he is dealing with his opposite in ISA. The NMCC and S/S-O also have tele-conferencing facilities which permit many-sided telephone conversations to permit speedy settlement of problems of this kind.

Conclusions: It seems to me that Command and Control has clearly identified the needs of the principals and is essentially equipped to serve those needs. The problems that remain to be worked out for the system's perfection include (1) the elimination of any last remnants of distrust between the agencies with regard to the exchange of information, (2) a further mastering of the problems inherent in the meshing of political and military factors on policy matters in this period of the "new wars," (3) an increase in the empathy which officers of the various agencies have for each others' problems, (4) the maintenance of smooth relations between the working experts in State's bureaus and the Command and Control staffers on the 7th Floor (and between the individual services and the NMCC/JCS in the Pentagon, and, finally, (5) a readiness to accept certain bureaucratic inconveniences for the sake of basic principles of government. These and other problems can only be resolved through the full exploitation of the reservoir of ideas among all officers of all agencies. Snide remarks and impatient criticism, however satisfying, will not do the trick here. The key "ism" should be empiricism, not criticism. ■

RESPONSIBILITIES (*continued from page* 34)

What shall the size of the corps be? How best can we manage the numbers game in keeping the career Foreign Service in good proportion? At this juncture I am not sure, but it does seem evident on the surface that with the growing responsibilities which currently beset us and are clearly evident over our horizons, the career Foreign Service should not be diminishing in size as it has the past few years. A highly significant and parallel question is what should be the size and the role of the career Service in our home office as well as abroad. Again, I am not sure that there is any magic answer. The trend of the last few years in replacing professionals by those not subject to career disciplines nor the beneficiaries of on-the-job experience in the field of foreign affairs is cause for real concern. One of the beneficial outcomes from carrying out an inventory of our positions at home and abroad should be the establishment of designated positions which would ensure a proportionate mix. A professional Foreign Service officer needs the experience and grooming which only responsibility at the source of policy formation can give. The policy office, in turn, needs the presence of those who have had experience in the carrying out of policy and its application in the field. Many hands can help and many auxiliary talents are required, but the total effort will be the more effective if the mixture is larded with a professionalism that results from long experience in the arts associated with the serious business of foreign affairs.

Without doing dishonor to those who have served so well in the Foreign Service thus far and have given it the reputation for being the prestigious service that it is, I would argue without much fear of challenge that the Service of the future will have to maintain standards of intellect and require special skills far surpassing those once found acceptable. This means greater care in judging eligibility for entrance into the Service and certainly a continuing participation by officers in in-service training programs. This training will have to be designed to tailor personnel to meet specific requirements. In a rapidly changing world environment in which learning is advancing and new scientific techniques developing with supersonic speeds, some may think that such a brave goal for a career service may border on the unrealistic, but I see no alternative. Certainly the senior officer of the future managing our foreign affairs will need to have some acquaintance with a large variety of disciplines currently considered unnecessary.

As I examine the new talent entering the Service today, my judgment is that we are in large part attracting this caliber of youth. What does concern me, however, is that we should administer our career service and our personnel policy in such a way as to persuade officers that the acceptance of these disciplines is both necessary and appreciated. The most convincing evidence of approval is for the officer who does achieve to be given steady advancement up the ladder of responsibility. A group of junior officers expressed it to me in rather straightforward terms, stating that they had joined the Foreign Service judging it to be the best avenue to the assumption of major responsibility in the serious business of this country's foreign relations. If they discovered along the line that this assumption was in error they would look elsewhere. I certainly find it hard to disagree with this attitude. No more demoralizing or self-defeating practice can be adopted than to prove to an aspiring, able officer that the training and experience to which we ask him to subject himself carries little weight in comparing his credentials with the inexperienced novice.

What sort of Service, then, is envisaged by such a concept as I have outlined? In broad terms, it describes a highly professional corps, skilled and eventually experienced in the arts and skills of policy management. It describes a Service capable of helping to form and then implement policy. It places a high evaluation on abilities associated with represent-

ing this country's interests abroad as a negotiator. It requires officers of broad ranging appreciation, capable of analyzing situations, together with powers of expression to report and present viewpoints arrived at in a scholarly and convincing manner. Such a Service will call for management in the fullest meaning of that term. To weld together into one effective whole the contributions and skills of many requires coordination and direction to say nothing of inspiration of a high order.

While the foregoing emphasizes the role of the Foreign Service Officer Corps, it in no way minimizes the important companion career service encompassing the specialized support services of the Staff Corps. I should like to take the opportunity to discuss various aspects of these closely associated programs at a later date. Suffice it to say here that the Staff Corps needs to have its own clearly defined areas of specialization with its own built-in incentives.

Likewise, it leaves untouched the whole home base—the Department where large areas of responsibility must of necessity be the preserve of a Civil Service element which provides continuity and the base anchor of foreign operations. Many of these Department billets will have to be interchangeable between the Foreign Service on homeside assignment and those permanently based in Washington.

A career service of this quality is completely compatible with our time-honored system of political institutions that accepts and is loyal to the nation's political leadership.

There is currently coming over the radio waves an advertisement for a popularly used drug. It points out that the tried and tested product has been rounded, squared, buffered, tinted but still has no substitute. In some ways this describes our problem with the Foreign Service of the United States. Let's give our attention to ways and means of making it more effective and stop trying to make it appear to be something that it is not or destroy its basic properties. ■

by HELEN K. BEHRENS

FILLED MERINGUES

A very fancy dessert for the VIP's whom you've just been told are arriving tomorrow can be put together if your post has ice cream and some fruit—and you've frozen some egg whites. Mrs. Phillip Kaiser served this dessert in Dakar right after her husband's arrival there as Ambassador—with, however, somewhat unexpected results. For twelve guests, Mrs. Kaiser made two meringue shells which were quickly moved to the bedroom—the only air-conditioned room in the

residence—there to stay crisp until serving time. She told the houseboy to get a quart of ice cream (glace in French) at the proper time, and had the cook cut up some available fresh fruit. (In most parts of Africa, what is "available" is very sweet, juicy, and good.) With this easy combination, a tasty meringue dessert is made—the shell is filled with ice cream or sherbet and topped with any suitable fruit. (Try *coeur de boeuf*, or custard apple sherbet when you are in a post which produces, under a tough, prickly green hide, this refreshing, white-fleshed fruit.)

All went well at the Kaiser's first dinner party until the dessert: a matter of putting the three things together—what could go wrong? Well, the word *glace*, for one; it means ice too, and before the fruit topping was added, the meringue shells were carefully filled with ice cubes. Marge McClellan's explanation of the hasty removal of the ice from under the fruit by all staff wives present defies description.

You will need for each meringue shell the following:

4 egg whites
⅛ teaspoon salt
¼ teaspoon cream of tartar
1 cup granulated sugar
1 teaspoon vanilla extract (or use vanilla sugar)

Beat the egg whites with the salt until foamy; add the cream of tartar and continue beating until soft peaks form. Then, still beating, gradually add the sugar; when the mixture is thick and glossy, add the vanilla and beat until stiff peaks form.

Preheat the oven to 300°. Cover the bottom and sides of a 9″ pie plate or shallow cake pan with brown paper. Spread the meringue mixture ¼″ thick on the bottom of the pie tin.

Spoon the rest of the mixture into a pastry bag with a #9 (large) tube and pipe an inch-thick edging two inches high along the edges of the pie tin,

Place the pie pan in the oven and bake 20 minutes; then lower the heat to 250° and bake another 15 minutes. Turn heat off completely and allow meringue to remain in the oven another 30 minutes. Be very careful when loosening the shell gently from the paper with a broad spatula. If your oven is one of those overseas special unreliables, remember that low, slow heat is the trick for meringues; you might try leaving the oven door propped open a bit during the baking.

One meringue shell should serve four to six, but not with ice cubes in it. And don't try this recipe at high altitudes. Mary Stutesman cooks her "never-fail meringue" by putting it in a 500° oven before going to bed at night and turning off the oven immediately. In La Paz, when Mary decided to show her excellent Bolivian cook that she, too, could handle a pastry by making this shell, the meringue fell—and so did Mary's face the next morning when she opened the oven door.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Arguments for Energetic Action

As a retired FSO with, I hope, some objectivity about the problems of the Foreign Service, I join the chorus of those who feel strongly that "something should be done" about the Service.

It is not necessary to rehearse the unenviable situation in which the Foreign Service finds itself. Unfortunately it is the Foreign Service itself that must accept primary responsibility for the low esteem in which the Service is presently held, not only by competent outsiders but by Foreign Service officers themselves.

For years most senior FSOs, those who should have constituted the leadership, studiously refrained from taking any part in the organization and administration of the Service. Of those officers who avoided involving themselves in the management of the Service, one may ask who they thought would exercise control over the organization if they themselves did not. To those officers who attempted to take part in the affairs of the Service but conceived their role to be that of urging a reversion to some halcyon past, one can only say, an organism which cannot adapt to change, dies.

What is the solution? One solution is for the Foreign Service itself to propose and support a comprehensive study of the Service, its strengths and weaknesses, with emphasis on the kind of changes that are necessary to establish the morale of the present officer complement and to attract vigorous, intelligent and dedicated young men and women to its ranks.

If changes of this sort are going to make the Service a very different organization from what it was twenty-five years ago, it would be well to remember that the world also is a very different kind of place from what it was twenty-five years ago.

Why does the Service sit back while magazine writers, newspapers columnists and Congressional committees debate its problems? Why doesn't it, for a change, take energetic action in its own behalf?

RICHARD FRIEDMAN

Washington, D. C.

Veritas re Vino

MUCH as I like Ambassador Bruce personally and admire his taste and judgment of wines, I find it hard to let go unchallenged the flat statement made in your March issue about the "greatest" wines in the world. These are obviously the Ambassador's favorites, those he likes best, but other experts might disagree with the term "greatest" to the exclusion of all others.

Among the bordeaux, for instance, are some noble bottles which come from the chateau of former Ambassador Dillon such as the red Haut Brion of 1945 and white of the same estate of 1947. Ambassador Bruce has chosen two vintages of Chateau Cheval Blanc on his list, but many would choose the 1947 instead of 1926 (too hard) and 1955 (not sufficiently mature).

Ambassador Bruce has chosen only one burgundy but what about the rich reds of the Vosne-Romanée of 1945 and 1949 such as Richebourg, La Tache and Romanée-Conti or the superb Chambertins of 1949, such as Le Musigny, Corton and Bonnes Mares?

Ambassador Bruce's selection of a Montrachet among his whites reminds me of the late Ambassador Zellerbach whose great hobby was the growing of wine grapes in California. He once gave me a couple of bottles of a Montrachet of his own vineyards which he thought compared favorably with *le vrai*. One evening in Paris I served his wine alongside a Montrachet of the same year to a group of Frenchmen who considered themselves experts. In any case one of them is himself the owner of a French vineyard of high repute.

The wines were served in different style glasses so that there could be no confusion and the bottles were carefully concealed. I then asked the guests to tell me which was the real Montrachet and which the Ambassador's. Five of the seven persons present chose the California wine. When I told Ambassador Zellerbach about this, he was as pleased as a schoolboy!

MORRILL CODY

Paris

Jobs For Retirees

A FEW comments in the May JOURNAL on jobs for retiring and resigning personnel lead me to clarify the activities of the Professional Placement Service.

We (Fred Leatherman, Natalie Boiseau, and I) do not find jobs for retirees and resignees; we do find job leads for them. This is our primary function and in carrying it out we run up against three main problems.

The first problem is to be known to all those contemplating retirement or resignation, a less simple task than one might suppose. More than once an individual has come into the office and started off with, "You know, it wasn't until yesterday I learned by chance about the Service . . ." As one way of getting the word around, we are issuing a short brochure which will be sent to all our Missions overseas for wide distribution to FSOs, FSRs and FSSs.

The second problem is to arrive at an effective résumé in cooperation with an applicant. A résumé is not a catalogue of a person's entire background. If it becomes one, it ends up putting most employers to sleep. The résumé has one principal purpose, and that is to secure an interview with a prospective employer. That means it should be short; it should be pointed; it should concentrate on those items calculated to attract the interest of an employer; and it should not include details of background and performance which might better be left for a personal interview. A good résumé is subtle in its omissions; it is definitely not a catchall.

The third problem is to give the client and his résumé maximum exposure. This means we have to be known to employers with potential needs for the special talents provided by Foreign Service and Department personnel. We have excellent contacts now with many foundations, colleges and universities, and other non-profit organizations. We have some contacts with private business and we are eager to have more. To this end, we are in touch with retirees still actively working, the Bob Murphys and Bill Crocketts who wish to be helpful. We are in touch with those both in and out of Department who have unusually good contacts with the world of business, those like Roger Jones, Richard Reuter, Michel Cieplinski, all of whom have been most generous in leading us to organizations with job vacancies of interest to retirees and resignees. We are in touch with trade associations, export manager associations, and other groupings, many of which have agreed to inform their affiliated organizations about the Placement Service. We are contacting those connected with magazines in the belief that a fascinating feature story on second careers of Foreign Service and Department personnel can be written, and here Roger Jones and Katie Louchheim have been extremely helpful. We are looking for opportunities to write letters to periodicals such

as TIME and the New York TIMES. And—most obviously—we are circulating letters and information about the Service to those companies most actively engaged in international affairs. (At the moment, we are working on a mailing list of 2900 such firms, admittedly only a beginning for what could well be a major endeavor.)

Our future projects—implementation of which depends on support from the Department—are to draw up profiles of individual applicants to distribute to selected employers; to spend more time on "difficult" cases; to increase our traveling, our mailing, our contacts in the D.C. area; and to provide job leads for wives and other dependents (we have some leads now for teenagers who will be in Washington this summer—leads such as lifeguards at swimming pools, construction work, country club maintenance and kitchen work).

Finally, I should add that all retirees and resignees may use the Service. We welcome USIA and AID as well as Department and Foreign Service personnel.

ERIC KOCHER

Washington

Dickens Corrects an Injustice

THE Congress has finally seen fit to authorize the Secretary to permit Foreign Service officers to accept minor gifts and, upon occasion, decorations, from Foreign Governments. Presumably we are not longer considered likely to sell out our country for a ribbon.

In this connection, JOURNAL readers might be interested in the following comment by Charles Dickens, made during a visit to Washington and included in his "American Notes" (1842):

"The Post Office is a very compact, and very beautiful building. In one of the departments, among a collection of rare and curious articles, are deposited the presents which have been made from time to time to the American Ambassadors at foreign courts by the various potentates to whom they were the accredited agents of the Republic: gifts which by the law they are not permitted to retain. I confess that I looked upon this as a very painful exhibition, and one by no means flattering to the national standard of honesty and honour. That can scarcely be a high state of moral feeling which imagines a gentleman of repute and standing likely to be corrupted, in the discharge of his duty, by the present of a snuff-box, or a richly-mounted sword, or an Eastern shawl; and surely the Nation who reposes confidence in her appointed servants, is likely to be better served, than she who makes them the subject of such very mean and paltry suspicions."

Dickens is justly famous for his indictments of social injustice, and his contributions to their correction. It would be pleasant to think that the Congress had his words in mind, when after over 100 years they decided to repose a bit more trust in the officers they have chosen to represent our country at the courts of foreign potentates.

HUGH C. MACDOUGALL

Washington

More on Oceanography

CONGRATULATIONS on your article about oceanography in the May JOURNAL, by Howard J. Grossman. It is a credit to the JOURNAL's broad scope of inquiry that it should go far afield from usual Foreign Service matters. The topic of oceanography, or oceanology, is, of course, one that already has international ramifications. For example, the recent disaster of the *Torrey Canyon* which spilled oil on British holiday sites; the mysterious appearance of oil slicks off Cape Cod and New Jersey, the loss of a nuclear bomb off Palamos, Spain; under-sea mining in extra-territorial waters—all these are topics beginning to furrow the brows (and fatten the wallets) of international lawyers.

But my purpose is to call attention to another good reason for the JOURNAL to carry an oceanology article; namely, that Claiborne Pell, the only former Foreign Service Officer ever to be elected to the US Senate, shares, with Senator Magnuson, the reputation for leadership in the Senate on oceanologic matters.

In particular, Senator Pell is noted for having secured passage last year of the Sea Grant Colleges and Programs Act of 1966. Mr. Grossman did not mention this key bill, although he rightfully pointed out the need for cohesive legislation on oceanography. The Pell Bill, patterned philosophically after the Land Grant Act of 1862, seems destined for equal historical attention. Like the Morrill (Land Grant) Act, which spurred development of our agricultural resources, the Pell Act, through technologic training, applied research and extension services, provides a practical program which will help this nation to exploit its vast marine resources.

In summary, I salute the JOURNAL for promoting the expansion of America's efforts in oceanology. It is pertinent for the JOURNAL to tout this subject, not only because of its burgeoning international side-effects, but also because Ex-FSO Pell is a Senate leader in this vital new field.

PHILIP CROCKER

Washington

Indian Famine Relief

DEPARTMENT of State personnel who have served in India are undoubtedly following reports on India's current food situation with particular concern. Two successive drought years have brought severe hardship. This year millions of people in the Bihar drought area of north central India face famine or near famine conditions. American Voluntary Agencies—CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services—are administering food relief programs in this area. Contributions to any of these agencies can be earmarked for famine relief in India. You can help.

JAY R. GRAHAME

Washington

"And just when did you send your application to the Peace Corps, Muldoon?"

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- Earthquake

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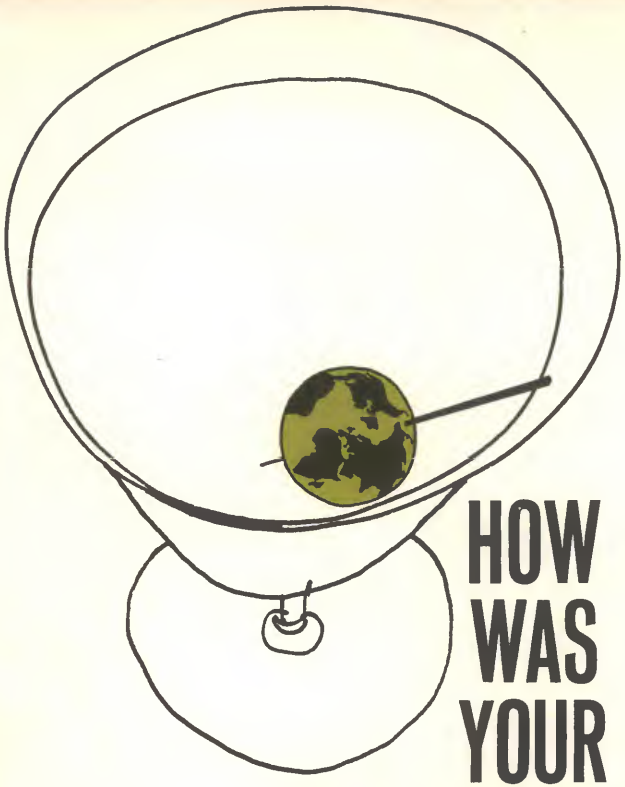

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