

JULY 1967
60 CENTS

Foreign
Service
Journal

AFSA MESSAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST EMERGENCY

As soon as the mass and hurried evacuations of US Government personnel from Middle East and African posts were ordered, your Board moved to determine what it might do to help. In the following letter to Deputy Under Secretary Rimestad, AFSA Board Chairman David H. McKillop expressed the Association's concern, inquired about the measures the Department was taking to meet the emergency and offered Association assistance.

*The Honorable Idar Rimestad
Deputy Under Secretary of State
for Administration*

Dear Mr. Rimestad;

In view of the sudden necessity for and magnitude of the evacuation from posts in the Middle East and Africa of Foreign Service personnel and their families, members of the Foreign Service Association have expressed concern that despite the best efforts made on their behalf, evacuees may suffer undue loss and hardship. I understand that some, as in Aleppo, escaped with only the clothes on their backs; others, with more time to prepare, were able to bring out a few of their personal possessions.

Naturally the Association, which, thanks to a vigorous membership drive, now numbers 7,500 members of the foreign affairs community, shares the Department's desire that everything possible be done to ease the way of the evacuees. In this connection, Association members have inquired whether under present procedures it is possible to make emergency claim payments, to ease the normal regulations on *per diem* and travel if necessary, to make interest-free loans, or to take any other steps to facilitate readjustments. I was pleased to learn that since January 1966, the Department is authorized to take immediate measures to help meet Foreign Service personnel emergencies such as have arisen in the Middle East. I would be grateful, however, if I could receive some more detailed word concerning these measures and whether there is any way the Association can be of help in supporting or supplementing them.

Although I have not had a chance to discuss with the Association Board the details of possible ways we could assist, we might, for instance, be able to make emergency loans, support private bills, etc. Just let us know, and we will do everything we can to respond.

*Sincerely,
DAVID H. MCKILLOP, Chairman
American Foreign Service Association*

In his reply, Mr. Rimestad said:

*Mr. David H. McKillop
Chairman
American Foreign Service Association
815 Seventeenth Street N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006*

Dear Mr. McKillop:

Thank you very much for your kind offer of help in connection with problems that will be encountered by employees and dependents evacuated incident to the Mid-East crisis.

We have today informed the posts concerned of a temporary expedited procedure whereby advance payments can be made for personal property losses with a very minimum of

paperwork. I am enclosing a copy of our outgoing message and a copy of the Foreign Affairs Manual regulations which normally govern claims payments.

The Employee Services Center also administers an emergency loan fund of a few thousand dollars from which they make approximately 200 loans a year. This fund, however, is not sufficiently large to meet any sudden demand. The facilities of the Credit Union are also available to help employees over financial crises.

While I would think it unlikely that there will be any substantial demand for loans, it would perhaps be good if you could discuss with the Association Board the ground rules under which they would be willing to offer loans. This would include such items as limits on amounts, individual and total, interest, security, etc. A lending operation is the only area that I can now foresee that would be feasible for the Association to offer assistance. Should the situation change, I will be happy to keep you informed.

Again thanks for your kind offer of assistance.

*Sincerely,
IDAR RIMESTAD*

On June 13, the Department sent the following telegram to twenty-two African and Middle Eastern posts:

JOINT STATE/AID/USIA MESSAGE

Amembassy ADDIS ABABA, ALGIERS, AMMAN, ATHENS, BEIRUT, CAIRO (PASS TO ALEXANDRIA AND PORT SAID), JIDDA, KHARTOUM, KUWAIT, MADRID, NAIROBI, RABAT, ROME, TEHRAN, TEL AVIV, TRIPOLI (PASS TO BENGHAZI), TUNIS; Amconsul ADEN, ASMARA, JERUSALEM, DHAHRAN, CASABLANCA, TANGIER.

Personal property losses incident to Middle East situation eligible for settlement under 3 FAM 691 (AID-M.O. 352.1, USIA-MOA VA-506) will be processed under following procedure to provide expeditious payment of needed funds to avoid unnecessary hardship and inconvenience.

1. An advance payment of up to 75% of the payable claim will be made upon submission by employee or spouse of DS-1620 in duplicate or same information in letter or memorandum form if DS-1620's not available. Detailed itemization of property not required on initial claim. Furnish general quantities and categories of property with approximate acquisition cost and value at time of loss. Provide brief explanation of circumstances of loss and, if available, attach substantiating official correspondence or corroborating statement. Indicate amount of funds (up to 75% of claim) necessary for immediate needs.

2. Claim must include signed repayment agreement if property recovered or other reimbursement received and must state claimants understanding that any advance payment made will be refunded or deducted as may be required to conform with final settlement of claim.

3. All claims to be submitted to Office of Operations, Department of State, Washington. Two year period in which claims may be filed eliminates necessity for filing for partial advance payment unless funds urgently needed.

NOTE: Not sent Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said by OC/t.

Confident that it is acting on behalf of all the Association membership, the Board has named one of its members to maintain close liaison with the Department. He will keep under review ways and means whereby the Association can lend a helping hand in support of the Department's special and fine efforts to assure that those of our colleagues who have suffered losses in the line of duty will be promptly and equitably compensated.

DAVID H. MCKILLOP



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

The dues for Active and Associate Members are either \$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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contents

July, 1967
Vol. 44, No. 7

page

- 16 THE MARSHALL PLAN: THE INITIAL IMPULSE
20 THE LANDING IN LEBANON
by Observer
20 THE LEBANON EXPERIENCE
by Robert D. Murphy
24 THE UNITED STATES AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD
by Livingston T. Merchant
28 A NIGHT WITH THE ADAVASI
by Luree Miller
34 ON EMBASSY OPERATIONS: A SOVIET VIEW
by Thomas A. Donovan
42 THE BRIDEGROOM WORE BOOTS
by Barbara Ennis

OTHER FEATURES: "Foreign Service Officer Goes to Congress," by Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, page 6, "At Long Last," page 30.

departments

- 6 THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER
8 AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS
10 TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO
by Henry B. Day
31 EDITORIALS: Scrutiny of Origins
Science, the President and Latin America
32 WASHINGTON LETTER
by Loren Carroll
36 BOOKSHELF
48 COOK'S TOUR
by Helen K. Behrens
51 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



"Washington Bureaucrat" by G. Lewis Jones

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR JULY

- G. Lewis Jones, oil, "Steelmaking—Oxygen Process," cover and acrylic, "Washington Bureaucrat," page 2.
- U. S. Marine Corps, photographs, pages 21, 22 and 23.
- USIA, photograph, page 28.
- Luree Miller, photographs, page 29.
- S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 33.
- Xenia Barnes, photograph, page 38.
- Howard R. Simpson, cartoon, page 52.

Ambassadorial Nominations

BENIGNO C. HERNANDEZ, to *Paraguay*

WILLIAM J. PORTER, to *Korea*

Marriages

DONALDSON-WADSWORTH. Mrs. Mary Alphin Donaldson was married to Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, on May 22, at the Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church.

FESSENDEN-SNYDER. Helen Andrus Fessenden, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Russell Fessenden, was married to Noel Snyder, on June 3, in Ithaca, New York.

MARTIN-FANDINO. Cynthia Martin, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. John Bartlow Martin, was married to Joseph G. Fandino, on May 6, in Washington, D.C.

WAYNE-MITCHELL. Stephanie Wayne, daughter of FSO and Mrs. Jules H. Wayne, was married to Douglas Kent Mitchell, on May 19, in Washington, D.C. Mr. Wayne retired from the Foreign Service on June 30 and joined the United Nations staff in Geneva.

Births

SEMAKIS. A daughter, Florence Margaret, born to Mr. and Mrs. Larry W. Semakis, on April 29, in Tehran. Mr. Semakis is Second Secretary and Political Officer in the Embassy.

MCGRANAHAN. A son, Christopher, born to Mr. and Mrs. William J. McGranahan, on June 18, in Washington, D. C. Mrs. McGranahan is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. I. Nadler.

Deaths

BURKE. Thomas Edmund Burke, FSO-retired, died on April 28, in Luneburg, Germany. Mr. Burke retired several years ago after over 40 years of service, at Bombay, Basel, Malmö, Göteborg, Oslo, Riga, Helsingfors, Zagreb, Quebec, Osaka, Dairen, Valparaiso, Punta Arenas, Berlin, Frankfurt, Kingston, Georgetown, Paris and again at Berlin.

WHITE. John Campbell White, first United States Ambassador to Haiti and former Ambassador to Peru, died on June 11, in New York. Ambassador White retired in 1945 after 31 years in the Foreign Service where he served at Santo Domingo, Bangkok, Warsaw, Kabul, Berlin, and Buenos Aires. Ambassador White, the son of Henry White, Ambassador to Italy and France and a signer of the treaty of Versailles, entered the Foreign Service in 1914. He was the first president of DACOR.

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

Address material to: Foreign Service Journal, 815 - 17th Street, N.W., Snlte 305, Washington, D. C., 20006.

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

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

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Letter from AFSA President



DEAR COLLEAGUES:

ELSEWHERE in this issue of the JOURNAL is an announcement by the Association of the purchase of its new building. This marks a turning point in the affairs of the organization. It is solid evidence of its steady growth and the support of the membership. I sincerely hope this support will permit us to expand our activities as a professional society in the service of our members.

The ad hoc Planning Committee of the Association convened last year is about to report to the Board of Directors. More of the details about this later—but among its recommendations is expected to be one which would admonish the Association to strengthen its ties with the academic community and with others concerned with foreign policy matters. The Board of Directors shares this view and at its meeting of May

26, 1967 decided to invite the recently appointed consultants to the various geographic and substantive bureaus of the Department to become Associate members. Accordingly, letters of invitation are being sent out to over 200 such consultants who are not already members. I welcome to membership those who accept this invitation and trust their relations with our present members, through the medium of the Association and the pages of this JOURNAL, will be mutually advantageous.

The Scholarship fund of the Association has received several substantial contributions in the past year from persons serving the United States abroad who sold automobiles at large profit. One such welcome contribution in the amount of \$3,900 was recently received from an AID employee who served in Bogota. Government regulations give persons a choice of charitable organizations for these contributions which in the case of the Scholarship Fund are free from Federal Income Tax. What better use could be made of these windfall profits than to assist in the education of children of Americans serving the Government overseas?

Last March the JOURNAL published a letter I wrote to Senator Fulbright in support of Senate bill S. 624 which would revise the escalation clause in present foreign service retirement annuities to make it conform to that which the Civil Service now enjoys. I am pleased to say that as of June 22nd this bill has been reported out of committee, for consideration by the Senate.



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Foreign Service Officer Goes to Congress

BY PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN
(Member of Congress Fifth District, New Jersey)

WE hear much talk these days about the "communications gap" which is said to exist between those of us who serve on Capitol Hill and members of the executive establishment.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, my contact with the Department of State has led me to a different conclusion. Our differences, it seems to me, are not derived from a failure to communicate with one another in a variety of ways, but from a very real separation of functions and responsibilities which the Constitution has imposed upon our system of government. The role performed by a Member of Congress is simply different from that prescribed for an appointive official: While the former must often assume the posture of a "devil's advocate," the latter is concerned with the implementation of an executive decision. In this respect, I suppose, we are destined to remain natural antagonists!

For a Member of Congress there is also the very practical limitation imposed by the clock. We are, alas, unable to delegate many of our responsibilities, since we are required to appear personally on the floor of the House for numerous roll call votes, quorum calls, and floor debates. The remainder of our time is usually divided between committee and subcommittee assignments, informal but necessary meetings with our colleagues, and regular district business. As a consequence, we are often precluded from taking full advantage of the facilities which an executive Department places at our disposal. To a certain extent, therefore, I find that a "time gap" separates

me from the Department of State.

At the same time, I believe, we legislators have more in common with our associates in Foggy Bottom than we sometimes realize. As professionals, we are both engaged in the daily business of negotiation and compromise in the attainment of our objectives . . . And as public servants, we are both involved in promoting the national interest.

If a "gap" exists, I think it is less in the field of communication than in the realm of understanding. To comprehend and accept one another's roles in the abstract, moreover, is not necessarily to experience the differences in practice. In this regard, the Congressional Fellowship Program*—sponsored by the American Political Science Association—has been a step in the right direction.

During the past four months, a State Department Foreign Service officer has been serving *not as a liaison officer*, but as a regular member of my staff, performing a variety of legislative functions. He has been exposed to the considerable volume of mail which I receive from my constituents and has assisted in providing answers to specific questions—often relating to Foreign Affairs. He has also prepared background material for committee hearings and—from time to time—has tried his hand at speech-writing and the drafting of press releases.

As a result of this experience, I believe he has gained a better understanding of the legislative process and the many pressures which are brought to bear upon a Member of Congress. The advantages, I might add, are fully reciprocal, as my office has been able to utilize this officer's services to good effect.

The APSA Fellowship Program is, I am convinced, of mutual benefit to the executive and legislative branches of our government, and I sincerely hope that the Department of State will continue to participate in it. (Perhaps the program might eventually operate in reverse—i.e., providing opportunities for Congressional staff members to gain firsthand experience in Executive Departments.) It provides a useful education to all concerned.

**The Department of State has been sending selected mid-career Foreign Service officers to serve for a year of "training" in Congressional offices. The recent decision by the Under Secretary to expand this program will take effect in FY-68. Interested officers should apply to Mr. Harrison Symmes, Director, Mid-Career Officer Program.*

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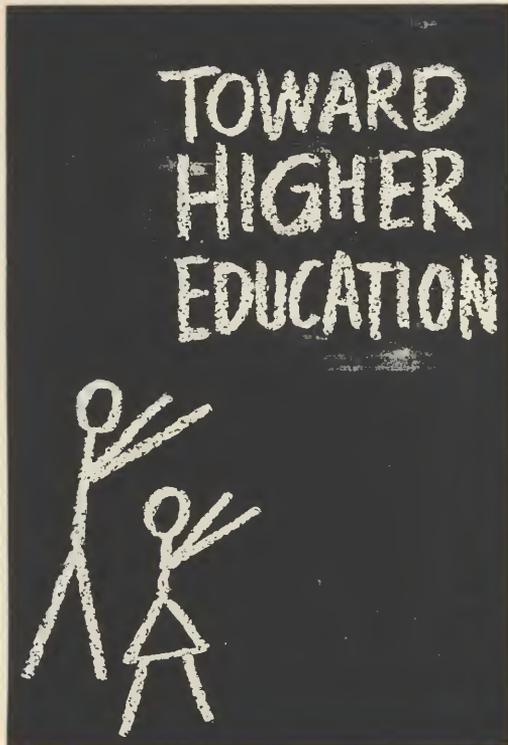
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The three R's are no longer enough (even when the fourth R, rioting) is added. But the cost of higher education is zooming. The past 25 years have seen tuition costs go up, up, up, sixfold in many cases.

The American Foreign Service Association's scholarship program is designed to help Foreign Service children through their undergraduate years. The awards are made on a sliding scale basis varying between \$300 and \$1000 depending on the degree of need, as determined by the Educational Consultant's confidential review of financial statements. The Committee on Education reviews the applications to determine successful candidates on the basis of scholastic record, leadership qualities, character, motivation and development potential.

While the Committee on Education is meeting to determine the winners of the 1967-68 scholarship awards, the Association felt it opportune to call the attention of all AFSA supporters to this worthy cause. Dues notices have been sent to our members and your inclusion of a tax-deductible scholarship contribution will help this program. **Please be generous.**

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Our cover artist, AMBASSADOR G. LEWIS JONES, Coordinator, Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, painted the oil of "Steel-making-Oxygen Process" after the Senior Seminar made a visit to the Republic Steel Company plant last September. Ambassador Jones's acrylic of the "Washington Bureaucrat" on page 2, is an attempt to portray the Washington bureaucrat (white circle) against a highly patriotic background, where he is squeezed between aspirations (blue) and realities (black).

LUREE MILLER, who wrote "A Night with the Adavasi," page 28, is the wife of William J. Miller, USIA. "We used to 'commute' every summer from Stanford, California, 4,000 miles to Fairbanks, Alaska, via the Alcan Highway or by unscheduled airlines flying battered DC-3s. Both our families were pioneers who went West as far as they could go: to Seattle and Alaska. But we moved East to look for adventure," Mrs. Miller writes. She attended Reed College and was graduated from Stanford, is the author of three books and several stories for children and has two sons and a daughter. The Millers are now off to the American Embassy, London.

BARBARA ENNIS, who contributed "The Bridegroom Wore Boots," page 42, was born in England and educated at Oxford. Her husband, James H. Ennis, is an FSO currently assigned to NEA. The Ennises have served in Athens, Beirut and (unlikely as it sounds) Pittsburgh. They have two sons and a daughter.

THOMAS A. DONOVAN, an FSO for the past 21 years, is a frequent contributor of articles and book reviews to the JOURNAL. Mr. Donovan is assigned to INR. His latest article, "On Embassy Operations: A Soviet View," appears on page 34.

LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT, who wrote "The United States and the Developing World," was Under Secretary for Political Affairs from 1956 to 1961. He served two terms as Ambassador to Canada. He retired in 1962 with the rank of Career Ambassador. At the present time he is the United States Executive Director for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

ROBERT D. MURPHY, ever since he organized the plans for the Allied landings in North Africa in 1942, has participated in many of the crucial situations in modern American history. He was in a pivotal position to observe the Lebanese situation in 1958 and it is on the basis of this inside knowledge that he contributes his appraisal of the Lebanese landings. When Ambassador Murphy ended his diplomatic career, he wrote "Diplomat Among Warriors" and became President of Corning Glass International.

90° of Love in Eritrea

... let me put it in the words of an Ethiopian—words I discovered on the road to Tessina in Eritrea. They are the words of a postmaster writing his girl friend. He could speak but not write in English, so he asked a helpful Peace Corps Volunteer girl in that town to write his love letters for him and his best letter ended with this line, which can do as my parting line, too: "And so," he wrote, "I have loved you, I am loving you and I will be loving you until my perpendicular is horizontal and I die."—from Harris Wofford's farewell message to the Washington staff of the Peace Corps.

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25 YEARS AGO

JULY, 1942

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Sam E. Woods

Writing from Menlo Park, California, a while back, the late Arthur C. Frost mentioned some wartime activities of Foreign Service officers. There was, for instance the story of the late Sam E. Woods, who was stationed in Berlin in 1941. Woods one day received a movie ticket from a priest and in the dark at the theater was handed German plans to invade Russia. Mr. Frost heard that the Russians and others refused to give credence to these papers. The history of the Foreign Service by Barnes and Morgan describes how, later on as Consul General in Zurich, Sam Woods, also Consul Robert E. Cowan, took care of a succession of Allied aviators who had got out of Swiss internment camps with forged passes. The flyer telephoned a key word, then met Woods or Cowan in a church in Lucerne following a standardized signaling procedure for identification.

At Lyon

Marshall Vance, now in Ormond Beach, Florida, remembers life in unoccupied France as Consul in Lyon in these words:

The year and a half I was in Lyon were packed with action to the fullest, as I was Consul not only for us but also for the entire British Empire, Belgium, Luxembourg, Yugoslavia, and half a dozen other countries, having to take care of the civilian nationals of each as they escaped over the demarcation line, which was just to the north of Lyon; also the escaped military as they were able to flee from their German prisons. We were the closest office to the demarcation line and traffic at times was intense: Belgians to the Congo for military service, British to Gibraltar for repatriation from there, and so on. Then there was the very exacting job of extracting useful information, military and economic.

Double take

The Honorable Frances E. Willis, now in Redlands, California, recalls the troubles couriers had working out of Madrid in those days. The Embassy had long been concerned about the lone courier who was responsible for the transportation of as many as fifteen to twenty pouches from Madrid to the Legation in Bern, which in turn forwarded all official mail to Vichy. It was physically impossible for one individual to guard so many pouches, particularly at the Spanish-French frontier where the courier had to change from the broad gauge Spanish railway car to a regular gauge French car. In addition he had to go through elaborate Spanish currency and passport controls; and then through French controls. The Embassy had been telegraphing urgently that couriers must travel in pairs. For some time no notice was taken but one day the Department telegraphed:

Couriers Leddy, Stoner and Doyle assigned to Madrid to travel in pairs.



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Port Said and Malmö

In July 1942, Benjamin Reath Riggs, now living here in Washington, was due for transfer from Port Said after an assignment there that began in June 1939. For a time he was on detail in a place where we were helping with a program for rehabilitating Hurricane and Spitfire fighters. Finally all the equipment was installed, but it was never used as the tide of war shifted. Port Said was bombed 120 times. Riggs had to keep a record and investigate and report on damage and injury. When the transfer order came it directed him to open a new office in Iskenderoun, reportedly a center of an enemy intelligence network controlled by a mysterious woman. Riggs was given prior home leave since he had not seen his wife and child for a long time and while he was home his orders were changed and he had to trade initial prospects for excitement in Turkey to adventures elsewhere. He was transferred to Malmö. To get there he had to fly from Prestwick in Scotland to an airport near Stockholm in a tiny Mosquito aircraft. For greater safety the plane had to fly over the enemy at 20,000 feet so he had to wear an oxygen mask during most of the flight. Although he was bundled in a wool-lined coat the cold seemed to penetrate to his bones. His wartime duties in Sweden were naturally influenced by the proximity of Malmö to the Germans in occupied Denmark.



A daughter, Robin Virginia Lewis, was born to Mr. and Mrs. G. Lewis Jones, Jr. on July 4, 1942, in Cairo, where her father was Acting Commercial Attaché. The Honorable

G. Lewis Jones, Jr., has supplied this look back at the event and the times:

As General Rommel pushed eastward towards Cairo in May and June, the wartime life of Cairo became more and more agitated. Trains and convoys of cars slipped out of town towards Palestine: all Legation wives were sent away on the orders of the Minister, Alexander Kirk, mostly to Asmara. There was one American woman who could not go: my wife Polly. The distinguished Egyptian gynecologist, Dr. Mafous Pasha, was outraged when he heard the Minister wanted her to go to Asmara. He wrote the Minister forbidding her removal from his care in Cairo. The minister's comments regarding the oncoming Jones were acid.

Since Polly would have to stay in any case, it was agreed that if Rommel were to enter Cairo the "stay-behinds" to help the Swiss Legation cope with American interests would be the Joneses. They had already had experience with occupying German forces in Athens the year before. The Joneses were sharing quarters with Walworth Barbour, now Ambassador to Israel, and Edward Dow, now at the Embassy in Rabat. The solicitude of these bachelors equaled that of the father.

Word came that the Afrika Corps had been stopped just as Robin appeared. Her advent added to the general rejoicing in the Legation and friendly missions still in Cairo.

Alexander Kirk sent Polly an enormous floral offering accompanied by a baby-size diamond and ruby ring with

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a note suggesting that it should not be taken internally. Three weeks later, when Robin was christened in the Episcopal Cathedral in Cairo, the Minister arrived in an elegant dove-gray suit, with buttonless waistcoat, to attend the ceremony. His good-humored words upon arrival were, "Where is the revolting fragment?"

Three months later the Joneses left Cairo in a DC-3 with some American pilots who were ferrying Tomahawk fighters to the British forces. With several missionaries they hitched a ride at Lagos on a Martin flying boat bound for Baltimore.

Robin is now married to John Nicolopoulos, Cultural Attaché of the Greek Embassy in Washington.



A daughter, Barbara Park, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Brown on May 6, 1942, in Washington. Barbara graduated from the Bethesda Chevy Chase High School. She went on to Middlebury College and majored in political science. She graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1964. After several months with her parents in Managua, where her father was sent as Ambassador in 1961, she secured a job at the Harvard Graduate School of Education where she is now Executive Secretary of the Center for Research on Careers.



A daughter, Mary Anne, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Bartley P. Gordon on July 16, 1942, in Washington, D.C. At age one she began moving with her parents, starting with Montreal and on to Athens, Patras, Rotterdam, London, Frankfurt, and Rome. In Patras at age three she was fluent in Greek and learned her English ABC's from an Armenian governess speaking Greek and French. By the age of 18 she had learned eight languages and been to school in as many countries. After secretarial studies she enrolled at William and Mary and later at American University where she met and married Frederick W. Reinig, now Vice President and a Director of Birely & Company, stockbrokers of Washington, D.C. Her father lives in São Paulo now and finds retirement a busy occupation. He keeps in touch with old Foreign Service friends and finds stimulation in the various activities of the consular corps, the American Chamber of Commerce, the USIS book program, and the *Uniao Culturale Brasileira-Americana*. He writes and continues studies of foreign languages begun in years of active duty.

FORTY YEARS AGO

In July 1927 the JOURNAL reported one side of a telephone conversation overheard at a Consulate General in Europe:

Hello . . . Did you say dead grass? . . . Oh, dead grass . . . (pause to consult tariff) . . . Birds, dead, dressed or undressed, except poultry, Treasury Decision 34,048 . . . 8 cents per pound . . . We can only tell you what it says, not interpret . . . I would think dressed means with the feathers pulled off and undressed with the feathers left on . . . Funny to you? . . . Sorry, I can't help that . . . Well, if you prefer you may interpret it to mean dressed means with the feathers on and undressed with the feathers off. . .

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<input type="checkbox"/> \$ 50,000.00	\$ 36.00	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (\$)	at 72¢ each \$1,000.00

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5. Show name and relationship of beneficiary for your insurance
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6. If you desire insurance for your dependents, please complete the following:

Name of dependent	Date of Birth†	Relationship	Principal Sum*	Annual Premium
Dependent's Beneficiary			TOTAL	\$

*Maximum amount of principal sum available on dependents: Wife—50% of husband's benefit but no more than \$50,000.00. Each child \$10,000.00. Minimum on member or dependents: \$10,000.00.
†You are eligible if you are less than 69 years of age. Eligible dependents include the spouse of the member, unless legally separated, and any unmarried children over the age of 13 days and under the age of 19 years. If he has passed his 19th birthday and is a full time student at an accredited college or university, such a child will continue to be an eligible dependent up to his 23rd birthday or the date he ceases to be such a student, whichever occurs first.

Date Member's Signature

The Marshall Plan: American Intentions and European Reaction

Only 20 years ago! It was a time of dynamic perception, and, what is more important, dynamic action. The State Department's Policy Planning Staff was set up on May 5, 1947. Only three weeks later—May 23, to be exact, the group produced its first paper, one of the most far-reaching documents in American history: a document that became the spark-plug of the Marshall Plan. Although some parts of the document have appeared in print before, this is, we believe, the first integral text ever to be published. It constitutes a complete statement of American policy in regard to Europe's shattered economy.

Two masterly points in political diagnosis will immediately strike the reader. Both occur on the very first page: "The Policy Planning Staff does not see Communist activities as the root of the difficulties of Western Europe," says point number one. "It believes that the present crisis results in a large measure from the disruptive effect of the economic, political and social structure of Europe and from a profound exhaustion of physical plant and spiritual vigor." The second point extends into the present: "The Staff is not unmindful of its mission to coordinate long-term economic aid policy on a global basis."

Europe read General Marshall's proposals with appropriate gravity. In due time came Europe's reaction under a covering letter from Ernest Bevin, then British Foreign Secretary. This document contained an observation of acute prevision. "The participating countries recognize that their economic systems are inter-related and that the prosperity of each of them depends on the restoration of the prosperity of all."

In last month's issue the JOURNAL presented the inception and execution of the Marshall Plan. In this issue the two documents given in their entirety below will permit you to penetrate the original impulse that generated a great chapter in history.



May 23, 1947

SUMMARY

1. The Policy Planning Staff has selected as the first object of study the question of American aid to western Europe.
2. It sees here a long-term problem, namely of European rehabilitation in general, and a short-term problem, namely the immediate shoring up of confidence at home and abroad in the possibility of a constructive solution.
3. As to the short-term problem the Policy Planning Staff proposes that the United States, with a view to seizing the offensive and inspiring confidence, select some suitable bottleneck or bottlenecks in western European economy and institute immediate action which would bring to bear the full weight of this Government on the breaking of these bottlenecks. The Planning Staff attaches great importance to this suggestion, believing that only by means of some such action can we gain time to deal with the long-term problem in an orderly manner.
4. With respect to the long-term problem, the Policy Planning Staff feels that the formal initiative in drawing up a program for its solution and the general responsibility for such a program must come jointly from European nations and that the formal role of this Government should be to support that program at joint European request. It proposes that we aim at inducing the European governments to undertake soon the task of evolving such a program, and give them every assistance therein, in order that their request to us may reach us by the end of the year.
5. The Policy Planning Staff proposes the despatch of instructions to certain European missions designed to obtain a uniform digest of the views of the respective chiefs. It is also proposed that secret discussions with the British be undertaken at once with respect to the general approach to this problem.
6. It recommends that immediate measures be taken to straighten out public opinion on some implications of the President's message on Greece and Turkey.

POLICY WITH RESPECT TO AMERICAN AID TO WESTERN EUROPE VIEWS OF THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF I. GENERAL

1. The Policy Planning Staff has selected the question of

The Initial Impulse

American aid to western Europe as the first subject of its attention. This does not mean that the Staff is unmindful of the importance or urgency of problems in other areas or of its mission to coordinate long-term policy on a global basis. It means simply that western Europe appears to be the area for which long-term planning might most advantageously begin.

2. The Policy Planning Staff does not see communist activities as the root of the difficulties of western Europe. It believes that the present crisis results in large part from the disruptive effect of the war on the economic, political, and social structure of Europe and from a profound exhaustion of physical plant and of spiritual vigor. This situation has been aggravated and rendered far more difficult of remedy by the division of the continent into east and west. The Planning Staff recognizes that the communists are exploiting the European crisis and that further communist successes would create serious danger to American security. It considers, however, that American effort in aid to Europe should be directed not to the combatting of communism as such but to the restoration of the economic health and vigor of European society. It should aim, in other words, to combat not communism, but the economic maladjustment which makes European society vulnerable to exploitation by any and all totalitarian movements and which Russian communism is now exploiting. The Planning Staff believes that American plans should be drawn to this purpose and that this should be frankly stated to the American public.

3. The Policy Planning Staff sees in this general question of American aid to western Europe two problems: a long-term one and a short-term one. The long-term problem is that of how the economic health of the area is to be restored and of the degree and form of American aid for such restoration. The short-term problem is to determine what effective and dramatic action should be taken in the immediate future to halt the economic disintegration of western Europe and to create confidence that the overall problem can be solved and that the United States can and will play its proper part in the solution.

4. The Policy Planning Staff feels that there is some misconception in the mind of the American people as to the objectives of the Truman Doctrine and of our aid to foreign countries and recommends that immediate action be taken to correct this misunderstanding.

II. THE SHORT-TERM PROBLEM

5. With respect to the short-term problem, the Planning Staff feels that we should select some particular bottleneck or bottlenecks in the economic pattern of western Europe and institute immediate action which would bring to bear the full weight of this Government on the breaking of those bottlenecks. The purpose of this action would be on the one hand psychological—to put us on the offensive instead of the defensive, to convince the European peoples that we mean business, to serve as a catalyst for their hope and confidence, and to dramatize for our people the nature of Europe's problems and the importance of American assistance. On the other hand, this action would be designed to make a real contribution to the solution of Europe's economic difficulties.

The Planning Staff attaches great importance to this project and considers it almost essential to the success of the general scheme. It fears that unless something of this sort is done at once the result may be a further deterioration of morale in Europe which will seriously jeopardize the long-term program. For this reason it recommends that most careful and intensive consideration be given at once to this project.

The production of coal in the Rhine Valley and its movement to the places of consumption in Europe has suggested itself as the most suitable object of such an action. The Planning Staff has this question under consideration and expects to come up with more detailed suggestions in the near future.

It may be necessary as a matter of short time urgency to take certain other measures with respect to Italy supplementary to such aid as may be given to that country out of the \$350,000,000 appropriation. Since this question is already under advisement in operational sections of the Department the Planning Staff is not including it in this survey.

III. THE LONG-TERM PROBLEM

6. The Policy Planning Staff recognizes that the long-term problem is one of enormous complexity and difficulty. It should be the subject of a careful study which must of necessity extend over a period of at least several weeks. The Staff proposes to occupy itself with that study at once. In the belief, however, that this Government cannot afford to delay the adoption of some overall approach to the solution of the

problem, the following tentative views are set forth:

a. It is necessary to distinguish clearly between a program for the economic revitalization of Europe on the one hand, and a program of American support of such revitalization on the other. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally and to promulgate formally on its own initiative a program designed to place western Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The formal initiative must come from Europe; the program must be evolved in Europe; and the Europeans must bear the basic responsibility for it. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of the later support of such a program, by financial and other means, at European request.

b. The program which this country is asked to support must be a joint one, agreed to by several European nations. While it may be linked to individual national programs, such as the Monnet plan in France, it must, for psychological and political, as well as economic, reasons, be an internationally agreed program. The request for our support must come as a joint request from a group of friendly nations, not as a series of isolated and individual appeals.

c. This European program must envisage bringing western Europe to a point where it will be able to maintain a tolerable standard of living on a financially self-supporting basis. It must give promise of doing the whole job. The program must contain reasonable assurance that if we support it, this will be the last such program we shall be asked to support in the foreseeable future.

d. The overall European program must embrace, or be linked to, some sort of plan for dealing with the economic plight of Britain. The plan must be formally a British one, worked out on British initiative and British responsibility, and the role of the United States, again, must be to give friendly support.

e. This does not mean that the United States need stand aside or remain aloof from the elaboration of the overall European program. As a member of the United Nations and particularly of the Economic Commission for Europe, and as a power occupying certain European territories, it is entitled and obliged to participate in working out the program. Our position as an occupying power also makes it incumbent upon us to cooperate whole-heartedly in the execution of any program that may be evolved. For this reason, and because we must know as soon as possible to what extent such a program is technically feasible, we must undertake an independent and realistic study of the entire problem of European rehabilitation. But we must insist, for the sake of clarity, for the sake of soundness of concept, and for the sake of the self-respect of European peoples, that the initiative be taken in Europe and that the main burden be borne by the governments of that area. With the best of will, the American people cannot really help those who are not willing to help themselves. And if the requested initiative and readiness to bear public responsibility are not forthcoming from the European governments, then that will mean that rigor mortis has already set in on the body politic of Europe as we have known it and that it may be already too late for us to change decisively the course of events.

f. While this program must necessarily center in the European area, it will admittedly have widespread ramifications for the UN, and we should bear constantly in mind the need for maximum utilization of UN machinery.

g. American support for such a program need not be confined to financial assistance. It may involve considerable practical American cooperation in the solution of specific problems.

h. With respect to any program which this Government may eventually be asked to support, it will be necessary for it to insist on safeguards to assure

first, that everything possible be done to whittle down the cost of such support in dollars;

secondly, that the European Governments use the full force of their authority to see that our aid is employed in a purposeful and effective way; and

thirdly, that maximum reimbursement be made to this country in any forms found to be economically feasible and in United States interest.

i. The problem of where and in what form the initiative for the formulation of a European program should be taken is admittedly a tremendously difficult and delicate one. It cannot be definitely predetermined by us. Presumably an effort would first be made to advance the project in the Economic Commission for Europe, and probably as a proposal for general European (not just western European) cooperation; but then it would be essential that this be done in such a form that the Russian satellite countries would either exclude themselves by unwillingness to accept the proposed conditions or agree to abandon the exclusive orientation of their economies. If the Russians prove able to block any such scheme in the Economic Commission for Europe, it may be necessary for the key countries of western Europe to find means of conferring together without the presence of the Russians and Russian satellites. In general, however, the question of where and how this initiative should be taken is primarily one for the European nations, and we should be careful not to seek unduly to influence their decision.

7. Based on the above considerations, the Policy Planning Staff suggests the following course of action with relation to the long-term problem:

a. That the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee's Special Ad Hoc Committee studying "policy, procedures and costs of assistance by the United States to foreign countries" continue its studies, but that the State representation on this Committee maintain close contact with the Policy Planning Staff for purposes of coordination.

b. That by the way of supplement to the SWNCC study, telegraphic instructions be despatched at an early date to the Chiefs of Mission in a number of western and central European countries designed to elicit their frank views on

(1) The economic situation of their respective country and the measures required for its remedy;

(2) Whether there is any element in the situation which makes it likely that the United States may be faced with any urgent and desperate demand from that quarter for assistance within the next year;

(3) Whether and to what extent the respective economic difficulties could be relieved by better exchanges (commodities, financial, manpower, etc.) with other areas of western and central Europe;

(4) The nature of the main obstacles to be overcome if such improved exchanges are to be made possible;

(5) To what extent the respective country might contribute to general European rehabilitation if these obstacles were removed; and

(6) The general state of mind of responsible government leaders in the respective country with respect to a possible program of European rehabilitation, the degree to which they are inhibited by Russian or communist pressure in considering such a program and the prospects for their initiative or cooperation in working it out.

c. That certain of these Missions be requested, at the discretion of the operational divisions of the Department, to detail qualified officers to Washington for a period of several weeks to participate in discussion and planning on this general subject.

d. That the Planning Staff, assisted by the operational sections of the Department, proceed to work out a general formulation of this Government's views on the long-term problem of European rehabilitation for use in discussions with European governments and for the guidance of the American representative on the Economic Commission for Europe.

e. That it be accepted as our general objective to induce and assist the European governments to undertake before autumn the development of a program of European rehabilitation which would show clearly what was expected of this country in the way of support, and to submit the request for such support to this Government by the end of the year.

f. That this overall approach be informally and secretly discussed with British leaders at an early date and their assurances of support solicited.

IV. CLARIFYING IMPLICATIONS OF "TRUMAN DOCTRINE"

8. Steps should be taken to clarify what the press has unfortunately come to identify as the "Truman Doctrine," and to remove in particular two damaging impressions which

are current in large sections of American public opinion. These are:

a. That the United States approach to world problems is a defensive reaction to communist pressure and that the effort to restore sound economic conditions in other countries is only a by-product of this reaction and not something we would be interested in doing if there were no communist menace;

b. That the Truman Doctrine is a blank check to give economic and military aid to any area in the world where the communists show signs of being successful. It must be made clear that the extension of American aid is essentially a question of political economy in the literal sense of that term and that such aid will be considered only in cases where the prospective results bear a satisfactory relationship to the expenditure of American resources and effort. It must be made clear that in the case of Greece and Turkey we are dealing with a critical area where the failure to take action would have had particularly serious consequences, where a successful action would promise particularly far-reaching results, and where the over-all cost was relatively small; and that in other areas we should have to apply similar criteria.

Europe's Reaction

COMMITTEE OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

PARIS, 22nd September, 1947

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY,

In your speech at Harvard University on the 5th June you stated that, before the United States could proceed much further in its efforts to help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries concerned as to the requirements of the situation and the part these countries themselves could play in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by the Government of the United States. You suggested that the initiative in the drafting of a European programme must come from Europe, and that the programme should be a joint one agreed to by a number, if not all, of the European nations. You stated that an essential part of any successful action by the United States was an understanding by the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied.

The programme which you suggested should be prepared has now been drawn up in the form of the attached initial Report by the 16 countries which accepted the invitation of the British and French Governments to attend a Conference in Paris opening on 12th July. This programme, which covers the 16 participating countries concerned and Western Germany, contains statements of production, requirements and future plans on which the governments of each of the participating countries have agreed.

The Report has been drawn up in close and friendly cooperation on the part of the countries concerned, and we

hope that it will help to solve the economic problems which today face a large part of the European continent.

Yours very truly,

ERNEST BEVIN, Chairman.
[Signatures] UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK, FRANCE,
GREECE, ICELAND, IRELAND, ITALY, LUXEM-
BOURG, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, PORTUGAL,
SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, TURKEY.

COMMITTEE OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION GENERAL REPORT

Preamble

(i) In response to Mr. Marshall's speech of 5th June the sixteen participating countries have met in Paris for the purpose of developing an economic recovery programme and of determining the manner and extent to which these countries can, by their individual and collective efforts, bring about the achievement of that programme.

(ii) In the report which follows, the participating countries have defined the economic and financial problems facing them and have reviewed 1) the production targets which they have set for themselves; 2) the steps which are being taken and will be taken to bring about internal stabilization; 3) the measures which the participating nations will take through combined or co-ordinated action to solve production problems, provide for the free and efficient flow of goods and labour, and ensure the full use of their resources; and 4) the problem presented by the participating countries' and Western Germany's balance of payments deficit with the American continent.

(iii) The circumstances in which the report has been drawn up give it the character of an initial report. It was impossible in a few weeks to give a completely detailed and exact account of the economic situation of sixteen European countries, of the serious difficulties confronting them, of the action which they have decided, both individually and collectively, to take, or of the import requirements necessary for the execution of such a programme. So far as possible however the replies to the questionnaires, which were sent to each of the participating governments, have been subjected by the Committee to a critical examination.

(Continued on page 47)

THE LANDING IN LEBANON

By *OBSERVER*

ON July 14, 1958, 26 hours and 20 minutes after President Chamoun had requested their arrival, US marines landed on Lebanese soil. The military operation which followed was surely one of the most extraordinary and successful in which the United States has ever been involved. Without injuring a single Lebanese, the American forces, by their presence, stabilized the situation in Lebanon, deterred the outside intervention which had been occurring and which had placed the independence of Lebanon

in grave jeopardy, and gave the United Nations time to take action to preserve Lebanese integrity. Despite the incongruous aspects of the operation—US war vessels sharing the waterfront of Beirut with Lebanese water-skiers, Lebanese ice cream and souvenir vendors hawking their wares among US troops encamped on the beach—the operation was deadly serious in purpose. There also could not be excluded the possibility of military reaction by the Soviet Union.

US policy makers, who had for months been closely study-

THE LEBANON EXPERIENCE

ROBERT MURPHY

OBSERVER's stimulating article on the landing in Lebanon of United States Forces in 1958 refreshes the recollection of a successful American policy decision and makes for timely reading in the light of current events.

I must admit that I find it difficult to generalize in this delicate question of armed intervention. I am reminded of the story of a former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, who after a conference with his colleagues, announced: "Fine, this is the decision we want to make. Now, you, Justice X, find the precedent."

In fact I find a rather thin analogy between Lebanon and Vietnam. Regardless of sympathetic remarks made by Presidents and others regarding small nations who are victims of aggression, this field of action must be highly selective. In the Lebanon we had elements which were distinctly favorable. These included a governmental structure established in 1941 and operating independently since the French Colonial forces evacuated in 1946.

The American Middle East resolution, which supplemented the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, clearly defined United States security interests in the preservation of the independence of the Middle Eastern nations. At the same time we were rightly persuaded that intervention in the Lebanon would not result in a military confrontation with the USSR or in escalation with other Middle Eastern countries. It was correctly estimated that those unfriendly Arab leaders who doubted American strength of purpose to intervene in behalf of a friendly power except by speeches would receive a salutary demonstration. This successful intervention which was not attended by bloodshed was quite apart from a

problem such as confronted us when in 1956 Soviet forces moved into Hungary, a small power, for the specific purpose of suppression of Hungarian patriots only seeking their country's independence.

While I share Observer's sympathy for the small nations, there are obvious situations where our physical intervention is excluded. Hungary clearly is one; Tibet another. We perforce contented ourselves with ineffective UN resolutions and verbal protest.

But Vietnam, and I hesitate even to mention it because advisers on Vietnam seem to be legion—never has a small war been inundated by an equivalent avalanche of volunteer advisers—Vietnam has a peculiar significance for American security in the Pacific. The issue had grown to affect American presence and weaken our Asiatic position with far-reaching impact from Japan to India. Certainly we sympathize with the determination of South Vietnam to resist Northern aggression and Viet Cong terrorism. Yet I would doubt that if the larger security question did not exist that United States policy would have evolved as it has.

However, returning to the case of Lebanon so competently analyzed by Observer, we also learned that there are situations where a friendly head of state may open a Pandora's box by an eagerness to remain in power regardless of constitutional limitations or the legitimate resistance of opposition leaders. Creation of an issue leading to civil strife usually provides various hostile groups with a gratis opportunity to fish in troubled waters.

Perhaps what I am seeking to say is nothing new but simply that one may be permitted a doubt that United States policy envisages recourse to major military intervention on idealistic grounds alone. Historically this is not borne out as the manner of our entry into World Wars I and II amply illustrates. ■



Marine PFC Richard L. Cicotti stands guard outside residence of American Ambassador at Beirut.

ing and evaluating the worsening Lebanese security situation, had carefully considered the possible repercussions of an affirmative response by the United States to a request for military intervention from the duly constituted authorities of Lebanon in defense of the integrity of that country. They had decided that the principals and issues involved were of such importance that the negative aspects had to be faced and accepted.

At the time of its decision to send forces to Lebanon, the

United States Government knew that American intervention would be ill-received in some parts of the Arab world, with its memories of foreign occupation and in light of the intra-Arab turmoil being created at the time by the waves of propaganda emanating from Cairo. Although the American action was favorably received by the majority of the Free World governments, and particularly by the smaller nations, it was violently attacked by some Arab states. Reaction among the people of the Arab states in general was unfavorable, as had been predicted, particularly when the British government took in Jordan action similar to that of the United States in Lebanon. However, the speedy American withdrawal from Lebanon had a favorable effect in the Arab states. Furthermore, it is logical to assume that although no Arab leader publicly said so, there were some who were grateful for one development for which the American action in Lebanon was largely responsible—the discouragement, for some time thereafter, of massive intervention by one Arab state in the affairs of other Arab states.

If a favorable response to President Chamoun's request was likely to carry with it the possibility of Soviet intervention and the near certainty of unfavorable reaction in the Arab world, what were the considerations believed by United States policymakers to outweigh these negative factors? A recapitulation of some of the circumstances existing prior to and during this dramatic chapter in the relations of the United States with the Near East is appropriate at this point.

Important elements in the background were the rise of

First and second waves of Marines to hit the beach at the Airport in Beirut.



Arab extremism, with President Nasser as its spokesman and the Soviet Union as its supporter; the growth of the desire for "neutrality" and "nonalignment" as a basic element in the Arab political approach to world problems; United States efforts after 1950, through the concept of the Middle East Defense Organization, the "Northern Tier," and our assistance programs, to encourage alignment of the Middle East states in a regional collective security arrangement; and stepped-up activity of the Soviets in the Middle East after 1955, their subsequent penetration and propaganda successes, and their policy of identifying themselves with "liberated" Arab nationalism, alienated by Western policy.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into detail in this regard or to set forth the long history of the unsuccessful United States efforts to come to an understanding with Arab radicalism in the form of Egypt under President Nasser. At a later point, however, emphasis will be given to a development which had a major influence upon the situation in Lebanon—the Suez crisis of 1956.

Suffice it to say that United States efforts to strengthen Middle East security against communist penetration were attacked by some Arabs, spearheaded by Egypt, as representing not an effort to enhance the security of the Near Eastern nations but to engage them against their will on the Western side in a Great Power struggle, and to perpetuate Western domination of the Arab states.

The Soviet Union, in counter-measures beginning in earnest in 1955 against United States efforts to strengthen Middle East security, was quick to adopt attitudes which found instant favor in some Arab states. In addition to openly supporting the Arabs on the Palestine issue, the Russians proclaimed their identification with "liberated" Arab objectives and shipped in massive quantities of arms to Egypt and Syria on liberal financial terms. They achieved the propaganda success of identifying themselves with the Arab "nationalists."

The Russians also adopted a policy toward Middle East statesmen which served both their interests and those of the Arab extremists. They attacked pro-Western statesmen such as President Chamoun in Lebanon, Prime Minister Nuri Said in Iraq, and King Hussein in Jordan, who were special targets as being unrepresentative of the people and "tools of Western imperialists." These statesmen had chosen the Western side in the East-West struggle, thus disregarding "nonalignment" policies.

The United States, primarily because of the Cold War aspects of the situation, but also because they were the representatives of legitimate governments with which the United States had for long been on friendly terms, gave

increasingly strong support and encouragement to the pro-Western leaders. The United States thus found itself directly affected when Egypt developed its policy of intervention in the affairs of the Arab states whose leaders did not accept the basic tenets advocated by Cairo, and who had chosen to cast their lot with the West. The United States, closely involved with these leaders because of its traditional relationship with them and because of an identity of views on the Cold War and what to do about the defense of the Middle East, came to the assistance of its friends and thus became heavily involved in intra-Arab rivalries. Our Arab policies and our policies in the Cold War became entangled with each other.

Against this background, and as illustrative of many of the elements involved in it, it seems valid to select the Suez Crisis of 1956 as a crucial development leading directly into the Lebanese crisis.

The military operations of Israel, the UK and France in the Sinai Peninsula brought about a world crisis. The outcome of this, while demonstrating the force of international opinion upon nations having a decent regard for the opinion of mankind, and while bolstering throughout the world the principles of international law and respect for the sovereignty of nations, whether large or small, created a new emergency atmosphere in the Near East through the collapse of British and French authority in the area as a result of the association of British and French with Israel in the ill-fated Suez adventure. The role of the United States in bringing about the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt was quickly forgotten—in the Arab world, at least. The great blow suffered by Western influence and power in the area was of grave concern to a number of pro-Western governments, including that of Lebanon which feared, as did the United States, that the Soviet Union would take advantage of the new situation to attempt to move in, in furtherance of the long-established Communist goal of controlling and dominating the Near East.

At the same time, an important tenet of the Arab nationalist doctrine was that the Suez crisis revealed the West as the implacable enemy of Arab nationalism and showed once again that the Arab states should disengage themselves from all commitments to the West. They should steer a neutral course between the rival Great Power blocs.

In these circumstances of alarm, confusion and disarray in the Middle East, the opportunities for Soviet penetration and subversion seemed unusually favorable. The United States, responding to the appeal of conservative governments in the area, both Arab and non-Arab, sought to take action designed to bring a degree of stability to the region. The action taken was the Joint Resolution of Congress of March 1957, which authorized the President to undertake economic and military

A column of US Marine tanks and troop carriers arrives in downtown Beirut.





From left to right, the Ambassador's footman, Lt. Col. Hadd, Rear Adm. Yeager, Maj. Gen. Chehab, Ambassador McClintock, Brig. Gen. Wade, Adm. Holloway and Cdr. Sherman, during the discussion of the entry of US forces into the city.

assistance programs with any nation or group of nations in the Middle East desiring such assistance. The Resolution also stated that, if the President determined the necessity thereof, the United States was prepared to use armed force to assist any such nation or group of nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international Communism.

The Middle East Resolution, which promptly acquired the name of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," was warmly welcomed by conservative leaders in the area. Ambassador James P. Richards, who travelled through the Middle East to determine the attitude of the respective governments toward the resolution, found quick endorsement in the first country he visited, which was the Republic of Lebanon. The Lebanese leaders, at a time when the radical nationalists headed by President Nasser were proclaiming the need to remain aloof between the two world blocs, immediately acquired the enmity of Cairo by resolutely defending their conviction that Lebanon's destiny lay in close cooperation with the West. Another Arab state, Iraq, gave its support to the Eisenhower Doctrine, as did other Middle Eastern states such as Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Ethiopia and Israel. Egypt and Syria, on the other hand, made it clear that they regarded the Eisenhower Doctrine as an entanglement with the West which all Arab states should avoid.

The struggle between the Arabs, and the repercussions of the East-West struggle in the Middle-East, had special effects in Lebanon. This small country, half Christian and half Moslem, contained within its own borders a replica of the larger struggle. The Christian half of the population was generally pro-Western, while the Muslim Lebanese were generally pro-Nasser or neutral. In addition there was a special element in Lebanon not present in the other Arab states—the long tradition of intercourse with the outside world and the tendency to see beyond the narrow arena of Arab relationships into the larger problems of the international scene. President Chamoun, strongly anti-Communist, was deeply concerned over the preservation of the integrity of his small nation in the face of the mounting pressure of Arab nationalism, abetted by Moscow. His government adhered to the Eisenhower Doctrine and thus Lebanon publicly identified itself with the West.

The situation was complicated by the March 1957 elections for the Lebanese Parliament, which had a special importance because the new Parliament would be called upon in the summer of 1958 to elect a new President of Lebanon for the next six years. The outcome of the Parliamentary elections

was thus of deep interest to elements in the Lebanon, largely Christian and led by President Chamoun, who desired the maintenance of a pro-Western policy by Lebanon. The outcome was of equally deep interest to many of the Moslems in Lebanon who, deeply influenced by Arab nationalism, desired that Lebanon follow a course of neutrality and, in the case of some of them, that Lebanon join the United Arab Republic in union or federation as had Syria.

Individuals who supported President Chamoun obtained a large majority in the new Parliament, amid charges of corruption, and this development led to another which was the spark that precipitated the Lebanese crisis. In the spring of 1958, as the time for the election of a new Lebanese President drew near, President Chamoun began to give favorable consideration to the possibility of succeeding himself for another six-year term, although this would require the amendment of the Lebanese constitution. There was strong opposition to a new term for Chamoun among Moslem elements, openly encouraged by propaganda and subversive action from outside Lebanon. The President, while not publicly announcing a decision to succeed himself, allowed the impression to be gained in Lebanon that that was his intention. He apparently took this decision because he felt this was the only way to insure that Lebanon would remain an independent state, resisting the subversive efforts from outside to destroy its integrity.

The opposition realized that with a Chamoun majority in Parliament it could not defeat there a move to amend the constitution to permit a new term for the President. It therefore decided to take the issue to the street. By the declaration of a general strike in May of 1965, it soon paralyzed the important metropolitan centers of Lebanon. As the government made efforts to bring the strike to an end, the situation deteriorated into open insurrection. The subversive intervention from outside, which had previously consisted of propaganda and clandestine encouragement to the Lebanese opposition, took the form of virtually open intervention in the nature of arms and men sent across the Lebanese border and acts of murder and sabotage designed to bring down the government in Beirut. Thus what had started out as a domestic political quarrel degenerated into an insurrection and later into a nearly successful attempt from outside to destroy the authority and cause the removal from office of the legitimate Lebanese government, in support of domestic opposition elements.

The United States has long been committed to assist in the preservation of the independence and integrity of nations in the Middle East. In the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 it joined with Britain and France in a pledge to oppose any violation of the frontiers in the area encompassing the Arab states and Israel. The Eisenhower Doctrine stated that the United States regards as vital to its national interests and to world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations in the Middle East. In defense of these principles the United States intervened on behalf of Egypt in the Suez crisis, despite the fact that in this case the aggressors were among its closest friends.

On May 20, 1958 Secretary Dulles stated at a press conference that the Middle East Doctrine and the Tripartite Declaration were applicable to the Lebanese situation. United States spokesmen also referred to the Essentials for Peace Resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1949. The resolution opposed direct or indirect aggression, including the fomenting of civil strife and the subverting of the will of the people of one state by another.

As the insurrection continued in Lebanon and armed intervention from across the boarder increased, the security situation deteriorated. Radio Cairo and Soviet broadcasts

(Continued on page 45)

The United States and the Developing World

LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT

LET us look for a moment at the world in which we live and consider specifically what has happened to us and what forces and influences have been at work in the last twenty years or so. The most striking—and the most obvious—fact is that we are living in a revolutionary world. Indeed we are being battered and buffeted not by a single revolution, but by what seem to me to be three.

The first of these, which is far and away the most obvious and in the long run the most important, is the scientific or technical revolution. I will not dwell upon the impact of the application of science and technology on communications. Under this rubric, of course, come the airplane and the other vehicles developed for the more rapid transportation of people and cargo. Under the same rubric come the telephone, the radio and TV, now with space relay stations. The physical consequence of these developments has been quite literally the compression of time and space. The world has shrunk and the political consequences have been equally revolutionary. For one thing, ponder for a moment what this speed-up of communications has done to the conduct of diplomacy; or to the ability of local leadership to mold local political opinion.

This scientific revolution seems to be gaining speed as it proceeds. It is not new, of course. The most obvious testimony to this fact which occurs to me is what science has done to agriculture in the US since the birth of this Republic. One hundred and fifty years ago over 90 percent lived on farms. In other words, it took over nine people to support one person in the town or cities. Today only five percent of the working population of the United States is engaged in agriculture.

Put in other terms, one farmer family raises enough food for itself and in addition enough for about 19 other American families. In fact, that is not the entire story because there is a surplus of food raised by these American farmers which is shipped abroad. Today, for example, more than 20 percent of all the wheat raised in the United States is being shipped to India.

It is obvious that many of the domestic problems with which we are wrestling in the United States today arise from this revolution on the farm. Urbanization, mass transportation, shifting domestic political party allegiance—as different economic interests become dominant—reapportionment, the tug between cities and states and states and the Federal Government, and cities and the Federal Government.

A not insignificant side effect of this scientific revolution on both the developed and less developed nations has been in the field of medicine and sanitation. The reduction in infant mortality, the control of epidemics, the reduction in the death toll from famines (for a

variety of reasons ranging from pesticides to helicopters to PL 480) and the widening application of modern techniques of sanitation and public health have all combined to produce the population explosion. It has posed serious, stark problems for the underdeveloped countries—with food shortages heading the list.

So much for the scientific revolution. Since I have not even mentioned the exploration of space, you can judge what broad brush treatment I have given to this dynamic, disturbing accelerating whirlwind in which all of us live.

Before leaving it, however, let me give you a statistic which I dug out the other day. It reinforces my conviction that the pace of the scientific revolution promises to accelerate and as a consequence the lead of the industrially advanced countries is more likely to widen than to narrow the gap between themselves and the less-advanced countries, unless something is done about it. What that something might be I will come to later. The statistic is this. Less than a dozen countries in the world have an entire Gross National Product equal to or exceeding what the United States is spending this year on Research and Development alone, counting expenditures by government, the universities, and industry.

The second revolution of our times seems to me to be the revolution of Nationalism. I will not argue whether nationalism *qua* nationalism is a good thing, or in its extreme form even appropriate to the 20th Century. It would appear to be in fact, however, a major force in changing the political environment of the entire world since the end of World War II. When the second great European civil war of this century broke out and spread around the world—as the first had before it—the great Empires ruled from Western Europe were doomed. Nationalist forces in dependent territory after dependent territory rose up, in the immediate post-war period, to accelerate the emergence of new independent countries out of what had been dependencies of one character or another. More than a billion people—a third of the world's population—have gained their political independence since 1945. There are more than 60 newly independent states since that date. In Africa—to take one example—at the close of the last war, there were

only four independent governments. Today there are approximately 40. The membership of the UN has much more than doubled since the Charter was signed in San Francisco 21 years ago.

One should likewise note that concurrently a new quasi-empire or colonial power was appearing on the world scene in the form of the collection of eastern and central European countries which were overrun by the Red Army in the later months of World War II and attached as satellites revolving around Moscow. In the past five or ten years these states—once proud and independent—have been by no means immune to the winds of nationalism and in addition to the break away of Yugoslavia from tight embrace, virtually all of them have succeeded in loosening to a degree the bonds tying them to the Soviet Union.

This nationalist revolution, I think, has not yet run its course. In fact, one can cite examples on every continent, including our own, where states—many of them long-established—are being subjected to severe internal strains and stresses which may portend political fragmentation in contrast to the coagulating political processes which dominated Europe for nearly a century following 1848.

The third revolution—though I am not quite sure this is accurate terminology—is the Communist Revolution. The first national base for Communism of course was established by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917. This base was reinforced by the victorious westward sweep of the Red Army across Europe in the latter months of World War II which—as I have earlier indicated—enabled this national power center to impose Communist governments on the weak eastern and central European states.

Then in 1949 the Communists in China completed their conquest of the mainland. When that happened, one-third of the world's population had fallen under the control of a movement—international as well as national in character—which was essentially expansionist. A basic tenet of Communism was and is that history, with such assist as Communists may helpfully provide in the way of subversion, support of "wars of liberation," and even classical military invasion, ineluctably decrees that Communism will replace all other forms of political and economic organization throughout the entire world.

The collision of this concept with the determination of this country and those free people in the Western Hemisphere, in Europe and Asia who have been willing to ally themselves with the United States for the purpose of preventing this happening has produced what is known as the "cold war."

I appreciate that this is an over-simplification of a crowded quarter of a century of history, but I believe it to be a fair statement. I further believe that the persistence of this Communist effort to dominate the world by revolutionary means remains one of the most powerful ingredients in the revolutionary period we live in.

Certainly it is one of great importance in considering the process of modernization for the new emergent states.

These then are the three revolutions which seem to me to be affecting the lives of everyone on this globe.

Before moving on to my next point, however, I would like to note that for the less developed countries elements in all three of these revolutions have combined to give rise to what has been popularly described as the

"revolution of rising expectations." For myself, I do not consider this understandable and wide-spread psychological phenomenon to be in fact a true revolution.

Science and technology have helped produce for all to see in North America, in Western Europe and in Japan, the wonders of modern production and consumption, in its great profusion and variety.

The Nationalist Revolution, which gave so many hundreds of millions of people control—as they thought—over their own destiny, led many of them to believe that they could now take giant steps to move from poverty to affluence. More as a form of economic organization than as a political ideology, Communism at first blush appealed to some of them as providing a blue print—ready at hand—for the achievement of forced-draft, rapid industrialization. A large measure of disillusionment with this asserted short cut has developed but excessive hopes for economic miracles still exist as one of the products and consequences of the three genuine revolutions through which the world is passing and which I have attempted briefly to describe.

Against this background how should one depict the process of political modernization which many of the newer, less developed countries, are undergoing? For if we agree on this, I can then turn—in closing—to a description of what in my view has been the response of the US over the past 20 years to the "vast external realm," and—even more important—the directions in which its future actions might render its response to the modernizing world even more constructive and effective.

FRANKLY, I find it difficult to describe the process of political modernization in the less developed countries, for in large measure their political problems arise from their own inescapable and intertwined economic problems.

I should perhaps note here that I interpret Modernization in the economic sense as comprehending the acquisition of new skills and techniques through education and the transmission of know-how, the development of an adequate infrastructure—roads, ports, dams and power plants—for example, and the provision or development of plant techniques and tools which result in greater productivity. Food to meet a famine or a chronic deficit is charity or sustaining aid, not development assistance or modernization.

Broadly speaking these less developed countries are suffering from the excessive expectations for industrialization which most of them associated with independence. In the last decade this has just not worked out as a general proposition. Moreover, the majority of them have been grappling with the chronic difficulties which afflict all primary producers. The terms of trade have not been changing to their benefit. In point of fact, the rich nations have tended to become richer while the poorer nations have become—if not poorer on a per capita basis—then relatively stagnant. The gap between dreams and reality has been a tragic one.

George D. Woods, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, had some sobering words to say on this in his article, entitled "The Development Decade in the Balance," in the January, 1966 issue of FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Woods said: "When allowance is made for popu-

lation growth, per capita income in about half the 80 underdeveloped countries which are members of the World Bank is rising by only one percent a year or less. Even to keep abreast of recent high rates of population growth is not a negligible achievement, but it is far from sufficient. The average per capita income in this lagging group is no more than \$120 a year. At a one percent growth rate, income levels will hardly reach \$170 annually by the year 2000. In some countries they will be much lower.

"This is crude arithmetic. But its implications are plain and sobering. If present trends are allowed to continue, there will be no adequate improvement in living standards in vast areas of the globe for the balance of this century. Yet, over the same period, the richer countries will be substantially increasing their wealth. In the United States, for example, the present per capita income of about \$3,000 a year will, if it continues to grow at the current per capita rate, reach about \$4,500 by the end of the century. In other words, one group's per capita income will increase over this period by \$50, while America's will increase by about \$1,500."

I am reminded by this of Robert Lovett's description some years ago of the United States as being "the fat boy with a bag of candy in a canoe."

The emphasis of so many of the less developed countries on industrialization as the economic be-all and end-all has compounded their difficulties, both economic and political. It has led some of them to seek aid from whatever quarter without regard to any political strings—dangling openly or concealed—which might attach to that aid. It has encouraged—among other results—a mass movement from the countryside to the urban centers, with all that this has entailed in political restlessness, economic misery and neglect of the crops. Thomas Mann, former Under Secretary of State, recently made a point in testifying before a Congressional Committee which deserves continuing emphasis. He said "in virtually all the developing countries of the world an increase in agricultural productivity may well be the critical element to satisfactory economic growth."

Now how have these economic developments affected the processes of political modernization? I think the short answer in most of these countries is, "adversely."

With few exceptions the newly independent nations embarked on sovereign nationhood with an inadequate nucleus of trained civil servants, technicians and professional people. This varied widely from country to country, but generally speaking I think it is true. Then the political institutions which most of them adopted at the outset were in a great majority of the cases on the pattern of European parliamentary democracy. This was natural since so many of these countries had been colonies or protectorates of the Western European powers and encouraged by them to develop more or less in their own political image. By hindsight we now realize that this is a sophisticated and delicately balanced form of political organization.

Its survival record has not been good in Africa and Asia. In Africa, for example, the civilian government in power has been overthrown and superseded by the military in nine different countries in the last nine months. Disillusionment with many of the early leaders of independence as expectations were not met; ill-planned and

grandiose investments in national status symbols; the restlessness and poverty of new masses in the cities; the inadequate attention given in many countries to agriculture; the high birth rate—these and other factors have led to disappointingly slow progress in the modernization processes for most of the less developed countries and in consequence to a wide prevalence of political instability.

Before concluding this litany of disappointment and obstacles and political difficulties, I should make two points.

The first is that there is a further compelling reason for considering in this talk the processes of Modernization in politico-economic terms rather than exclusively in political terms. This relates directly to the difficulty of generalizing about the developing countries. Specifically, I am reminded that all of the three modernizing monarchies discussed this afternoon—Saudi Arabia, Iran and Morocco—have had long, long histories of national identity and independence. Only one of them—Morocco—can be considered as having re-emerged as an independent sovereign state since World War II. All of the Latin American countries have long been independent. The adaptation of these countries to what we consider the modern world has required adjustment of existing political institutions and not the creation of new ones, but—withstanding this fact—the problems of economic modernization are much the same for practically all of the less developed countries of the world.

The second point which I want to make is that progress and economic advancement have been varied. Take Taiwan as a shining exemplar. A dozen or so years ago it was generally thought that Taiwan would be dependent on United States economic aid for decades. Let me quote Mr. David Bell's statement on Taiwan's achievement from a speech about two years ago:

"Since 1954, Taiwan's industrial output has tripled, and its total output of goods and services has jumped 45 percent. Exports have risen rapidly. Education and health facilities have expanded. Today, Taiwan is in the position of having sufficient competence and know-how, and sufficient economic strength, that it can count on making further rapid gains in economic well-being without the necessity for further grants and soft-term loans from the United States. Taiwan will, of course, require further capital and technical skills from outside, but it is now in a position to obtain them in the ordinary way, through international trade and world capital market.

"Accordingly, the United States and the government of free China on Taiwan have agreed to end this highly successful aid program, and on next June 30th the economic aid mission in Taipei will be closed. The successful completion and termination of our economic aid program on Taiwan, like previous successes in Europe, in Japan, in Greece, and elsewhere, sets the standard we seek to follow everywhere we work."

In many other countries, solid economic accomplishments meet the eye—in Pakistan, in Chile, in the Republic of Korea and in Turkey, to name a few.

I COME now to my concluding remarks in which I will briefly comment on the role that I think the United States has played in this process of Modernization by the less developed countries and how it can continue

—and hopefully, increasingly—to contribute constructively and effectively to the process.

I suppose the outstanding and basic response of the United States to this wave of newly independent countries born since World War II has been one of instinctive sympathy and of political support.

We in the United States are acutely conscious of our own revolutionary origins and we have sensed the psychological role which our own history has played in many independence movements around the world. We believe, almost as an article of faith, in the right of peoples to self-determination and self-government. We encouraged by our public attitudes and by the exercise of our influence the process of de-colonization. Indeed, if we are guilty of fault I personally incline to the belief that we erred in this matter in the direction of exuberance rather than lack of zeal.

We have welcomed the new nations as they have established themselves in the United Nations as fully sovereign countries. In my view there is no question but that we have attached great weight to the expressions in the United Nations and elsewhere of the attitudes and aspirations and complaints of the developing countries. We have in point of fact on many occasions disturbed and disappointed old friends and allies by casting our vote with the emerging countries on individual occasions when the former believed their own interests were damaged.

I do not think it irrelevant that, as an expression of our sympathy for the newly independent countries, we have been the largest single financial contributor to the United Nations and its constituent organs, as well as one of its most loyal supporters.

In passing I might also mention that the maintenance of our defensive military establishment, our willingness to give assistance to those countries which have felt themselves threatened and which asked for assistance and our reaction to direct aggression, as in the case of the invasion of the Republic of Korea by North Korea, have erected something of a shield against militaristic and aggressive expansionism from which many of the developing countries have benefited to a degree which neither they nor others who also benefited will ever acknowledge.

But the most tangible area in which we have attempted to contribute to the processes of Modernization by the less developed countries of the world, has been in economic and technical assistance.

This has taken many forms. Through PL 480—Food for Peace—we have made our surplus agricultural products available where they were needed, both to meet famine and disaster, and also to contribute to economic development programs. We have had at one time or another bilateral economic assistance programs with more than 70 underdeveloped countries. In the past ten years we have provided through PL 480, \$13.1 billion worth of agricultural products and through bilateral economic aid programs, \$34.2 billion. We have also contributed generously to multilateral instruments for providing economic aid and technical assistance. We subscribed to nearly 30 percent of the capital for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; we are the largest single contributor to its offspring, the International Development Association and we have been the largest single contributor to the United Nations Special Fund and

Technical Assistance programs.

We are heavy contributors to the Inter-American Development Bank and in the recently created Asian Development Bank we are one of the charter members and, on a basis of equality with Japan, one of the two largest subscribers to its capital.

We have done all of this partly because as a people we felt it our duty to share something of our own bounty with the less fortunate. We have also quite clearly done it in our own enlightened self-interest. An oasis of affluence surrounded by starvation and poverty is not a particularly secure place in which to live.

Now, looking for the future, what can we do to assist this process of Modernization? I think the simple answer is to keep on doing what we have been doing, only quite a lot more.

Specifically, I believe we should continue our support of the United Nations as an institution where old and new nations meet and talk in sovereign equality. I do think, however, that as the new nations become older we are entitled to expect of them a higher standard of responsibility and behavior than some have shown in their early days of independence.

We should increase, rather than reduce, our bilateral economic aid. But I think we should continue the process already consciously adopted as a matter of policy of concentrating it in a relatively limited number of countries which show a significant degree of cooperation and performance, thus warranting the contribution we can make. I think we are right in placing an increased emphasis on agricultural techniques and such related projects as fertilizer factories in order to ensure that the industrial superstructure which all desire and hope for is built on a solid agricultural base, enabling the adequate nourishment of an increasingly urbanized population. Help where asked in population control matters is another area in which we and others can make a contribution.

I think that the United States should—in company with others—increase substantially its contribution to the funds periodically made available by capital exporting members of the World Bank to the International Development Association. This Association, before approving a credit, requires the same rigid economic justification that the World Bank does for a loan. Its terms for repayment and for carrying charges are concessional and it plays a vital role in the whole developmental process. We would be very unsophisticated indeed if we failed to realize that there are many situations—many countries—where economic progress is in our own general interest, but where aid can be proffered and supervised far more effectively by a multilateral institution than by a single aid giver. The record of the World Bank and its affiliates has been outstanding. Its staff is unsurpassed in professional competence. Hand in hand with our own national aid program should go, in my view, an increased United States contribution to IDA.

Let me make another important point. The problem of assisting the less developed nations to narrow the gap between themselves and the richer, research-oriented countries, to give the former some genuine hope for the achievement of their reasonable aspirations, and to avoid the dangerous consequences which I believe would

(Continued on page 50)

Author's husband, William J. Miller, and
Konkan coast villagers.

A Night with



THE ADAVASI

LUREE MILLER

THE trouble is *somebody* has been everywhere. Hike to any village in the Himalayas (well, almost any) and the Singer sewing machine salesman has been there before you. From what I read it is evident that Burton, Stanley and Alan Moorehead have taken care of Africa and now Moorehead seems to be tying up all the loose ends left lying round the South Pacific by Michener. It is all very discouraging for those of us not quite young enough to qualify for space travel and yet with a yen to discover someplace new that nobody has written about. So even though Edgar Snow has seen and said more than I really want to know about China, I try to keep fit with Yoga exercises and hope to live long enough to be allowed a visa for travel to Inner or Outer Mongolia. Surely some nook or cranny way off Marco Polo's well trodden path remains to be discovered by an eager seeker like myself.

Meanwhile I soak up atmosphere wherever I can and try to be philosophical about being born too late for the age of terrestrial discovery. But a philosophical outlook is hard to come by and it seemed in the seven years I lived on the Indian-Pakistan Subcontinent that every time I was able to get to a remote, romantic place some sign of outside influence popped up to remind me that I was not the first to pass that way.

At first I was incredibly naive and my knowledge of Asia was almost nil. I arrived in Bengal full of the spirit of adventure. In those days it took very little to outrage my sensitivities. My first disillusionment occurred one moonlit night as I stood on a small country ferry being poled across the Buriganga River by a barefoot boatman clad only in a sarong-style cloth called a *lungi*. The fragrant tropical night was still except for the boatman's oriental song and the rhythmic splash of his pole in the dark water. All was exotic perfection until suddenly I saw the glow of a large luminescent wristwatch on his arm. The Buriganga crossing was ruined.

Like many others I sought solace in history and haunted the bookstalls of Dacca and Calcutta for histories of the Subcontinent. So when I went to the Kingdom of Swat it was no shock to see traces of travelers since Alexander the Great and the

famous Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hsien: blue-eyed Swaties and Buddhist stupas.

But the human hope to be exclusive dies hard. My husband and I made a trek into a tribal village nestled not far from the foot of Annapurna in Nepal. We were casteless and unclean to the villagers and not allowed inside their houses, but one broad-minded Brahmin let us sleep in a small storage room which opened directly to the outside. His orthodox mother, whose face we never saw, handed food and water in to us. I stretched my aching limbs on the dirt floor that night with the delicious sense of having at last reached an untouched outpost—only to be rudely awakened next morning by Radio Ceylon tuned in on a transistor radio owned by a villager who was a Gurkha soldier home on leave from Singapore.

Still, when a Gujarati in Bombay assured me he knew of an unspoiled fishing village on the Konkan coast I could not resist. We went on a sweltering, but very auspicious, day to see four weddings guaranteed to be conducted in authentic Hindu traditions. So it seemed until ceremonies began with cinema music blared over loud speakers tied to palm trees. And as the sun set into the Arabian Sea fluorescent lights lit up on the main mud-and-wattle huts all over the village.

So by the time I met Mr. Kulkarni who collected folk art designs for the All-Indian Handloom Board, I was a skeptic in search of untouched ethnic groups. Mr. Kulkarni made no purist claims. He simply said some Adavasi tribal people were having a festival in the Western Ghats of Maharashtra and it might be interesting to see. An irresistible invitation. My husband, two friends and I met Mr. Kulkarni in front of the old Bombay Opera House one grey monsoon morning. In a soft drizzling rain we drove through the 20 miles or so of Bombay's industrial suburbs. The tangle of trucks, bullock carts, bicycles and people thickened and congealed into a solid mass of slow-moving traffic. But directly beyond the urban congestion fields green and lush with paddy stretched as far as we could see.

"This is the one," Mr. Kulkarni said, pointing to a small village nearly hidden by mango and palm trees.

"So soon?" I was surprised. We were only about sixty miles from Bombay.

"No," Mr. Kulkarni smiled. "Not the festival place. I only want to show you some pure and very good folk art here. This is Palkhana and the people are Warlis, a sub-caste of the Adavasi."

We followed him, slipping and sliding on the mud covered rock path leading up to the village. Children first, then women and old men, flocked out to greet us. In the first house we entered, Mr. Kulkarni had his tripod set up and was adjusting his Rolleiflex before my eyes became accustomed to the dim interior. I noted a baby swinging in a cloth cradle hung from the ceiling and two small buffalo calves curled on the floor beneath the cradle. Then what I saw made me gasp with pleasure.

"Good, isn't it?" Mr. Kulkarni beamed. One entire large reddish-brown mud wall was covered with bold white line drawings. "They do them with rice-paste. That tall stylized tree which dominates the center of the drawing is a tulsi tree, representing Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu the Preserver," he explained. Pleasing geometric patterns bordered the tree. On other walls drawings of people dancing, plowing and herding the hump-backed buffaloes were startlingly like early cave paintings: simple, direct and vigorous. All the houses we visited had variations of the same theme but even with my untrained eye I could see that some were better than others. Mr. Kulkarni showed no partiality in his picture-taking, though it occurred to me he might not actually have opened the lens in every case.

I had just told myself how amazing it was to find true folk art such as I had never seen in remote villages, right here so close to Bombay, when we saw a wall decorated across the top by a long train like one might find on a first grade blackboard. In another house one wall was taken up by a bicycle with its rider pedaling furiously in front of a lorry with a stick-armed driver clutching its oversized steering wheel. Mr. Kulkarni translated the Marathi writing above the two vehicles as, "Out with the Chinese," or "Drive China Out." We were not so far from city influence after all.

So I was not particularly anxious to stop again farther down the road at another small village called Karalgaon to see the rice-paste paintings of one old woman whose work, in Mr. Kulkarni's opinion, surpassed anything he had discovered in Maharastrian folk art.

The drizzling rain had stopped and the sun came out brightly. We filed up a steep muddy path through a clump of dense tropical vegetation and suddenly came upon a sight I



shall never forget. There on the bright burnt-umber smoothness of a mud hut two rows of small vivid white line figures, drawn in pairs, leapt, danced and leaned back with arms outflung: figures caught in a moment of powerful abandon. The full right third of the wall was filled with one figure of a woman composed of two white triangles topped by a round head and a third triangle was made by the woman's arm raised to her head. She surveyed the frolicking figures with all the dignity of an Isis dominating an Egyptian frieze. On another wall identical women danced with arms round each other's waists and knees bent in a long undulating line. The simplicity and strength of the drawings were stunning. We could tell instantly which paintings were done by the old woman. The other household artists of the village were pale imitators of her work. "But," said Mr. Kulkarni, "not as bad as the terrible art turned out in the village schools and worse yet by the college educated European imitators. Bad influences are coming fast," he sighed.

"But look what you have found so close to town," I cried.

"Yes," he agreed, as we climbed back into the car. "We must keep looking."

The Adavasi festival turned out to be something between a huge church social and a county fair. By the time we could see the garish green top of the Mahalakshmi Temple in the valley below, the road was clogged with brightly dressed Adavasi women wearing saris tucked up like trousers, exposing their calves, and men in loose white shirts and dhotis or shorts. Like steamers of red, green, purple and white ribbons, they wound down from the hills circling the valley until nearly 2,000 filled the courtyard and overflowed into a very small area around the temple. Here stalls were set up to sell cheap plastic toys, paper flowers, combs and great quantities of silver jewelry. Painted glass bangles and earrings were arranged in tempting patterns on white sheets laid on the ground. Groups of excited chattering women and girls pushed forward to examine the goods. Every woman wore a heavy silver arm band above either elbow, a small white nose stone and a necklace or two made of rupee or half rupee coins clearly embossed with the head of King George V. Each female, young or old, had flowers wound round her black bun at the nape of her neck and some gay young men had a red comb tucked at the back of their well oiled hair.

We found a small leaf-roofed tea house and dined on budgies, puffs of deep-fried rice dough filled with bits of green peppers. Then we made our way along the backs of the stalls,

(Continued on page 44)

Adavasi women at festival



At Long Last

As members of the Association will be aware from previous newsletters, the Association has not lost sight of the importance of obtaining quarters in Washington to be used as headquarters of the Association as well as by consular officers passing through Washington.—AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN—March 15, 1919—Volume I—No. 1.

As a matter of historical perspective the quotation above from the AMERICAN CONSULAR BULLETIN is interesting. This BULLETIN became the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL in 1924, when, after the Rogers Act, the American Consular Association became the American Foreign Service Association. The Association has had various headquarters over the years, beginning with Room No. 107 in the State, War and Navy Building on Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street. Subsequently office space was found in various locations on G Street, and for the last three years at the Transportation Building on the corner of H and 17th Streets, N.W., which costs the Association over \$12,000 per year for rent alone.

Ambassador Foy D. Kohler, President of the American Foreign Service Association, at the meeting of the Board of Directors May 5, 1967, noted that that was an historic date for the Association. The Board had just authorized the purchase of a building for its headquarters. He further noted that the Association had considered various proposals to acquire such property for at least twenty years that he could remember.

In acquiring headquarters for itself the Association was most fortunate in obtaining a prestige location opposite the Department of State and adjacent to the District of Columbia headquarters of the American Red Cross. This property at the northwest corner of E and 21st Street consists of 3,400 square feet of high-priced land with a small three-story tax carrying building facing on E Street. The area is classified as Special Purpose Zoning by the District, which means that normal

commercial operations are excluded and that it is designed especially for use of non-profit organizations. This zoning permits buildings up to 90 feet in height with an overall floor space of 5.5 times the area of the land. This location should be a great convenience to the membership and make the office headquarters of the Association far more utilitarian than at present.

The present building on the property is occupied by the National Academy of Sciences for whom it was built approximately twenty years ago. The principal entrance to the building is on E Street, where the building extends for approximately 81 feet. It is a masonry building of fireproof construction, faced with limestone, and consists of a total of 5,172 square feet of usable space, 1724 square feet on each floor. There are two washrooms on each floor. From a small penthouse there is access to a roof which may possibly be utilized if railings, flooring, and awnings are installed. There is room for parking ten to twelve cars on the north side of the property. The building has been well maintained and for use as office space little expense is necessary. It is planned to improve the landscaping and the entrance of the building prior to occupancy by the Association, presently estimated as October 1, 1967.

The property was acquired on the basis that it would carry itself if fully leased as office and parking space at market rentals prevailing in the District. The American Foreign Service Protective Association is assisting by providing long term mortgage financing. If the membership desires to use a portion of the building for limited club-type facilities rather than offer for lease space not required for the Association and the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, revenues would be needed to cover the rental value of the space so used and to cover such capital expenditures as might be necessary to convert from office space to club use.

It would be possible for the Association and JOURNAL to occupy only the first floor of the building as office space at a saving of several thousand dollars below the present rental. A second alternative would be to use the first and one half of the second floors for Association purposes at about the same rental now being paid. This could provide, in addition to an entrance and lobby, a lounge which could be used by members as a place to meet their friends and for general Association purposes. A third alternative would be to place Association offices on the second floor and utilize the entire first floor for limited club-type facilities consisting of a lobby, bar, and grill room. A fourth alternative for utilization of the entire building would provide an additional floor as a dining room or a series of private dining rooms. This latter operation would probably cost over \$100,000.00 to set up properly and might thus be a somewhat ambitious program to be undertaken at this time.

The Association presently has a committee studying various possibilities of use of the property with a view toward making recommendations to the Board of Directors. Whatever type of club facilities are provided would be available on a non-resident basis to all members of the Association at the current level of dues. Members on duty or living in the Washington area, however, who wished to avail themselves of such facilities would probably be required to make initial payments to help finance the conversion from office space and to provide working capital. Additionally, monthly dues will be necessary to make any club-type operation self-sustaining.

You are urged to express your views to Mr. David H. McKillop, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Association, as to whether you favor a club type of operation and would be willing to support it. If it is clearly disclosed that the membership desires these facilities the Board will undoubtedly consider ways and means of providing them.



EDITORIALS

Scrutiny of Origins

A DOCUMENT of extraordinary interest is published for the first time in its complete form in this issue. It was the first report submitted to Secretary Marshall in May 1947 by the newly established Policy Planning Staff under the direction of George Kennan. The report was part of the genesis of Secretary Marshall's historic Harvard address which conveyed to European leaders the offer of the United States to support a European recovery program.

This is a paper which very greatly influences the course of history. US policies toward Europe might have continued to be a patchwork of related but not integrated actions arising out of specific emergencies as did the Truman doctrine. The study moved the United States to call upon the leadership of Western Europe to solve their own problems with the assurance of enough US support to "do the job." That offer determined the shape of US-European relations for almost a generation.

What are the elements that made this memorandum so outstandingly influential? Why cannot American foreign policy planning and foreign policy achieve this kind of success more consistently?

One cannot, of course, attribute the success of the Marshall Plan entirely to this bit of writing. The European reaction, the interest of the press, an enlightened Congressional reaction, and other circumstances gave this first policy paper its influence.

The paper must nevertheless be regarded as a model of analysis in the service of action. Its virtue lies in two chief insights: one political, the other psychological. The political insight was that Communism was not the root of Europe's problem; from this came the conclusion that while Communist success in Europe would threaten American security, the object of US policy was not to combat Communism but to restore health to the European body politic.

The psychological insight was that the US could offer assistance to, but could not itself direct or manage, Europe's recovery. The psychological importance of the Europeans managing their own recovery reinforced the political judgment that restoring the European patient to health, rather than fighting Communism, was the proper object of policy. The recovery of Western Europe depended eventually on the patient's will to live.

There is in this dictum readiness to accept the obvious limits on what one nation can do by itself. There is a rare and dispassionate avoidance of obsessive concern with circumstances that may be beyond control. The Policy Planning Staff did not bother to set forth what are now called options. A penultimate section sets forth some procedural suggestions but these are remarkably flexible. What is impressive is the avoidance of operational detail.

Is there a lesson in this study's simplicity and insight into dealing with contemporary problems of today? If so it lies in the analysis of the circumstances to which US policies had to be adopted if they were to succeed in the search for policies to suit the circumstances rather than for policies which required entirely new circumstances to be successful. It is compelling evidence that in foreign policy, the art of the possible is a very great art. ■

Science, the President and Latin America

THE importance of science and technology in the affairs of nations once again has been highlighted by President Johnson, most recently at the Punta del Este Summit Meeting in Uruguay last month. The President pledged the United States as a "ready partner" in creating an inter-American training center for educational broadcasting and for an educational television pilot project, a demonstration center for fish protein concentrate, and regional programs in the marine sciences and in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

These projects may well revolve around what could turn out to be the longest step forward in hemispheric relations since the Alliance for Progress—the President's further proposal for "a new inter-American foundation for science and technology," linked with centers at US colleges and universities.

US scientific cooperation with Latin America is not new, but this first balanced blueprint for action is a welcome breath of fresh air. The new Foundation will be useless if it contributes to the complacency which derives from the easy acceptance of what ought to be honest attainment of milestones along the way. In the end success depends upon a genuine partnership with no American nation hanging back. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

*Brightness falls from the air,
Queens have died young and fair.*

—Thomas Nashe

Two great Queens are doomed. Within 18 months, Cunard's Queen Mary, only 31 years old, and the Queen Elizabeth, only 27, which have been losing money at a terrific rate, will be sent to the scrap heap. If ever nostalgia were justified, this is the moment.

It is a melancholy chore to reflect back on the joys they provided. Because they were so vast they provided a cozy isolation you could get in no other place. You did not run into the Duke of Quidmunk every time you paced the deck and you *never* found Mrs. Doodleflicker in the library. At dusk, you could contemplate the sunlight and phosphorus arranging their miraculous patterns of light and shadow without being jostled by all those frisky types that fill up jets. The whole day was yours to spend as you wished. People sat in the chapel with brooding looks; you wondered if they were thinking about God or why in the name of God they bought Griswoldby Pfd. There were many bars and all were full of merry conversation. Still, if you wanted to sit off in a corner alone thinking morose thoughts, there was no one to say you nay. There were delicious swimming pools and the gymnasium had such engaging objects as electric camels and electric elephants. On either one you could whirl over 5,000 miles of Sahara in no time at all and arrive at Khartoum, ten pounds lighter. Many who went through this experience went forthwith to the dining room. The food was superb, with a vast choice. But the discipline was lenient. If you wanted to dine meely, a little caviar with a selle d'agneau and a bottle of *Enfant Jésus*, that's what you did. But there were others who clamored for—and got—a cream of corn soup, stuffed porkchops and a baked Alaska with cinnamon buns and marshmallow sweet potatoes thrown in for good measure (thus undoing all the success of the desert ride). Giddiness naturally developed in this happy atmosphere and the Cunard Line contributed to various whims by installing a handsome Veranda Grill on the top deck where you were permitted to pay extra for your dinner. As soon as it

became known that you had to pay extra (whereas the splendid food in the main dining room was included in the fare), it became hard to get seats in the Veranda Grill. You reserved well in advance. Oh yes, there was another diversion: Every room had a telephone number which was on the passenger list. You would get telephone calls: The Wilmingtons whom you hadn't seen since the Dublin Horse Show, ten years ago. "How nice that we are so close again. We are having a few people in for drinks tomorrow. Say five?" You could say yes if you wanted to. But if it was no because Aunt Berengaria was somewhat under the weather, that was all right, too, because in that vast floating palace you would never run into the Wilmingtons.

Sad to think of it! With the death of the Queens an era is over. From now on it's the jets and the jet set, lunch in London, dinner in New York (where *am I?*). The golden calm, the golden lustre, of the Queens will soon be gone from our world.

Everything Turned Out Perfectly

Another success has been recorded by the State Department's semi-annual National Foreign Policy Conference for Editors and Broadcasters, which was held in the West Auditorium on May 22 and May 23. Attendance totaled 570. The formula that worked before worked again on this occasion! The mornings of both days were devoted to briefings and questions (the speakers included the Secretary; Foy D. Kohler, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; William S. Gaud, Administrator, Agency for International Development; Herbert J. Waters, Assistant Administrator of Aid for the War on Hunger and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, Member of the Policy Planning Council, Department of State. The afternoon was broken up into a series of concurrent round tables, dealing with such matters as "The African Alliance," "Current Tensions in the Near East," "Europe and the Western Alliance." Unpredictably a non-political exploration turned out to be one of the most popular. This was "Crisis Management and the Operations Center."

May 22 was a rainy, gloomy day

and those responsible for the West Auditorium had reason to be satisfied with their effort. The long graduated steps of the floor made it easy to get around and gave everyone a perfect view of the stage. All the variety of colors, persimmon-colored seats, blue curtains, white ceiling, wood-paneled walls, etc. banished the harshness of the outdoors.

Aside from briefings and round tables, incidental business was handled with professional dexterity. The Secretary gave a swarming reception on the 8th floor. There were enough telephones and taxis, and facilities for lunch. There was only one untoward incident: two visitors, both owners of topcoats bought at Harrod's in London got bollixed up and each walked away with the wrong coat. But by the end of the day each had back what belonged to him.

Crookedness Down the Ages

"Pass me over your box of paints and I'll run you up a Picasso . . . or . . . if you wish . . . a Goya." Forging, judging by the effervescence in the newspapers these days is as easy, and as common, as making a martini.

A Texas oil tycoon, Algur H. Meadows, has been told by the Art Dealers Association of America that 44 works of art he bought for \$1 million are forgeries. These were supposed originals by Modigliani, Picasso, Dufy, Degas, Chagall, Bonnard, Derain and other leaders of the Modern French School.

A 32-year-old New York art dealer, David Stein, has been arrested and charged with counterfeiting 41 Chagalls, Picassos and Matisse's. His take was \$165,800.

A Modigliani show was held in a European capital and all the Modiglianis on the walls were fakes.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is planning to offer special educational courses in forgeries.

Lawsuits are flying thick and fast. It is obvious that no one wants to be cheated but, at the same time, no one wants to admit he bought a phony Cezanne for \$250,000. Aside from prestige value, fake Memlings, Courbets possess a certain value as collateral in getting loans and as income tax deductions when they are given to

museums and colleges.

Some of the commentary on recent art cheats might lead one to the conclusion that art forgery began in 1967.

Nay, not so! Scullduggery in the art field is as old as the first figurines carved out of obsidian. In ancient Greece hawking phony statuettes was a lucrative trade. The same in ancient Rome. During the Renaissance and later on in Flanders many great painters took in swarms of pupils and what with everyone working together, the master only now and then taking a hand, it was often hard to tell what was what.

In modern times the master faker was a Dutch painter named Hans Van Meegren, who painted six counterfeit Vermeers and sold them for \$3 million. Since there were only 37 genuine Vermeers extant, the dupes were not very astute. Another gifted practitioner who enriched many a house and museum was Alceo Dosseno. He specialized in ancient and Renaissance sculpture. The last three decades have been particularly rich in Mayan, Toltec and Aztec remains. It does not take a Texas oil tycoon to afford one of these.

Grim note at the end: All those Landseers and Rosa Bonheurs that used to darken our youth, could they have been phonies, too?

Unsolicited Advice

Back in the fifties the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford ran a sensational show consisting of forgeries through the ages. What made it extraordinary was the fact that the Ashmolean had borrowed the originals of nearly all the phonies on view. Sometimes a mere swift glance was enough to tell which was which. But again considerable study was required. Many of the forgeries showed dazzling technical competence, indeed in a few cases the copies were more technically admirable than the original. However, at this point, one basic fact emerged: no copy, however deceptive, can recreate what an artist puts into his original. Two examples: the innocent, quivering light with which Vermeer clothed his figures represented some inner throb in Vermeer's being. The light that El Greco spread over Toledo was more than virtuoso painting: it was El Greco's view of the universe. The light of a Vermeer or an El Greco could never be captured by a copyist.

Why doesn't some American museum repeat the Ashmolean's production?

Award

In the Siberian town of Spessk (population 50,000), Mrs. Irina Fisenko set herself up as a physician and began curing people by the simple process of pouring melted wax into cold water. She and the patients agree that this "draws out fear." So successful is the treatment that Mrs. Fisenko's clinic boasts a telephone and one of the town's 141 television sets. PRAVDA has denounced Mrs. Fisenko and also the local authorities for condoning "quackery." All this wax business, says the newspaper, is illegal. The AMA would doubtless agree. Nevertheless the July award is going to Mrs. Fisenko, the first time a Soviet citizen has received it. We must bring her over here. The wax treatment sounds so simple and sensible, so practical. It would spare one all those needles, those jabbings and probings. Think of those sirening ambulances and the staggering bills that follow! An easier world approaches: just a little wax and water and Mrs. Fisenko.

Arrosé Avec Le Gin

Some thirty retired Foreign Service officers assemble at DACOR House every Monday to lunch, to pass the time of day and to cast a backward glance over the years. One member of the congregation refers to the meeting as "The Gin on Monday Club."

Horse in Business Hours

A Dupont Circle beatnik offered a lump of sugar to a police horse. The mounted policeman ticked him off roundly, "Don't give that horse anything to eat! Can't you see he's on duty?"

Sad Architectural Note

The wrecking crews have already got to work on the Christian Science Reading Room at 1601 I Street, N.W. Perhaps it *wasn't* the most beautiful building in the world, perhaps not even the most beautiful in Washington. But it did have the spacious charm of another day and it did have the beautiful, irreplaceable garnet-colored brick.

Observation on the Rearing of Children

The trouble with parents is that they are all amateurs.

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all literature? Here is another candidate:

Je cherche le silence et la nuit pour pleurer.

Cornelle: LE CID

(I seek silence and the night to weep.)

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"But, darling, it's silly to wait until you're an O-7 before we get married, when daddy can buy you an ambassadorship."

A MANUAL of diplomatic practice which refers to "diplomatic workers" may perhaps be suspected of possessing a non-professional, proletarian bias. Such a book, one might suppose, could only be of doubtful value to a professional diplomatist disinclined to regard himself as a member of the laboring class. The recently published "Fundamentals of Diplomatic Service," by V. A. Zorin, Soviet Ambassador to France and a former Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, is nevertheless a work which contains much useful material on the profession.

We learn from Ambassador Zorin, for example, that the staff meeting is a key feature of the "operational work" of Soviet embassies. This will doubtless be reassuring to those who find comfort in the mounting evidence that safe and sane bourgeois bureaucratic practices are gaining the upper hand in Soviet society. For no one would contend that there is anything inherently Communistic in the Soviet insistence on frequent staff meetings. The fact that Communist organizations

are especially conscientious about holding regular staff meetings need not, certainly, raise uncomfortable doubts in our own minds about the utility of these important office functions. The staff meeting, after all, had proved itself in our own society, long before it was taken up by the Bolsheviks.

And if the phrase "embassy workers" is inelegant, it must be remembered that it does not sound so inappropriate in its original Russian. It would not do for us to find too much fault with translations of the other fellow's favorite expressions, until we are sure that our own current stylish catchwords—program management, country team, and the like—can equally bear translation into other languages. In any case, not all of the linguistic novelties in the Soviet diplomat's book are ones which need prove unacceptable in other Foreign Services.

Thus, Ambassador Zorin's repeated references to the "operational work" of embassies call attention to a phrase which is useful in describing

the professional activities of the operators and organizers who nowadays make up a growing proportion of every large professional body. Indeed, on current evidence, as our profession necessarily becomes more and more mechanized, embassy work everywhere will perhaps become predominantly "operational work"—with the key differences between one country's diplomacy and another's being in the quality of their respective programing inputs.

But if these introductory remarks carry the matter further than our Soviet author would proably wish to go, readers of the JOURNAL may see for themselves, from the following translation of a portion of Ambassador Zorin's book, that the elements of professional diplomatic expertise are everywhere much the same.



On Embassy Operations:

A RUSSIAN VIEW

THOMAS A. DONOVAN

How is the work of collecting information outside of an embassy to be organized? First, as is ordinarily done in practice, it is divided up among certain people who must follow the press attentively and establish contacts with correspondents and editors of local papers and with prominent journalists. As is well known, the press is an important source of information in countries where a struggle is going on between different parties and where different parts of the population have their own press organs reflecting their own opinions on a number of problems. . . . It is impossible, however, to gather correct information only from the press, for in any capitalist country the press is run by ruling groups and classes and its character is determined from above to a significant degree. . . . This is why, besides knowing the press, embassies and legations usually use personal observation and personal contacts to try to gather fuller information which will reflect more precisely the actual state of affairs. . . .

In some embassies, this system of press work is practiced: every morning workers in the press section look through the main papers reflecting the political trends of the country's development, and select from the articles in these papers everything which deserves particular attention from the point of view of an appraisal of the situation within the country. One of the workers of this section or the leader of the group prepares a short oral survey of the press for this or another period. . . .

Then the diplomatic staff of the embassy, under the direction of the counselor and in some cases of the ambassador, comes together. In this short meeting of from twenty to thirty minutes, a press worker gives a survey of what is worthy of attention in that day's papers (and sometimes the papers of two to three days, or even of a week)—of the leading articles, but sometimes even short excerpts of two or three lines from politically significant foreign announcements. Then other embassy workers, who in the meantime have succeeded in looking through each paper for the problems they are dealing with, supple-

ment and sometimes correct the information of the press section worker. . . . The diplomatic workers exchange opinions about what is most valuable in the information which has been received. The counselor or ambassador gives his conclusions about what the diplomatic staff must pay further attention to and follow up and how the matters should be developed. He also indicates which problems are inadequately clarified in the press, says how they should be given additional study, and so on. . . . Operational instructions to the appropriate workers are often given out by an embassy's leadership during such meetings. . . .

Apart from such meetings on the press, in many embassies there are also other meetings of the diplomatic staff, at which questions of a practical nature come up. For example, there will be telephone calls to an embassy in connection with some announcement which has appeared in the press, asking the reaction of the embassy to it. Sometimes there will be notes or articles in the newspapers related directly to the embassy. These are often inserted with the special aim of seeing how the embassy will react to them. It is well known that the official authorities of a country of assignment often operate through journalists, and that an answer made to the journalists' questions reaches the officials interested in these matters. For this reason, the leadership of an embassy usually instructs embassy workers how to react in such cases.

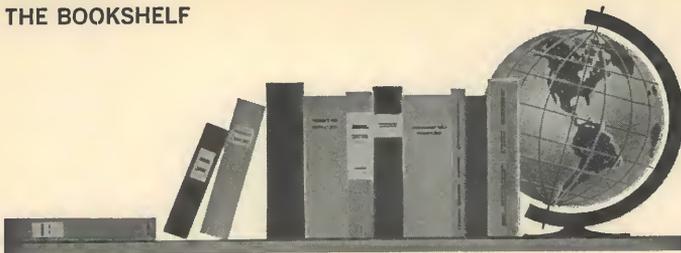
A second source of information is the reception of visitors. . . . Serious attention deserves to be given to the reception of embassy visitors. The duty officer who meets the visitors, ordinarily someone who knows the language of the country, talks with the visitor in his language and ascertains what problem he is interested in. . . . If a political activist, for example, a deputy of parliament or a prominent journalist, comes to the embassy, the duty officer, after first ascertaining what the visitors needs, usually introduces him to some other appropriate embassy worker, or to a counselor or the ambassador if this is considered advisable. Talks with

such activists can be very useful, since they make it possible to exchange opinions on a number of matters, to clarify problems of interest to the visitor, and to obtain serious information. In a number of embassies, the duty officer makes notes of his talks with visitors in a special diary, so that consideration can be given to the questions which visitors are putting to the embassy, and the proper conclusions be drawn for the operational work of the embassy.

The internal work of an embassy also involves correspondence with the local Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with foreign embassies, and also with other institutions and private persons. Correspondence is of still greater importance than oral conversations. The correspondence of an ambassador with even a private person should, as a rule, be given great attention, since every document originating in an embassy has an official character. . . . Embassies usually try to give an answer to every letter, even if questions are raised to which a full answer cannot at once be given. . . . Account must also be taken of the fact that an embassy's letter does not ordinarily become the property of the one person who receives it, but of a whole circle of people who come in contact with it. If an individual asks an embassy to send him some material, a book, a work of reference, and the like, a positive answer to the request will have a not inconsiderable significance for an embassy's relations with the people of the given country.

The raising of the workers' qualifications—in the first place by the study of a foreign language—is also part of the internal work of an embassy. This is an important matter, and it deserves serious attention. Diplomatic workers cannot work without a knowledge of the local language or of another language though one known only by the cultured part of the population. For this reason, foreign language studies are usually carried on in an embassy.

Such are the more important obligations, duties, and ways of organizing the work of embassies and legations as basic external foreign relations organs. ■



A Mirror of Wartime Misery

IN "Money and Conquest" Professor Vladimir Petrov has produced a remarkably able and long overdue analysis of a subject which is certainly not lacking either in drama or importance. In the blaze of statesmen's memoirs, historians' portrayal of the major factors and events, high strategy, armies, navies and air power, battles, political conflict and intrigue, and clash of personalities and the rest that have held our attention since World War II, I know of no comparable popular presentation which holds more gripping interest than this account of the impact of money on men and policies in the several theatres of war. This is the story of that money. It is a record which mirrors wartime misery of the masses from the poverty stricken who sold the last memento for food, to the black marketeer whose leitmotiv in the manipulation of currency was "I got mine."

Due to the necessary limitations of this review it is only possible to touch lightly on a few features of Mr. Petrov's excellent research of this complex subject. His was not an easy task.

Starting with the early stage of World War II, few remember today that Germany, bearing as it did the guilt of making war in the first place, also had a plan to build a New Order to last a thousand years in Europe. Quite apart from morality, the Germans had that reason to adopt a constructive monetary policy in many of the areas they came to control. The Germans were also haunted by the memory of the tragic German inflation after World War I—which ruined millions and became a primary cause of the ascendancy of Hitler.

The cold calculation of the German World War II policy was absent from Allied, and especially American policy, which concentrated emotionally on winning the war, on the total destruction of the Axis powers. We spent lavishly in our war effort, and in the provisioning of our troops. Everything about Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy was considered evil, and studying Ger-

man financial policy in occupied territory would have been considered as aping Nazi methods.

As one of those who were in Paris when in German forces captured that city in 1940, I remember the conservative German attitude towards occupation currency. Of course even at the beginning, there were individual excesses such as Field Marshal Goering's extravagant purchases in France using occupation currency. But there were other manifestations such as the story Senator Rio told me of the hanging on the public square of a town in Brittany of a German *feldwebel* who was caught forcing a raised occupation note on a French shopkeeper. The Germans did not permit reichsmarks to circulate outside Germany and strictly limited the amount of savings German troops could send home. The United States had no such restrictions. Any American, military or civilian, could freely convert his lire, francs, marks and other European currencies into dollars. This practice obligated our Treasury eventually to cover a deficit of payments of over a half billion dollars.

The author's treatment of Monetary Inflation in Germany and the American Black Market is extremely well done. For many months ideas prevailed that our military victory entitled our soldiers and officers to benefits; if they profited at the cost of the former enemy populations nobody really seemed to care. A high ranking American officer seriously proposed that captured gold simply be divided up among deserving American officers. There is, of course, the brilliant salvaging operation conducted by General Clay, then Military Governor in Germany, on whom fell the burden of recouping the hundreds of millions of German marks turned into the Treasury by black marketeers in the cigarette and coffee economy of post war Germany. The scandal of the Morgenthau-White gift to the Soviet Union of the plates for the engraving of the billions of occupational marks used to pay Soviet forces years of back pay and to exploit the German

economy is a classic. Politically, there is no doubt that the image of Americans suffered by the greed and rapacity manifested in some areas where we were present in force. Philosophically, I suppose that is the unhappy history of war.

It does not detract from the author's fine success with this book to express the wish that he had been able to treat fully our postwar experience in Japan and the Pacific. Perhaps he will do that another day.

To any one interested in this subject I recommend reading "Money and Conquest." I found it an excellent refresher of things I knew, some of which had been long since forgotten, but more important, much that I did not know.

—ROBERT MURPHY

MONEY AND CONQUEST, by Vladimir Petrov. Johns Hopkins Press. \$8.50.

Ambassador's Memoir

ONE of the myths some of us in the Foreign Service live by is that political appointees seldom perform as well as career officers. One wishes this were so, but with disconcerting frequency it is not. William Attwood is a case in point. To those who do not know him personally, his memoir will make this clear. It is as knowledgeable and sophisticated as his performance.

I have only one reservation. In writing of other peoples and their governments very circumspect language is desirable. It is well to be "candid" but in the interest of all concerned it is well also to be judicious. Otherwise, one can spoil in a memoir many things one has accomplished as a good diplomatic officer and leave our career officers holding the bag.

What makes a good diplomatic officer? What makes for good diplomacy? Ambassador Attwood's memoir focuses on these questions. Experience abroad is one factor—which Attwood had as a journalist, and as long as we insist on reporting as constituting our primary function and rotate officers around at feverish rate, we are little more than journalists with diplomatic passports. An analytical mind is another factor—a mind uncluttered with myths, prejudices, fraternal defenses, a mind willing to question, challenge, dissent. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said: "To doubt a little is to advance a little." This is a good philosophy for diplomats. Attwood practiced it.

Patience, too, is a factor. A sense of humor. An ability to be firm and even rough when need be. Ingenuity in coping with problems presented not

only by the host government but one's own. Friendliness. Ability to put oneself in the position of others—psychological resourcefulness, in other words. Political instinct. Action-mindedness. "Pas trop de zèle," we counsel political appointees, to which an Attwood replies: "Mais assez d'action." These are what won Attwood the confidence of governments. His record was an enviable one in Guinea and Kenya.

The memoir challenges many of our intolerable organizational and operating anachronisms and attitudes not only directly, as in his penultimate chapter ("A Hard Look At the Establishment") but indirectly, as the thoughtful reader will observe. For example, the memoir of one of our career brethren kicked up the conventional dust over the number of military officers on his staff in one embassy; and since the embassy was in a land-locked country his ire was particularly astringent as to having naval personnel on his staff. What to do with surplus military personnel in time of peace is not a problem we are always willing to analyze, but Attwood has relevant, if oblique, observations. Apropos visits of US naval units to Mombasa, he says: "What impressed me—and the Kenyans—about these naval visits was the courtesy, tact and easy informality of our officers. They said all the right things, they didn't brag about our military might and they left our guests feeling that our navy's primary mission was not to wage war but to preserve the peace." We need to think about this a little. Doesn't our diplomatic establishment have some responsibility in producing naval officers of this character? If so, how should we discharge that responsibility? By keeping them off land-locked embassy staffs?

Such an articulate, intelligent, candid memoir provides many insights into our diplomacy—our total diplomacy—and it raises many questions in the minds of those who are willing and have the time to "doubt a little." We are never so well staffed in the diplomatic establishment that we can read extensively and pursue hard, knotty questions as to our own performance but it is hoped that many of us, even as our ranks are again in process of thinning, may find the hours to read and savor this enlightening distillation of diplomatic experience.

—SMITH SIMPSON

THE REDS AND THE BLACKS: *A Personal Adventure*, by William Attwood. Harper & Row, \$5.95.

New Yalu River Warnings

AFTER a visit to all the countries bordering on Communist China, Harrison Salisbury of the New York TIMES reports to us "his simple, clear and repeatedly reinforced impression: China and the United States were far advanced along a course which could only lead to nuclear war." The Chinese, he says, are prepared for such a war, and most Asians with whom he talked were convinced that the United States as of now "would never win another war in Asia." Meanwhile, he says, there is no sign that the United States has perceived the erosion of the American position caused by the ever-rising bomb levels in Vietnam:

For the more troops we put in, the more money we poured in (and it was going in at the rate of \$2 to \$3 billion a month by 1967), the less heed we paid to the rest of Asia. There was no money left to provide for the pressing problems of a dozen Asian countries. Nor was there time or manpower available in Washington to concentrate on questions like India's food, Burma's economy, the Soviet wooing of Afghanistan, or Japan's hesitant steps toward international political independence. These matters did not get the attention of the Secretary of State or the White House. The President's desk was stacked with urgent military matters concerning Vietnam. There was little room for anything else.

The results were appalling. It was not only the note sounded again and again by the Russians that something *must* be done if Vietnam was not to send down the drain all vestiges of *détente*. It was not merely that India and Japan hung on the brink of entering the nuclear arms race because the United States and Russia, split over Vietnam, were unable to reach an easily negotiable compromise on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

All of this was tragic. Even more tragic was the devastation in Europe—the ruin of NATO; the alienation of France; the grudging, almost niggardly, support now evoked of American policies by our best friends, Britain and Germany; the rapid movement of the Soviet Union to strengthen diplomatic and economic ties with France, Italy,

the Low Countries and Scandinavia.

The truth was that the American position in Europe, which had been our Gibraltar since the end of World War II, had been so badly shaken that it was dubious it could ever be restored.

Only the US, he declares, can take the decisions which "might shift the tide, change the odds on nuclear war, avert the holocaust which so plainly was advancing." The national interest urgently demands that we take steps to de-escalate the conflict, he writes: "Better the political courage to take tough decisions which would save the nation and our way of life than the hesitation or hypocrisy which would doom us to disaster." Mr. Salisbury's report, in short, is not one to turn to for comfort or reassurance.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

ORBIT OF CHINA, by Harrison Salisbury. Harper & Row, \$4.95.

Balanced Treatment of a Miracle

TERENCE PRITTE, true to his background as a diplomatic correspondent, has written the kind of book one might expect from a competent reporter of sound judgment. His treatment is topical rather than chronological, with more emphasis on the Israel of today than of yesterday. Facts are marshaled in abundance, yet presented in reasonable style. Broad and balanced coverage takes precedence over depth of analysis or originality of appraisal. The result is a very good picture of a unique country with a highly complicated society in an implausible location; and all boiled down to something over 200 pages.

Such an approach obviously requires selectivity. Here, too, it seems to me the author deserves high marks. I think if one were to make a short list of the factors that most influence the national life of Israel, it would be hard to improve on his 14 chapter headings. I should personally have been inclined to include the role played by Israel's remarkably gifted scientific community; but this is a subjective view.

As to his statements of fact, they seem to ring true on the whole. I make no pretense of being able to check more than a small percentage from memory; and a few passages raised doubts, as for example the suggested connection between Israel's atomic reactor at Dimona and her desalinization program. Nevertheless, the overall impression was one of good sources accurately quoted.

The author also introduces value

judgments. These judgments do not give the impression of being hammered out over a lifetime of first-hand study. In fact they are not far from what may be heard from a native making a sincere effort to be impartial. They contain critical touches here and there, but these are well verbalized by the favorable comment, and a strong streak of sympathy for the country and its people shows through.

This last touches on the one point that seems most likely to draw a critic's fire. I am sure there are those who would raise the charge of bias because of this emphasis on the positive. My own feeling is just the opposite. When all is said and done, the Israelis have actually done some quite extraordinary things with their small bit of real estate, even with allowance for help from abroad. Not to accent the positive, to give an appearance of strict neutrality, I think, would in itself represent bias—a negative bias—rather than the reverse.

On the whole I feel the Foreign Service reader, particularly if without personal exposure to the area described, should derive considerable benefit from Mr. Prittie's book.

—N. SPENCER BARNES

ISRAEL: MIRACLE IN THE DESERT, by Terence Prittie. Praeger, \$5.95.

The Entrance to the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai



Multum in Parvo

IN a hundred pages Lord Kinross covers the vast span of Egyptian history from Inhotep to Nasser. And yet there is no sense of compression and crowding. It is a first rate introduction to a study of Egyptian history, traditions and architecture. There is an adequate index, bibliographies at the end of each chapter and a series of sumptuous photographs, some in color, some in black and white.

—NORMAN GRIMES

PORTRAIT OF EGYPT, by Lord Kinross. Morrow, \$7.50.

Responsibility and Response

GENERAL TAYLOR's slim volume is based on lectures he delivered at Lehigh University in 1966. Its four chapters describe the new political and strategic problems posed for the United States by so-called "Wars of National Liberation" and the existence of states which General Taylor, refreshingly, categorizes as "troublemakers" in a multipolar world. Vietnam inevitably dominates the book, and readers of it will find a clear exposition and endorsement of the Administration's policy with respect to that conflict.

However, the General also ex-

presses some concern over the extent to which the US became committed to the defense of Vietnam without fully understanding how far it would have to go to fulfill its commitment. In his final chapter, he therefore describes the origin and organization of the Senior Interdepartmental Group and of the Interdepartmental Regional Groups as possible mechanisms for ensuring selectivity in future US commitments and a more complete, advance understanding of what they may entail.

Realistically, General Taylor also recognizes that no organizational change will, by itself, solve the tough problems with which the United States must deal. What counts is still the character, skill, experience and nerves of the men who tackle those problems on the policy and operational levels.

—JAMES J. BLAKE

RESPONSIBILITY AND RESPONSE, by General Maxwell D. Taylor. Harper & Row, \$3.50.

The Country Team: An Illustrated Profile of our American Mission Abroad

A BETTER title than "The Country Team" could, perhaps, have been found for this remarkable little 70-page volume, published by the Department of State. Even the subtitle, "An Illustrated Profile of Our American Missions Abroad," fails to cover some of the contents which include such varied fare as Peace Corps training, a typical FSO career and vignettes of history. On the subject of the Country Team, itself, there is some confusion as the Department first describes it as that small group of State Department officials and representatives of other Agencies which meets periodically with the Ambassador in an advisory capacity. After explaining how this group operates it goes on to depict the activities of the sum total of the American employees at a given post, to whom it also refers as the Country Team.

Such confusion as may arise from the dual interpretation of the term fortunately does not seriously detract from the overall excellence of the pamphlet. It is readable and instructive and at times has flashes of humor, unusual in bureaucratic publications. Extensive use has been made of photographs and of events in which both individuals and countries are identified. This refreshing departure from the normal official document adds greatly to the effectiveness of the presentation. Whatever other purpose

it may serve, the publication will be very useful in the public relations field and should be invaluable for recruitment purposes. For those unfamiliar with the operation of our Missions abroad or of the infinite variety of the problems with which our employees are faced this booklet should be illuminating indeed. It contains moreover, material of sufficient interest to retain the attention of all FSOs, retired or embryonic.

It is not intended to suggest that "The Country Team" is without weaknesses but they are, in general, very minor ones. It suffers somewhat from an unevenness in style and emphasis, which gives rise to the conclusion that it had multiple authorship and that each participant wished to guarantee that his own field of special interest would be given major attention. Any well informed reader may find a statement here and there which he might criticize. Such criticisms, however, would be basically picayune and would not alter the fact that the Department has produced a first class picture of the work of the American government employee in the field. We would all be well served were this booklet to receive a far, far wider circulation than is usually the case with our official releases.

—ROBERT NEWBEGIN

THE COUNTRY TEAM—*an illustrated Profile of our American Missions Abroad. The Department of State. Government Printing Office, \$1.00.*

"Yankee Go Home"

AN activist Boston University professor and a contemplative Buddhist monk play variations on a common and timely theme, "Get Out Of Vietnam" or "Yankees Go Home," in their respective books, "Vietnam—The Logic of Withdrawal" and "Vietnam—Lotus In A Sea of Fire."

The "logic" of Dr. Zinn's exhortation that the United States abandon at once its role in Vietnam, "the theater of the absurd," rests on a shaky infrastructure of endless quotations from press articles, Congressional hearings and the like. These bits and pieces from all over are neither new nor are they set in any matrix of cogent reasoning. To be undiplomatic, what Zinn says has been said before—over and over again—and said very much better.

In his book, subtitled "A Buddhist Proposal for Peace," Thich Nhat Hanh purports to speak for his people

and for a committed Buddhism in offering a solution for the strife in Vietnam. He proposes, *inter alia*, a cessation of bombing, limitation of all SVN and US military operations to defensive actions, and "a convincing demonstration of US intention to withdraw its forces from Vietnam over a specific period of months." Apparently much more optimistic about a constructive, peace-loving response from the Viet Cong than from the Saigon regime, he suggests that withdrawal of US support from Premier Ky may be a necessary precondition for implementation of his plan.

Those whose political philosophy owes more to Hobbes than Rousseau may find this Buddhist peace proposal unrealistic at best. However, as it seems to represent the views of many Buddhist leaders in Vietnam, its elaboration and its rationale in this book are of considerable interest. Buddhism—organized, *engagé* and militant—is a formidable force in Vietnamese politics, as the overthrow of the Diem government and the downfall of some successor regimes made very clear.

A valuable feature of this book is its more than 30 pages of the historical setting of Buddhism in Vietnam. The relations of Buddhism with Confucianism, Taoism, Catholicism and nationalism in Southeast Asia are authoritatively discussed, for the author is professor of religion at Van Hanh, the Buddhist university at Saigon.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Vietnam—THE LOGIC OF WITHDRAWAL, by Howard Zinn. Beacon Press, \$4.95.

Vietnam—LOTUS IN A SEA OF FIRE, by Thich Nhat Hanh. Hill and Wang, \$1.25 (paper), \$3.50 (cloth).

Contemporary History

THIS is a very timely book in light of the recent upsurge in Congressional, press, and public interest in Thailand because of Thailand's proximity to and its important role in the war in Vietnam.

It is not a book about countering subversion and insurgency, but a study of Thai foreign policy. Further, while it gives a very brief summation of the history of Thai foreign policy, it is really "contemporary history." The period from the seventh century A.D. to the outbreak of World War II is dealt with in 43 pages, whereas coverage of events from 1960-65 requires 114. The author's real contribution is in this latter section. His thorough treatment of Thailand's attitude toward the events in Laos leading to and

flowing from the Geneva Accords of 1962 is especially valuable.

Scholars may deplore the not infrequent failure to identify sources, but the general reader will no doubt appreciate the resulting absence of extensive footnotes. This is recommended reading for those who want to know how US involvement in Southeast Asia appears to one of the most important countries of the area.

—LAURENCE G. PICKERING

THAILAND AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Donald E. Nuechterlein. Cornell University Press, \$5.95.

Confrontation And Conflict

A MISLEADING title is the major flaw in "The Dimensions of Conflict in Southeast Asia," by Dr. Bernard Gordon. The author mentions the Vietnamese conflict only in passing, and seeks to justify the omission of discussion of this overriding problem by saying that the war in Vietnam "has effectively removed the two Vietnams from much of the region's international politics." A second important omission is an absence of a discussion of the important and thorny minority problems of this area.

But for the reader looking for a thorough and scholarly discussion of the Indonesian Malayan confrontation, the Philippine-Malaysian rupture, or Thai-Cambodian tensions, Dr. Gordon's book provides an excellent source.

The author has gone beyond research into published data and has held interviews and conversations with leading officials in the area. In certain cases, this book provides a timely reminder of the difficulty of dealing with certain volatile personalities. For example, the author recounts Sihanouk's thinly veiled expression of glee after the assassination of the late President Kennedy, and his feeling of affront when Ambassador Yost characterized this new low in princely comportment as "barbarous."

For readers with a professional interest in the areas covered, who are not annoyed by the sales oriented title, Dr. Gordon's work provides most useful background and reference material.

Journalist Harry Miller, who lived in Singapore and Malaya, has drawn on his experience to write "A Short History of Malaysia." His experience was limited to a quarter of a century but unfortunately he commences his story some five centuries earlier at the founding of Malacca. This reporter's race through the centuries does provide a useful chronology of events, but until he reaches the contemporary

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

THE list of retired Foreign Service personnel together with their addresses which in recent years has accompanied the September JOURNAL will be prepared again this year, but will be distributed to JOURNAL readers only upon request. The list will be ready for mailing in late September and will be furnished without charge to those who ask for it as long as the supply lasts.

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

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scene that is about all. The reader gets a line drawing, but no depth or perspective.

Once he approaches World War II, the author is able to assess trends, place events in perspective, and make useful judgments. It is unfortunate that Mr. Miller did not restrict himself to contemporary problems such as those covered by Dr. Gordon in the book reviewed above. It is difficult to produce a historian by rereading a reporter.

—KARL E. SOMMERLATTE

DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, by Bernard K. Gordon. Prentice Hall, \$4.95.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MALAYSIA, by Harry Miller. Praeger, \$6.00.

"The Inter-American System"

THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM is a comprehensive history of the conduct and functioning of US-Latin American relations within the Organization of American States from its inception in 1890 to the present. Within this framework, US policy is described as one of continued and deliberate hegemony over the hemisphere as demonstrated in repeated interventions and in US failure to accept the multilateralization said to be desired by the Latin American states. In harmony with this theme the author states, on page 310, "The most ominous aspect of the failure to establish an inter-American court has been United States opposition to such an institution." Why "ominous"? Because by this means the US rejects Latin American "efforts to formulate principles of 'American international law' limiting rights she claims under general international law," said to favor the US and other great powers.

The book emphasizes disagreements in political, military, and peace-keeping relations as brought out by quotations from OAS or other documents. The Alliance for Progress, which the reviewer believes to be the most important development in the history of the System, is dismissed in little more than six pages and, again, is dealt with in terms of inadequacies and policy differences, and as an instrument of the US policy of intervention and hegemony rather than an inter-American effort.

The Dominican crisis is covered in a postscript, as a confirmation of US domination "painfully reminiscent of the Roosevelt Corollary" (which, in extension of the Monroe Doctrine, would oppose intervention by a European power, but not intervention itself). The author does not consider US public statements on the Domini-

can crisis credible nor does he see that the system as a whole is working effectively when it supervises a rare, honest election to establish democratic government and permit the withdrawal of the Inter-American Peace Force.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the author does not reflect real understanding of US policy in Latin America. He says the Latin Americans "tend to be more afraid of US policy to meet the Soviet challenge than any threat from Communism itself." Nevertheless, his history of the inter-American system is highly interesting in demonstrating the recurrence of both Latin American and US themes, with minor modifications, over the many years, and the gradual pace at which accommodation can take place, if at all. He shows that for matters like "representative democracy" and "human rights" the Latin Americans are seeking at an international level what is not readily attainable in a national context. This provides a justification for multilateral intervention in the internal affairs of states—a perplexing problem in both the UN and the OAS. For the Latin Americans are also said to fear that collective intervention would mean, in practice, intervention by the US.

The author also makes understandable a major underlying problem of the System, the fact that the US is a world power while most Latin American states are concerned primarily with developments in the hemisphere. The US is, of course, the only member of the OAS with a permanent seat on the Security Council of the UN and a veto over policies of other major international powers. What, then, is the effect on the concept of juridical equality?

On balance, the book is recommended, though it favors Latin-American views on the world's oldest experiment in regional relationships.

—MILTON BARALL

THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, by Gordon Connell-Smith. Oxford University Press, \$8.75.

Changing Soviet Law

IN documenting the changes in Soviet society of the post-Stalin era, one of the most important works to appear so far is the recent analysis and translation of the 1960 RSFSR criminal law and procedure codes by Harold Berman and James W. Spindler.

While a discussion of criminal codes is often a prosaic undertaking, Professor Berman's study, by its emphasis on historical perspective, provides interesting and novel insights into the

evolution of the Soviet socio-legal system. Especially worthy of note are the discussions of burden of proof, the procuracy, and the role of the legal profession in the USSR. These sections offer a factual and dispassionate picture of procedures and institutions which are much misunderstood in the West and tend therefore to be described in stereotyped terms.

As Professor Berman points out, the practice of Russian criminal law has its roots in a tangled historical development, especially in the period since 1917 where the abuse of authority by judicial and administrative organs has been at times extreme. It has been the task of the Soviet legal profession in recent years to provide a revised substantive and procedural framework for the criminal law to ensure both greater protection for the accused and limitations on the arbitrary application of legal as well as extra-legal sanctions.

If, as the author indicates, the new codes may seem pedantic or casuistic to Western jurists, it is because their Soviet colleagues have learned important lessons from bitter experiences and "have sought to incorporate those lessons into a document that reflects almost every issue of criminal justice confronted by modern man."

—JAMES A. RAMSEY

SOVIET CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE, by Harold J. Berman. Harvard University Press, \$11.95.

An Argyris Report on Congress?

LESS public relations-minded group than the authors (see below) and sponsor (David Brinkley) of this book might have entitled it "Some Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness Within the Congress." Those of us in the Foreign Service who think we are overburdened with critics and would-be-reorganizers should consider the poor Congressman! Everyone, including the authors of this excellent brief study, agrees that he is a fine, hard-working fellow painfully resistant to change and hopelessly mired in archaic organization and work habits.

The study is, in fact, the analytical background memorandum for an efficiency survey. The main conclusions and recommendations of this survey are succinctly stated in the appendix. A good many of them are included in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967 (S. 355) which passed the Senate in March and is now before the House. Others, such as a recommendation to hold joint hearings of House and Senate Committees considering

specific legislation, are probably too Utopian.

Where Professor Argyris accepted as an axiomatic basis for his study that the State Department is ineffective, Dr. Donham and Mr. Fahey proceed on the assumption that Congress has abdicated to the President its role as national policy-maker and should reclaim it. It may come as a surprise to some readers that Congress is putty in the hands of the Executive Branch, but that's the way the authors see it. Agree with them or not, the reader will find this a provocative and worthwhile brief analysis of how the Members spend their time and how they might profitably change the emphasis.

—H. G. TORBERT, JR.

CONGRESS NEEDS HELP by Dr. Philip Donham and Robert J. Fahey. Random House, \$4.95.

Opera—The Whole Span of It

THE history of opera for most specialists goes back only to the time of Giuditta Pasta, the first great prima donna in the modern manner. But in Mr. Pleasant's spectacular work "The Great Singers," Pasta does not pop up till page 137. The pages before are filled with earlier phases of the art beginning with the production of Peri's *Eurydice* on February 9, 1600, through the period of Monteverdi and Cesti through the age of the famous castrati. Then on to the age of Nordica, Caruso, Melba, Tamagno and company. We end up with Joan Sutherland and Montserrat Caballé.

The author's idea of great singers is, quite justifiably those who created a great splash or those who created a new trend. Thus, while we hear much of Emma Calvé, Mary Garden and Geraldine Farrar, Feodor Chaliapin and John McCormack we find that some other admirable figures such as Felia Litvinne, Conchita Supervia, Alma Gluck, Sigrid Onegin and Elizabeth Schumann do not even rate a mention.

The book is no mere series of biographies. Indeed biography and the stories of careers have been subordinated to the continuous flow of narrative on the story of opera itself. Any prospective reader who wants to take a quick sampling might start off with the acute portraits of Mary Garden and Geraldine Farrar. The standard of criticism here is higher than most of the stuff written about these great artists when they were at the peak of their careers.

—LOREN CARROLL

GREAT SINGERS, by Henry Pleasant. Simon and Schuster, \$7.50.

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by BARBARA ENNIS

WHEN L. L. BEAN, of Freeport, Maine, died not long ago at the age of 94, the Washington Post editorialists turned for a moment from their furies and despaired to pay tribute to his personal merchandising style. As one who married into a pair of Bean's boots, I should like to add my own footnote.

Since Ambassador Ellis O. Briggs retired, my husband is probably the most enthusiastic hunter and fisherman in the Foreign Service. He was brought up from childhood on L. L. Bean's spring and fall catalogues of sporting goods, so that very early in the game I got to know these harbingers. It was quickly apparent from the nature of his wares that Mr. Bean assumed that all his customers lived north of Boston (in spite of which his catalogues tailed us round the world like well-trained hounds) and that he catered to he-men and women. No fear of flimsiness with L. L. Bean. He currently stocks, among other things, Bean's Ice Fishing Glove ("keeps hands warm below Zero"), Deep Freeze Underwear ("designed for use in the Antarctic expeditions"), Ladies Field Trial Boot—it looks just the way you imagine—and Bean's Head Net ("Anyone who has trouble with black flies and mosquitoes will appreciate this Head Net"). He also lists something called Bean's Loose Tongue Protector, with which he should do a roaring trade in Washington.

As the Post said, however, the particular distinction of the older Bean catalogues was their assurance with each item that Mr. Bean himself had developed, used, or recommended it, so that you got the comforting feeling that he had personally tested the entire collection except the women's shoes. If the Post editors had looked further, they would have found out why he didn't try the women's shoes. Mrs. Bean did that. Earlier catalogues carried her imprimatur on most items of women's wear, "As worn by Mrs. Bean." I well remember pictures of Mrs. Bean, against Robert Frosty backgrounds, modeling her sturdy wardrobe.

Another thing. L. L. Bean is the only man we know who sells trousers in the singular. His product, as often as not, is

listed not as pants but "pant," e.g. Bean's Noted Duck Pant, (it comes with two legs though), and the mystically metaphored Stag Cruiser and Pant which might be an epithet from the sagas, except that Beowulf wore skirt, not pant. Is this Down-East hard bitterness, never wasting a plural where a singular will do? Or is it a trace of the French influence up there, *un pantalon* that got left behind?

The catalogues are not Mr. Bean's only literary monument. Many years ago he produced a hard-backed volume called "Hunting in the Maine Woods" which was an appealing blend of wood lore and cracker-barrel salesmanship, well illustrated by photos of Mr. and Mrs. Bean in action and in costume. It is a minor tragedy that our copy has vanished like a deer in a thicket, but it may yet turn up at the Book Fair.

Over the years we have sampled a good deal of Mr. Bean's output and like himself have found it satisfactory. We have owned his tents, jackets and duck calls. We have split a pair of pants with him. But the cornerstone of our L. L. Bean trading has always been what he calls his Maine Hunting Shoe and we call just "the Bean's boots." Mr. Bean unflinchingly gives a whole double page to his Maine Hunting Shoe, which he first developed in 1912 after getting sore feet. As he says, "Next to your gun nothing is more important than your footwear." Bean's boots, with my husband in them, have trodden the Albanian frontier and the Taurus Mountains, justifying Mr. Bean's faith with every step. They have gone through Washington snow storms and Syrian swamps. When at last a pair of the boots is about to kick the bucket (a Bean's boot will last nearly as long as Mr. Bean did, but even he was not immortal) they are received as a precious gift by the guides and ghillies of far-off lands. There is a pair in a fisherman's hut on the edge of a Peloponnesian lake, patched with bits of Michelin, and another pair in the shadow of a Crusader ruin in Antalya. The brotherhood which exists among wearers of Bean's boots is so firm that if these two men could get together, the Cyprus problem would probably be solved. CIA might not want to be involved at the moment, but perhaps AID and Bean could talk it over.

Now our sons have their own Bean's boots and will accept no substitute, although a Bean's boot in an 8-year-old size has something distressing about it, recalling the adage about sending a boy to do a man's job. We are a one-boot family, with one exception which is myself. For years my husband has been trying to give me a pair of Mrs. Bean's boots for Christmas, and for years I have managed to get him on to something less earnest. (My ideal shoe is a glass slipper.) After last winter in Washington, however, I am having second thoughts. Mrs. Bean may have known what was good for me better than I did, and perhaps after all I should put myself, if not into her hands, at least into her boots. ■

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS—JULY, 1967

Airways Rent-a-Car	47	Houghton, A. C. & Sons	49
American President Lines	11	Hunter Agency	40
American International		Key, Francis Scott, Apt. Hotel	49
Underwriters	40	Mutual of Omaha	15
Anthony House	48	National Distillers	9
Barrett, James W., Co., Inc.		Park Central Hotel	49
Cover III		Prentice-Hall, Inc.	41
Beam, James B., Distilling Co.	14	Radin, Rhea, Real Estate	49
Begg, J. F., Co.	44	Restaurant Directory	43
Bell, W., & Co.	6	Seagram's	Cover IV
Calvert School, The	47	Security National Bank	46
Copenhaver Engravers	47	Security Storage Co.	12
deSibour, J. Blaise & Co.	46	Service Investment Corp.	42
First National City Bank of N.Y.	5	Smith's Transfer & Storage	50
Ford International	5	State Dept. Federal Credit Union	45
General Electronics	13	Stuart & Maury, Inc.	50
General Motors Corp.	7	Town & Country Properties	50
Grace Line	4	United Services Officers	
Hicks Realty Co.	6	Ins. Brokers	10
Hodgdon, Haight & Co.	48	United States Lines	43
Huemerica, Inc.	45	Western Pharmacy	50



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under the free hanging roots of giant banyan trees, to the top of wide steps leading down to the temple courtyard. The arrangement was rather like an amphitheatre with the green temple where the stage would be and the Dharmasalas, or pilgrims' rest houses, flanking either side. The crush of people was tremendous. I elbowed my way to the edge of the steps and looked down on the dancing which had begun in the courtyard. Boys and girls between the ages of about ten and twenty joined hands behind the backs of every other person, making a pattern of interlocking arms. Each group of a dozen or so formed a circle round a boy with cheeks puffed out blowing a horn bigger than himself. It was made of strips of bamboo and buffalo horn joined with beeswax. The boys blew staccato blasts and shuffled in two-step circles, slumping their shoulders and waving their horns like jazz saxophone players while the dancers made slow progress round them by jumping five quick steps to the right then shuffling two steps to the left. The large brass temple bell clanged continuously adding to the general din.

Elders sat and watched, gossiped, or dozed on the steps which were wide enough that some dancing went on there too. The wisest thing for me seemed to be to sit down with the quieter older folks and I finally squeezed into a place on the steps. As I struggled to pull my camera case off my hip onto my lap I looked round into a pair of reproachful eyes. On the step beside me sat a Sikh in white flannels, what looked like a Brooks Brothers button-down shirt and a pink paisley-patterned turban. "Pardon me," he said with a thin smile and a strong British accent. "Your light meter is caught in my Leica strap."

"I'm so sorry," I said as I extricated it.

"Not at all," replied the Sikh. "Interesting little gathering, isn't it," he said politely but I sensed his resentment at my being there all too clearly. And I sympathized. After all the Adavasi were his own tribal people and he should have been able to discover them by himself without someone like me around. And then it came to me in a flash. Mr. Kulkarni had the answer. It was too late to discover much untouched territory but it was not too late to record and preserve what was pure in form and spirit. He had shown this could be close to home if one had the eye to see it.

I hurried off to find my husband who has the maddening habit of never being around when I have something world-shaking to say. Darkness had come with tropical suddenness before I found him comfortably squatting on his haunches in the Indian manner, drinking tea with Mr. Kulkarni.

"Listen," I said as I sat Yoga style beside him, "It doesn't matter if we don't get to Huhehot or even Ulan Bator. Justice Douglas has just been there anyway. But that's not the point. I know something great about that Gurung tribe we stayed with in Nepal that I want to get down in writing. Right away!"

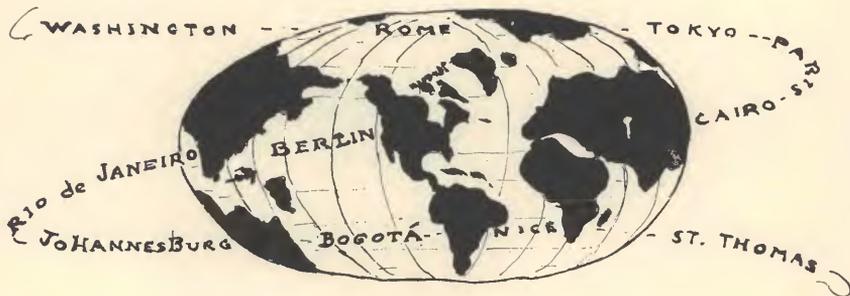
The light from the Petromax lantern hanging on the tea stall threw such deep shadows on my husband's and Mr. Kulkarni's faces I could not see if they were laughing with or at me.

"Of course," Mr. Kulkarni said. "Right away. But first have a cup of tea. Then we must find a place to sleep. The priests have invited us to stay at the Dharmasala but it will be quite noisy as the dancing goes on all night. I do not mind but for you it will be very difficult."

"Yes," I agreed. "It will be better for us to go back and sleep by the stream." I did not want to see the Sikh again. He should have this night alone with his Adavasi. I had my my Gurungs to dream about. ■

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LEBANON (Continued from page 23)

openly called for revolt against the Chamoun government. The Lebanese army, itself affected in this crisis by the communal division in the country, followed a policy of containing but not taking decisive action against the rebels. On May 13, 1958, President Chamoun informed the Ambassadors of the United States, United Kingdom and France that the situation was very grave. He wished them to send to their respective Chiefs of State the message that he recalled the interest expressed by all three nations in the maintenance and integrity of Lebanon, and that he wished each Chief of State to consider the possibility of landing armed forces in Lebanon within 24 hours after an appeal for such intervention by the President or the Lebanese Government. President Chamoun said that he hoped that he would never have to call for foreign forces, but as a precautionary measure he obtained from the Lebanese cabinet a signed document authorizing him to call for foreign forces at such time as he deemed appropriate in light of the situation in Lebanon.

The situation continued to deteriorate as outside intervention increased. The Lebanese government took its case to the Arab League, without success, and then appealed to the United Nations. The United Nations sent observers to Lebanon and the United States flew in military equipment in response to an appeal by the Lebanese government. It now no longer seemed a question of who would be President of Lebanon but of the very existence of Lebanon as an independent state as then constituted.

The crisis came not in Lebanon, but in Iraq. On July 14 the Iraqi government was overthrown by a brutal coup d'état. President Chamoun appeared convinced that this action was instigated from outside and that Lebanon would be next. He therefore called for United States military intervention. Shortly thereafter the government of Jordan, also alarmed by the coup in Iraq, appealed to the United States and United Kingdom for similar intervention.

The United States response to the request from the President was positive; the UK also sent forces in response to the appeal from Amman. In Washington the decision to proceed was taken primarily out of regard for the effect which a negative attitude would have upon small nations throughout the world who were counting on United States assurances of support in their determination to resist aggression, direct and indirect. This is one of the most important factors in our support for the Republic of South Vietnam today. The United States expressions of interest in the sovereignty and integrity of Lebanon had been publicly stated and were publicly known. The legitimate government of Lebanon was well known for having cast its lot with the West and for relying upon the United States in particular for its support. A negative response to President Chamoun would have cast doubt upon the reliability and integrity of United States support. At the same time the United States moved in the United Nations to bring about the assumption of responsibility by that body for the protection of Lebanon's independence.

The wisdom of hindsight sometimes indicates that actions taken by nations in given circumstances were mistaken, but, *in the circumstances prevailing at the time of President Chamoun's appeal*, hindsight would not seem to advocate any other action than that which the United States took. The determination of the Free World, and particularly the smaller members thereof, to resist direct and indirect aggression depends in large measure upon the continued readiness and ability of like-minded stronger nations to support and assist this endeavor, and upon continued confidence that these nations have the courage and willingness to do so. Subsequent developments bore out the prior estimate that an affirmative response to President Chamoun would be ill-received in most of the Arab world, but would have positive results in the



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majority of the other countries of the Free World and particularly among the smaller ones. More importantly, the operation was a success—the goal of preserving the integrity of Lebanon was won.

At the same time it might be useful to consider whether different policies in the earlier course of the Lebanese problems might not have helped to avoid a situation in which we really had no alternative but to respond affirmatively to President Chamoun's request.

The elasticity and flexibility of the Lebanese political and social structure might well have been such that the independence and basic pro-Western alignment of the country would have been preserved if Lebanon had made some concessions and adjustments to Arab nationalism rather than taking such a resolute stand in opposition. More flexibility might have avoided the nationalist attack from outside, abetted by the USSR, while preserving the essentials of the Lebanese nation and of Lebanese foreign policy. One aspect of this flexibility could have been less alacrity on the part of Lebanese leaders in identifying themselves with the United States.

For our part, we perhaps should not have permitted our Cold War concerns to draw us so deeply into an intra-Arab struggle. The interest of the United States was in the preservation of Lebanon's independence, but to many in the Arab world it seemed as if we were more interested in the preservation of President Chamoun and Foreign Minister Malik in their struggle with Cairo. They were, of course, the legitimate representatives of the Lebanese Government; today General Ky is the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese Government, but we have made it publicly clear that we support him solely in that capacity, not as an individual, and that we have prepared to support future ones which seek our support, share our desires for the preservation of world peace, and are determined to defend their country's independence. A similar public attitude in the Lebanese crisis might have done a good bit to convince observers in Lebanon and the Arab world of what was indeed the case—that our intervention took place because of our interest in the larger issue of the defense of the integrity of nations and of their right to decide their domestic political problems without intervention from outside, not because of our concern over the interests and fortunes of specific Lebanese political factions and individuals.

Despite the above, the passage of time has done nothing to alter the judgment that the Lebanese operation was justified in the wider interests of the United States. There is also nothing in our Lebanese experience to deny the validity of the judgment that military force should not be used to solve local political problems, but only as a last resort when the grave reality of a threat of national independence is present. The operation went extraordinarily smoothly; our forces fired no shots in anger, did not seek to destroy one Lebanese faction at the behest of another, and their withdrawal was carried out with the full collaboration of the Lebanese government. By their presence alone our forces ended a grave threat to the independence of a small and free country.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter states that it is the inherent right of all nations to work together to preserve their independence. President Eisenhower, referring to the Lebanese operation, said in the General Assembly on October 13, 1958, "If it is made an international crime to help a small nation maintain its independence, then indeed the possibilities of conquest are unlimited." In support of this principle, the United States faced political disadvantages and serious risk in coming to the support of Lebanon in 1958. We are doing the same in South Vietnam today, with the same determination to help in the defense of the right to nations to determine their own destinies free from outside intervention, and in support of the rule of law in international relations. ■

MARSHALL PLAN, continued from page 19

(iv) To deal with any amendments which appear desirable, it may be necessary to publish supplementary reports which will in particular take account of the development of the international economic situation.

v) The Committee however thought it necessary not to delay in publishing the results of the work performed to date. The critical situation in Europe, aggravated by the bad harvests, compels it to adopt this course.

(vi) The participating countries recognize that their economic systems are interrelated and that the prosperity of each of them depends upon the restoration of the prosperity of all. They further recognize that the objective of a sound and healthy economy for their countries can best be achieved by sustained common efforts directed specifically towards the production of scarce commodities, the full use of available resources and the achievement of internal financial and economic stability.

(vii) To this end, the participating countries have undertaken to use all their efforts to develop their national production in order to achieve the production targets set out in this report. Each is also determined to carry out vigorously the internal measures which are necessary to create or maintain its own internal financial stability and confidence in its currency and credit.

(viii) The participating countries have further stated their belief that the establishment of a joint organisation to review the progress made in carrying out the recovery programme will be necessary.

(ix) The participating countries fully recognise that the present progress towards European recovery could not have been achieved without the generous and substantial aid furnished to certain of the European countries by the United States. As events have turned out, that aid has not proved sufficient to enable the European nations to re-establish their production and trade on a sound and healthy basis. It should therefore, be understood that the commitments here undertaken cannot be fully met nor can European recovery be finally and permanently effected without additional external assistance.

(x) This Report is in no sense a "shopping-list" of the goods which the participating countries and Western Germany need from the United States. It is designed primarily as a close and careful analysis of the maladjustment, which has resulted from the war, and an examination of what the participating countries can do for themselves and for each other to work towards a lasting solution.

(xi) The Report shows the expected deficit of the participating countries and Western Germany in their trading relations with the American continent and the non-participating countries. This illustrates the size of the problem, but it must be understood that the participating countries neither ask nor expect special aid from the United States to the full amount of that deficit. Some of the deficit can be filled through private financing and investment or the use of any suitable assets still available to the participating countries, and some through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The amount of aid which each country needs in order to make its full contribution to the European recovery programme is not specified in this report.

(xii) In presenting this report in response to Mr. Marshall's suggestion, the participating countries believe that the programme of concerted action, which is set forth, marks the advent of a new stage of European economic co-operation. Through the achievement of this programme, by their own efforts and with such support as the United States may feel it proper to supply, the participating countries can march forward towards the attainment of that essential economic well-being which is the best assurance of peace and happiness.

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



by HELEN K. BEHRENS

CHINESE FRIED RICE; NASI GORENG

When Dong Kingman, the famous Chinese-American artist, was traveling around the world on a State Department sponsored tour some years ago, he spent a week in Salzburg, enchanted as we all were by the beauty of the Austrian town and its setting. Just at this time—the height of the Festival season, of course—I learned that my two wonderful maids were—jointly—planning an assault on business jabs in Vienna. If I had to lose them, I felt I'd better lose the six ducklings which they used to feed nettles to every morning first, since my skill at noodling and slaughterer ducks is limited.

Thus it was that we fed Dong Kingman *Canard a l'Orange*, and subsequently he fed us *Chinese Duck a la Kwon*. Dong also made an enormous kettle of Chinese rice which was destined to feed my five children for several days while I looked around for new help. Unfortunately, he also taught me how he makes Fried Rice; this proved to be so tasty that, three tries and two meals later, not a grain of rice was left. Here is his recipe; the absence of typical Chinese ingredients was due to the fact that there were none in Salzburg, but the dish had a real Chinese aroma and taste without them, so don't be afraid to try it even though your current post is Middle, instead of Far, East.

Prepare enough rice according to your favorite method (there must be hundreds) so that you will have four cups of cooked rice, fluffy and dry—not soggy. Prepare the following ingredients:

- 1 egg; beat raw egg lightly and cook it in just a little heated oil in a small frying pan, covering the bottom of the pan like a thin pancake by tilting; as soon as the egg has cooked through, remove and cut into thin strips.
- 2 strips of bacon, fried and crumbled, or ½ cup diced cooked ham
- ½ cup drained, diced canned shrimp. (If fresh shrimp is available, peel, clean, dice, and sauté lightly in oil prepared for rice; see below.)
- 2 medium celery stalks, diced finely
- ½ cup cooked duck or chicken, shredded
- 3 spring onions, diced ¼", green tops included
- 2 lettuce leaves, or 6-8 spinach leaves, cut in strips
- 1 clove garlic, peeled & sliced in 3
- ½ teaspoon powdered ginger. (If fresh ginger is available, cut a piece the size of a clove of garlic and mash it.)
- 4 tablespoons vegetable oil
- ¼ teaspoon monosodium glutamate; if available, it is always used in Chinese dishes.
- 2 tablespoons water

Heat the oil in a large frying pan with the garlic and ginger. Remove garlic. Add the cooked rice by handfuls,

crumbling it apart. Stir, lower the flame, add the shrimp, celery, egg strips, bacon, and meat. Keep stirring. The rice should now be well coated with oil, but should not brown. When these ingredients are heated through (and the shrimp, if raw, is cooked), sprinkle the water over the rice and cover the pan at once. Allow to steam a minute. Remove the cover, add the spring onions (scallions) and lettuce or spinach strips, stir rapidly, and turn out at once into a heated serving dish. Serve with soy sauce. I cannot tell you, judging from our performance in the midst of the Salzburg Festival, how many this will serve.

Of course, if Chinese ingredients are available—as they are now in many world capitals—use 3 tablespoons each of any of the following (but not more than six in any combination for 3 cups of cooked rice): finely diced bamboo shoot; finely diced water chestnut; fresh bean sprouts (they add a crispness which the canned never have); halved button mushrooms; diced snow peas; dried Chinese mushrooms, cut in strips, or dried “wood ears”; both of these must be soaked in warm water to cover until soft, and the small, tough stem removed. (Wood-ears are what we think of as seaweed—actually a fungus, called black mushrooms in France and elsewhere.) The proportion of other ingredients, which should include shrimp and/or meat, to rice should be about one third, so don't get carried away and use all of the above suggestions at once, even if you live in Chinatown.

The other world-famous fried rice dish is *Nasi Goreng*, from Indonesia. While the initial preparation is the same—a cooked, dry rice, preferably from the day before (but do not put it in the refrigerator)—*Nasi Goreng* is a much spicier dish which makes use of hot red peppers (chile or pimento.) For three cups of cooked rice, you should also use ½ teaspoon of Javanese shrimp paste, *tarassi*, available in specialty shops. (Don't let them sell you a cocktail spread made of shrimp; this is a flavoring agent, akin to the fish essence, or *nguoc man*, of Southeast Asia. Purists insist, but I say it's optional, because some objections are raised to it—ah—strength before dilution in the dish.) The other ingredients you will need are:

- Crushed or diced fresh ginger the size of a garlic clove, or ¼ teaspoon dried ginger
 - 2 garlic cloves
 - 3 tablespoons oil
 - 1 medium onion, chopped
 - 2 small hot chile peppers, diced (2 tablespoons, but of course the amount varies with the strength of the chile and the taste of the user.)
 - 1 cup raw shrimp, shelled and cleaned and/or
 - 1 cup shredded and/or cooked chicken
 - ¼ cup diced green (sweet) pepper (optional)
 - 1 teaspoon salt
 - sprinkle of freshly ground black pepper
- (A cup of cooked, diced pork is a tasty addition to *Nasi Goreng* in the non-Moslem parts of Indonesia such as Bali.)

Mrs. Robert Brougham makes *Nasi Goreng* this way: Heat the oil and add the ginger and garlic, the onion, and the chiles. Add the shrimp, and when it begins to take on color, add the meat. (Plain shrimp *Nasi Goreng* is excellent too.) Add the salt and pepper, and the green pepper if you wish. Stir, sautéing, for 3-4 minutes, then add the cooked rice and stir over low heat until the rice is heated through. Mrs. Brougham uses the following garnish when serving *Shrimp Nasi Goreng*:

- strips of egg pancake as for Dong Kingman's fried rice
- chopped chives
- fried onion flakes, or chopped onions which have been sprinkled with flour and salt and fried
- Fried or roasted peanuts are another optional garnish.



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The U.S. and the Developing World (Continued from page 27)

ultimately result from failure to accomplish these things among the eighty-odd countries undergoing this process of modernization, demands that there be a concerted increased effort by all of the highly developed industrialized countries. The United States, by increasing its own contributions to these ends cannot solve the problem by itself. We are already doing about half of the job that is being done.

In the calendar year 1963, US bilateral economic aid came to \$4.0 billion of which PL 480 shipments were nearly \$1.5 billion. Bilateral aid programs of all the other developed countries who are members of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD came to \$2.7 billion and aid to the developing countries provided by the various international agencies totalled \$1.4 billion. The grand aggregate was \$8.1 billion and the US contribution was 49.4 percent of that amount. We must all do better and the Development Assistance Committee and the World Bank have invaluable roles to play in the exercise of leadership in mobilizing the substantial, continuing, increasing common effort which is required.

My closing thought is that international and national governmental aid programs can never be expected to provide more than a fraction of the vast sums of development capital which the less developed countries are going to need in the years ahead.

As Mr. George Woods has publicly pointed out, the developing countries could profitably utilize \$3 to \$4 billion more economic aid annually than they now receive. In the past five years—as their populations have been growing and as their absorptive capabilities have been increasing—there has been a leveling off onto a plateau of the aggregate annual aid available. In the short run, as well as in the long run, private investment capital must carry the greater burden of financing development in the less developed parts of the world. In order that it can do so, many ingredients are required.

First, an understanding is needed on the part of the recipient countries of this fact. I believe this is generally increasing. Secondly, a certain degree of political stability in host countries is required. Next, some encouragement by capital exporting countries, such as investment guarantee schemes and lively governmental interest and support, must be provided. And finally, sophisticated and sensitive understanding of foreign attitudes and policies by the private investing interests is called for.

In closing, I state my conviction that there has been great progress in all these aspects of contributing to the modernizing process in the past ten years. But not yet enough. I think that the combination of sympathetic political understanding, increased contributions to both bilateral and multilateral aid programs and the support of enlightened private investment activities on the part of the United States and other highly developed nations can—in combination—both ease and speed the process of modernization among the less developed countries. ■

The foregoing constitutes the major part of a speech delivered by Ambassador Livingston T. Merchant at the Princeton University Program in Near Eastern Studies.

In his opening remarks Ambassador Merchant stated explicitly that he was speaking unofficially and in his own name only.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Favoring "The Martin Approach"

As one who had the privilege of serving under Ambassador Martin in the Dominican Republic, I would like to add a small voice of support for the "Martin approach" to US-Dominican relations, which was criticized at length by Ambassador Bonsal in your February issue.

All students of Dominican history are painfully aware of that country's unique (in Latin America), and often overly-dependent, relationship with the United States during the past century. They are also aware of—and some would prefer to forget—our country's correct, non-interventionist relations with the hated Trujillo dictatorship during a great part of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

Of course there are good reasons to argue that the US cannot by its efforts create out of whole cloth, and maintain, viable democracy—however worthy a goal this might be—and that only a more pragmatic, a more distant posture will allow the development of lasting democratic institutions by the peoples in question where these do not now exist. But, in extending this argument to the Dominican case, one does well to keep in mind that our finest hours in the Dominican Republic—and some of our finest in all of Latin America—were those just preceding the death of Trujillo and lasting at least until the election of a democratic government in December 1962. US intervention during that period, including the placing of US ships of war just off the Dominican coast late in 1961, won for the United States immense popularity in the Dominican Republic and, just as important, was outstandingly effective in nurturing the very delicate plant of democracy (social, economic, and political) in that country. Few patriotic Dominicans take issue with this.

Ambassador Martin deserves a good share of the credit for that golden era of US-Dominican relations. Although the fall of Bosch in September 1963 served in part to demonstrate that there are limits to our ability to defend democracy

where no strong democratic roots exist, it is a great oversimplification of an extremely complex situation to infer that the level of involvement by the American Ambassador was thus proved a serious error. Indeed, I would claim that without that involvement there might well have been no such Dominican experiment in democracy in the first place.

As for the possibility of letting the Dominicans "stew in their own juice politically" while assisting them economically, this is, in greatly oversimplified terms, what the United States did during the year prior to that tragic bloodletting which shook the country in April 1965 and which opened up the very real possibility of a Communist takeover. It could be argued—were there space to do so—that the combination of economic aid with tight strings and limited political involvement was one of the important factors that led to the 1965 disaster.

Ambassador Bonsal is, I believe, correct in stating that the Dominican Republic does not "project political patterns" to the rest of Latin America. He might well have added that US interventions in the Dominican Republic in 1961-63 and in 1965-66 were the products of peculiar sets of circumstances and set no pattern for US action anywhere else.

All in all, I think Americans can take some pride in the fact that intervention in the case of the Dominican Republic has served in recent years some noble purposes; in its absence democracy might still remain untasted by Dominicans of recent generations.

The failures of our policies in the Dominican case are perhaps more attributable to hesitations than to forceful prosecution. If the United States is ever to catch the imagination of the dissatisfied and increasingly anti-American youth of the Dominican Republic—who will someday rule—we must be willing to take the risk of backing, over a long hard pull, forceful policies in support of democracy.

ARTHUR E. BREISKY

Bologna Center
Bologna, Italy

Was He a Pessimist?

SINCE January 6, 1967 is my 90th birthday, I did not know which renewal amount (\$6.00 for one year, \$10.00 for two years) to send. Enclosed is my check. I hope it is correct.

HENRY H. BALCH

Huntsville, Ala.

Time In Grade

INTERPRET FSO William Cobb's letter in last month's JOURNAL as a plea that we should all cheerfully accept, for the good of the service, the new reduction of time in class and the drastic surgery which it involves. I should like to record a dissent.

The present unsightly bulge in the career pyramid was foreseeable a decade ago at the time of Wristonization. Its painful consequences, in terms of massive selection out in the ranges most affected by the integration process, were postponed, thanks to the general expansion of the service required by the increase of responsibilities and the number of posts. This is no longer possible.

Those still caught within the bulge, together with the surviving Wristonees—whose concentrated entry into the old Class IV created the bulge, these are the chief victims. For them the axe must be sharpened, the record combed for any hint of weakness, and seniority in class treated not as an asset but as evidence of mediocrity. Yet the real dead wood has long since left.

Surely this is not the only way to do it. If the present job classifications do not provide enough slots for the available twos and ones, why not upgrade the positions? Not everyone can be an ambassador, but not everyone expects or even wants to be. Upgrading would merely be a reversal of a tendency and a return to a status quo ante. There are now some DCM positions filled by fours. Ten years ago, the old Officer in Charge position in the regional bureaus, midway between the desk officer and the Deputy Director of the Office, would be a Class I officer. Normal attrition would slenderize the pyramid soon enough, and in the meantime we might do well to close down somewhat on the intake at the bottom.

Admittedly, this would leave unchanged the present strain on the patience and morale of the junior officers. But their elders had perhaps a greater strain to their morale a decade ago, when the Wriston wave swept over them, and they are certainly under a strain now, as the rules are changed and the knife descends. They survived, or most of them did, because the work was so challenging.

Are we so certain, moreover, that this operation will be so reassuring to the junior officers? Is it not possible that the reassurance they may get from seeing the ranks thinning above them might be somewhat offset by contemplation of the prospect that the

same might happen to them ten years hence, when their children are in college and their financial burden the heaviest? And is the morale problem of the juniors purely due to the numbers above them? Are there not perhaps other factors, such as the continued process of lateral entry at the top, the size of the reserve corps, and maybe even some doubt that promotion is determined by merit alone, or at least by merit so defined as to include the quality of boldness and initiative?

ARMISTEAD LEE

Washington

Argyris Revisited

SINCE my letter to the JOURNAL on the Chris Argyris article in the January issue, I have attended a session at Easton, Maryland, on Organizational Development or, as it is known informally, a T (for training) Session.

My first letter was touched off by a conflict of two impressions. The first impression was that the Argyris article, "Do You Recognize Yourself," missed its target by failing to show the author's recognition in depth of the group of human beings about whom he was writing. My second impression was that the T-Session approach, although I had not yet participated in one, had potential for helping bring about needed changes in the State Department and Foreign Service; changes from within our organization rather than from without.

After having experienced a T-Session at Easton and reread several times both the Argyris article in the JOURNAL and its lengthier version entitled "Some Causes of Organizational Ineffectiveness Within the State Department," these same two impressions hold: a) had Argyris known us better, he could have got his message to us clearer, b) T-Sessions can be an effective tool for helping realize more fully the potential of the unusually fine human resources of the State Department and of the Government as a whole.

To those who have not attended a T-Session, I am sure the question has occurred, what is it? Good question. Actually to be really understood, it must be experienced. The nomenclature for the process does not give much of a clue as to its nature. What the process meant to me, was participating in a group effort to develop an intensified level of awareness on the part of each member of the group. Another description could be the development of depth perception.

No mysteries were involved—no horizontal couching but just good old upright alertness. If nothing else was

gained, at least I learned the value of listening and observing.

Using the technique of the college bull session, with a subtle nudge here and there from the coach, the process can ignite a chain reaction something along the following lines: concentration, awareness, interest, involvement, frankness, trust, understanding. Or put it this way, it is the development of a sort of sixth sense—your personal radar to detect what is real and what is phony, what is form and what is substance, what is dead and what is alive.

But as I said before, it is difficult to describe "Going to Easton." You have to go yourself.

DAVID H. MCKILLOP

Washington

On Balance of Payments

THE Department's policy of discouraging the ownership of foreign automobiles by not paying for their overseas shipment (as it would in the case of an American automobile) is by and large a good one. Small though the results are, such a policy is an example of how the Foreign Service can do its part to help our balance of payments problems.

If the policy is to be just and equal throughout, it must be carried out with consistency. Why, therefore, does the Department allow owners of foreign cars to park their cars in the Department's parking lot in the basement of the main State Department building?

If I knew that a parking space would be more readily available for me if I owned an American car, you can be sure that I would have bought a Mustang rather than a British Tri-

umph on my return to Washington.

Perhaps the Department can limit or ban the parking of foreign automobiles on Department facilities and help our balance of payments problem even more than heretofore.

DAVID A. HUGHES

Washington

See Entry 'Consecrate' Definition 2 in Webster's New World Dictionary

As a "member of the Club," I was quite pleased to find that the March issue of FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL contained several interesting articles on Junior Foreign Service officers and their problems.

Permit me, however, to register protest at the snide (or naive?) statement concerning this issue which appeared on the postal cover, i.e. "This issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is consecrated to the Junior Foreign Service officer." The word *consecrate* has a solemn and hallowed meaning, as opposed to *dedicate* and *devote*, both of which possess much broader connotations. The word *consecrate* was clearly undesirable in the context in which it was used.

The fact that this objectionable usage circulated openly through the United States mails, not inconceivably offending individuals of sensitive religious feeling, is to be regretted . . . coming as it does from a journal claiming to be "the most widely-quoted, influential magazine of its size and context."

I mean this letter in no way to detract from the excellence of the articles in the March issue.

Washington

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