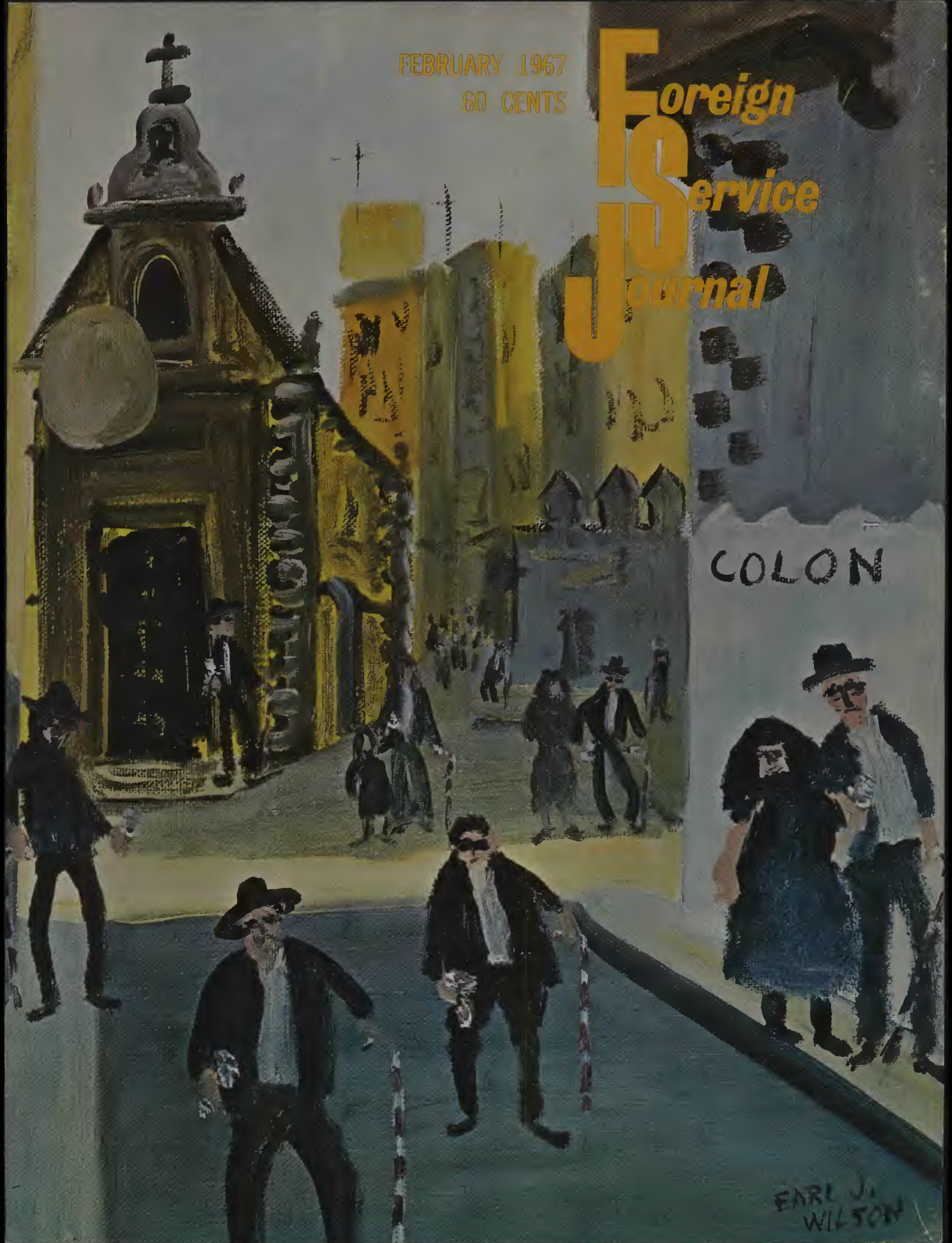


FEBRUARY 1967
60 CENTS

Foreign Service Journal

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The Foreign Service JOURNAL is the professional journal of the American Foreign Service and is published by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit private organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and is not intended to indicate the official views of the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development or the Foreign Service as a whole.

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25 Year Tributes to VOA

From the President:

Created in the early, dark days of the Second World War, the Voice of America dedicated itself to the propagation of truth.

Twenty-five years have passed, during which time the VOA has never swerved from the course of truth, to which fact its devoted audience—multiplied many times over since 1942—is tribute.

The miracles of modern mass media of communication have at last made it possible to create and nurture mutual understanding among the peoples of this planet, a prerequisite to the universal peace, freedom, and progress desired by all mankind. Radio is and will long remain one of the most easily accessible and therefore most important of the media.

And it follows that the role of the United States Information Agency and, specifically, Voice of America—echoing in its broadcasts the devotion of our forefathers 190 years ago to "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind"—will long contribute significantly to this country's furtherance of better relations among the nations of the earth.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

From the Secretary of State:

In today's world, international relations are no longer exclusively relations among governments; they have, on the contrary, increasingly become relations among people as individuals and in voluntary associations. These relations include not only the great international communities of science and the arts, scholarship, the exchange of students and teachers, the distribution of newspapers and books but also the continuing refinement of the techniques of international communications and broadcasting.

Our generation has seen an almost miraculous technological development in communications. During this time, the Voice of America has kept its word to the world. I am glad to commend it on the celebration of its 25th year.

DEAN RUSK

From the Director of USIA:

In February 1967 the Voice of America will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary and mark a quarter of a century of service to overseas audiences. Millions of people throughout the world listen each day to the Voice of America transmissions in thirty-eight languages and rely on it as a link with the United States of America.

Although all people share common interests, differences in language tend to divide mankind. The VOA is dedicated to the task of creating an awareness of the mutual interests, shared aims and aspirations and common goals of all peoples with the USA. By transmitting news and views from America, by broadcasting music, cultural programs and features on American life, the VOA is an emissary of good will.

I am proud of the achievements of the Voice of America and salute its staff on this significant anniversary. We all hope that the Voice will continue its effective contribution to the cause of broader understanding and better communications between America and people throughout the world.

LEONARD H. MARKS

Marriages

BEACH-BREHER. Sandra Beach, daughter of FSO-retired and Mrs. Arthur E. Beach, was married to Harry Alvah Breher, on November 19, in Washington. Mrs. Breher is with the Executive Secretariat, Department of State.

LAISE-BUNKER. Carol C. Laise, Ambassador to Nepal, was married to Ambassador at Large Ellsworth Bunker, on January 3, in Katmandu.

STIBBE-JOHNSON. FSO Geraldine B. Stibbe was married to FSO Valdemar N. L. Johnson, on November 26, in West Palm Beach, Florida. Mrs. Johnson is Economic Officer at Reykjavik. Mr. Johnson is Senior Fellow at the University of Minnesota.

Deaths

ALGER. Frederick M. Alger, Jr., former Ambassador to Belgium, died on January 5, at Grosse Pointe, Michigan. Mr. Alger served as Ambassador to Belgium from 1952-56.

HERTER. Christian A. Herter, former Secretary of State, died on December 30, in Washington. Secretary Herter's career of service to the nation spanned two world wars, beginning in 1916 as attaché at Berlin and ending with his service as chief trade negotiator. He served as Under Secretary of State during the Eisenhower administration and then as Secretary after the death of John Foster Dulles.

HORNBECK. Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, former Ambassador to the Netherlands, died on December 10, in Washington. Dr. Hornbeck entered the Department of State in 1921, served as chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs from 1928 to 1937, and was appointed Ambassador to the Netherlands in 1944. He retired in 1947.

HOUCK. Benjamin Houck, FSO, died on December 23 in Park Fairfax, Virginia. Mr. Houck entered the Department of State in 1945 and served at Habana, Mexico City and Nassau. His last assignment was as chief of the documents branch, Visa Office.

THAYER. Philip W. Thayer, dean of the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, died on December 18, in Washington. Dean Thayer served with the State Department in Chile, Germany and Austria, during and after World War II.

WARREN. Mary G. Warren, wife of George L. Warren, Sr., refugee affairs adviser, Department of State, and mother of FSO George L. Warren, Jr., died on December 16, in Washington.

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

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

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

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

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President's Correspondence

The Foreign Service Association's concern for the practical problems confronting its members is shown in this exchange of letters between John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and Ambassador Douglas MacArthur, II, President of the American Foreign Service Association.

Honorable Douglas MacArthur, 2nd
President, Foreign Service Association
815 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

In accordance with the provisions of Executive Order 11073, I am enclosing materials relevant to the comparison of Federal salary schedules with private enterprise levels as shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1966 salary survey. The materials consist of:

—The Bureau of Labor Statistics survey report (Bulletin No. 1535)

—Comparison of 1966 Private Enterprise Salary Rates with the General Schedule Rates.

The Director of the Bureau of the Budget and I would like your comments on this comparison. I shall appreciate it if you will advise us of your views by December 12, 1966.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN W. MACY, JR.
Chairman

*The Honorable
John W. Macy, Jr.,
Chairman, Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C. 20415
Dear Mr. Chairman:*

The Board of the Foreign Service Association and I have reviewed with great interest the Bureau of Labor Statistics survey report (Bulletin No. 1535) and the Comparison of 1966 Private Enterprise Salary Rates with the General Schedule Rates enclosed in your recent letter to me.

We appreciate very much the opportunity to comment on the current comparison of the Federal Salary Schedule with private enterprise levels as shown by the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1966 salary survey.

With the passage of the Federal Salary Reform Act of 1962 (P. L. 87-783), the issuance by President Kennedy of Executive Order No. 11073 on January 2, 1963, and the passage of the Executive Salary Schedule on August 14, 1964, the principle was clearly established that efforts would be made to effect, and maintain upon the basis of annual review, comparability of Federal salary rates with those of private enterprise. That this principle has not been maintained is pointed up sharply by the current comparability payline figures and by previous annual comparison tables transmitted with your letter.

While it is a matter of concern that throughout the Federal Government pay rates do not match or even approach comparable private enterprise rates, the Association is deeply and understandably concerned with the contrast between 1966 private enterprise rates and Foreign Service rates for both Officer and Staff personnel. For example, the top FSO/FSR-1 rate is now 22.7 percent (\$5,870) below the comparable rate; the FSO/FSR-4 and FSR-2 rate is 14.2 percent (\$2,744) below and the FSO/FSR-8 and FSR-7 rate is 6.6 percent (\$465) below comparable rates.



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Date Member's Signature

The Foreign Service Association urges most earnestly that the Civil Service Commission, the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress make every possible effort during the next session of Congress to take steps to comply with the principles of the Pay Reform Act of 1962 and of the Executive Salary Schedule. Needless to say, I stand ready to assist in this effort in all possible ways and to this end would appreciate being kept informed of steps that are contemplated to redress what is an obvious and very serious inequity.

Sincerely,
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, II
President

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FOR FEBRUARY

Earl J. Wilson, PAO, Madrid, cover, "Blind Lottery Sellers, Canary Islands."

Voice of America, photographs, pages 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26 and 27, and graphs, page 21.

Albert E. Carter, Department of State, photograph, page 32.

S. I. Nadler, USIA, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 35. Photograph from Fox Film "Caravan," starring Charles Boyer and Loretta Young.

John Rowland, linoleum block print, "The Thirteenth Dalai Lama," page 37.

THE REAL RULES OF THE ROAD

by the Motoring Editor

The way to survive in traffic is never to do the unexpected. When in Rome (Cairo) do as . . . etc. In this spirit the following basic rules of the road are suggested:

1. Vehicle in the curb lane has the right of way at all times and is entitled to swing around anything in its way, even if this means blocking opposing traffic. (On the other hand, vehicles in the center lane also sometimes consider they have equal privileges.)

2. Horns may be used for prestige or amusement purposes. Their frequent use is mandatory after midnight in residential areas.

3. He who stops before entering a main street to look for oncoming traffic will be rammed from behind.

4. Sidewalks are for vendors, street cafes and parking. Pedestrians should walk on the street, preferably zigzagging down the center.

5. Headlamps are never to be used except for flashing at opposing motorists: their use for illumination is prohibited.

6. Buses and military vehicles must travel abreast to occupy all lanes. Buses must take on passengers while in the center lane.

7. Railroad crossing gates will be opened for five minutes in each hour except after 10 p.m.

8. In case of breakdown try to park in the middle of the road or bridge. If at night turn off all the lights lest oncoming vehicles be blinded.

9. If traffic light turns red blow your horn at the policeman and see if you have enough prestige to get it changed.

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25 YEARS AGO

FEBRUARY 1942

IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Shopkeeping

H. Stewart Beers prepared a memorandum about traveling as a courier in Germany early in 1941. He had been assigned the six-day run Hamburg-Bremen-Cologne-Frankfurt-Stuttgart-Munich-Vienna. Rail passenger service had been curtailed 80 percent. The German invasion of Yugoslavia was imminent. He often had to stand for hours in train corridors beside his pouches or sit up all night watching them. When troops were moving, trains were late. Once he was on a station platform at 10:35 p.m. with five pouches for Vienna. The loud speaker proclaimed "Zug nach Wien 360 Minuten verspätung." In biting cold he had to wait on the platform until 4:30 a.m. and watch every change on the boards to learn what track the train was coming in on. Heavy night raids in the Ruhr and Rhineland obliged him to take his pouches to air raid shelters and go without dinner. Taxis were scarce. One night he pulled into Stuttgart with an especially heavy pouch and had to borrow a hand truck and push it six blocks through two feet of unshoveled snow, then make the train for Munich early next morning. At the time he was 55 years old.

Holding the fort

When diplomatic missions followed Russian officials to Kuibyshev under necessities imposed by the German waves

breaking on the suburbs of Moscow late in October 1941, five American officials stayed behind. Left in charge of the Embassy in Moscow was Llewellyn E. Thompson. With him were G. Frederick Reinhardt, Harold N. Waddell, John F. Morgan, and John Leino. Among other chores they kept a custodial eye on seven British Embassy properties. The Department authorized closing shop but the five Americans did not find it necessary to leave.

Walter Thurston was Chargé in Kuibyshev after Ambassador Reinhardt left. The staff there was somewhat cut off, too. The only practicable way to leave was by plane to Tehran. Between November 12 and January 26 only two planes with space for Americans took off. Air mail from the United States which had arrived in Cairo November 21 did not reach Kuibyshev until December 24. Radio reception was spotty. The radio operator managed to transcribe only five radio bulletins between January 1 and January 26.

Paul Knabenshue

A press release of the Department on February 2, 1942, regretted the death of the Honorable Paul Knabenshue, American Minister Resident in Baghdad, pointing out that he had served in the Near East for 30 years and become a leading expert on the area. The Department recalled his courage and coolness during May 1941 when nearly 200 Americans and other nationals, including many British subjects, were besieged in the Legation for a month as British troops approached to remove from power Rashid Ali, who had been working with the Germans.

Latin American issue of Journal

Prompted by favorable results of conferences leading up to and including the Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, Habana, July 1940, the



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editors of the JOURNAL arranged to devote the February 1942 issue to Latin America.

Edward L. Freers wrote one of the articles. It was about Trinidad, then crowded with American soldiers, sailors and engineers. Claude Hall was in charge of the Consulate. Freers was the answer to his pleas for assistance. After a friendly week in the Hall's home, Mr. and Mrs. Freers managed to find one room in a boarding house but shortly the landlady said they must vacate to permit conversion into a flat. Elaine Freers finally had to fly to Barbados for a place to live and Edward shared bachelor quarters with Vice Consul Gene Smith. Setting the pattern repeated in so many other places later, the American forces provided facilities that included commissaries, two well-equipped hospitals, and two movie theatres. Under Mrs. Hall's direction, a group of American women met twice a week and worked on articles for the British Red Cross.

Another article was contributed by the American Women's National Tennis Champion, Sarah Palfrey Cooke, who had toured Latin America with an American team. The cordial receptions showed they had promoted good will effectively. At many stops they conducted tennis clinics, or group teaching, for young and old.

Kenneth McKim, Assistant Vice President of AT&T, described how fairly recently established communications had linked areas disjointed by natural barriers. Telephone services across frontiers began in South America in 1929 with the laying of cables under the River Plate and the snows of the Andes to connect Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. In 1930 short-wave radio stations in Buenos Aires permitted telephone conversations with Europe and the United States and, by relays with Asia, Africa and Australia. By the end of a decade a network connected all but one of the republics and provided alternative routes in case of emergencies. Countries

north of the Panama Canal were reached from South America by relaying through New York.

Writing of Chile, Charles F. Knox, Jr. cited examples of "Don Otto" humor. One story had a bar friend telling Don Otto of a rumor of a faithless friend which sent him rushing home to find his wife in another's arms. Five minutes later he returns calmly to the saloon. "Did you catch him, Don Otto? That snake of a friend. . .?" "Don't vurry, chentlemens," says Don Otto, "Wrong you were. Dot man with my wife is no friend of mine. I never saw him before."

Foreign Service Changes

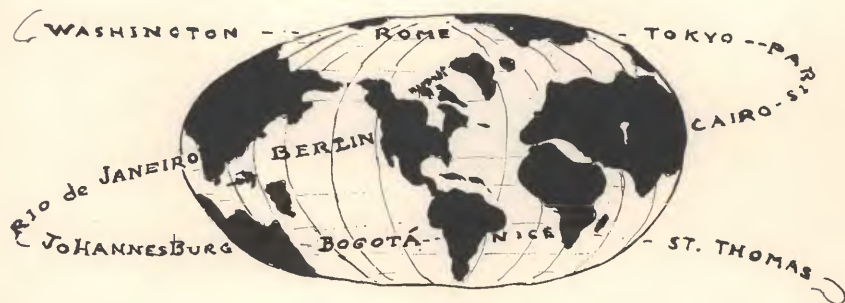
Search has not unfolded the story of John B. Ketcham in Sumatra but memory serves to recall that just before the Japanese forces arrived he had to take to the jungle. The Consulate General in Batavia reported that he had closed the Consulate in Medan at 4 p.m. on February 16, 1942 and that there was no means of transportation from North Sumatra in sight. Somehow Ketcham hid out and ultimately found some people who took him to India in a small boat. In March he was assigned to Madras.

The Consulate at Surabaya was closed February 22. Thomas S. Horn and Courtland Christiani sailed for Australia. Consul General William A. Foote, Clayton Aldridge, and Paul Paddock closed shop in Batavia February 27 and headed for Tjilatjap on the South coast, the chief port for last-minute exits.

On February 26 the Department announced that all American officials in Singapore and Rangoon had withdrawn to safe points. From Rangoon, Lester L. Schnare and Martin J. Hillenbrand accompanied the Burmese Government northward while Robert B. Streeper headed for duty in Chungking by way of the Burma Road. The Japanese occupied Singapore February 15, Batavia March 5, and Rangoon March 9.

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AND FORTY YEARS AGO

For the February 1927 *JOURNAL*, Erle Dickover described golf courses he had time to try on home leave from Kobe. One was the square plot of palm trees in Singapore that many officers will recall—

It is probably the strangest course in the world, being laid out in a thick plantation of coconut palms. The fairways run between ranks of tall palms, and a slight slice or pull means that the ball will hit the trunk of a palm and bounce back behind the tee, or will bound off at an angle and go bouncing from palm to palm, until it finally comes to rest in some totally unexpected and inconvenient spot. ■

WITH OUR CONTRIBUTORS

EDWIN M. J. KRETZMANN, who served as chairman of the *JOURNAL* Editorial Board in 1963-64, retired from the Department of State in January of 1965. Since then he has been engaged in running a Science Seminar for FSI, in lecturing on foreign policy subjects for the executive seminar of the Civil Service Commission and at various universities and other public forums. He is now employed full time by Roy Blumenthal International Associates, Inc., in charge of European accounts.

JOHN CHANCELLOR is a veteran correspondent of the National Broadcasting Company. Before joining NBC, he was on the staff of the Chicago *SUN TIMES*. He became the Director of the Voice of America on September 1, 1965.

The cover artist for February, EARL WILSON, PAO, American Embassy, Madrid, held a one-man show at the Kreisler Gallery there last fall. It was billed as "Impressions of Spain—Happy Primitives." The latter term came from a Mexican art critic when Mr. Wilson held his first one-man show in Mexico City in 1958.

GEORGE G. WYNNE is no stranger to the *JOURNAL*'s columns, having contributed the Missing Obelisk article to the November, 1965 issue. Mr. Wynne's February article is a condensation of a chapter from his book, "Early Americans in Rome," which was published in November in both English and Italian editions. Mr. Wynne is now serving in Saigon on the Planning Staff of JUSPAO. His family has remained in Rome where he hopes to return to pursue his archeological and historical bent.

ROBERT W. PIRSEIN, Instructional Television Coordinator for the New Trier Township, Illinois, is completing his Ph.D. at Northwestern in Radio and Television. Mr. Pirsein's dissertation is the first comprehensive account of the International Broadcasting Service.

JOHN ROWLAND has devoted nearly two decades to Middle East and South Asian affairs. His interest in Tibet was first stimulated in 1956 when he met the Fourteenth Dalai Lama while the latter was presiding over the Buddha Jyanti ceremonies in New Delhi. Mr. Rowland is author of a newly published book, "A History of Sino-Indian Relations: Hostile Coexistence" (Van Nostrand).

PHILIP W. BONSAI, who retired from the Foreign Service in March of 1965, was Ambassador in Colombia, Bolivia, Cuba and Morocco. He also served in the Western European area and had a Departmental assignment concerned with Southeast Asia. His service as Ambassador in Cuba coincided with the first two years of the Castro regime—1959 and 1960. His article entitled, "Cuba, Castro and the United States," appeared in the January, 1967 issue of *FOREIGN AFFAIRS*.

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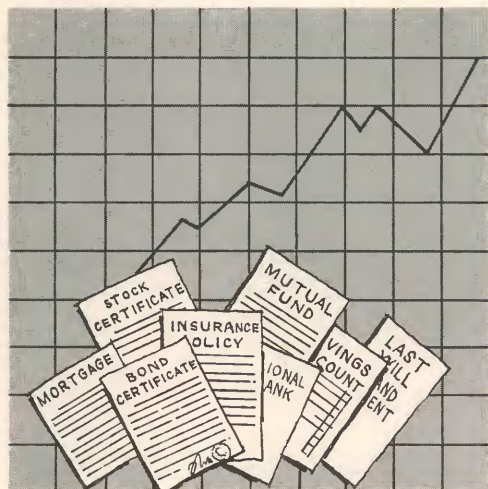
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FOCUS ON FINANCE



INVESTMENT ALTERNATIVES AND SOURCES OF ADVICE

BY JAY VAWTER AND JOHN MARSHALL

Investment Counselors, Loomis, Sayles & Company

IN the December column we emphasized the importance of formulating your investment objectives before embarking on a specific program of investing. Because there is a broad range of investment objectives and means of fulfilling these, it is important for you to determine where your own particular circumstances place you on the objective spectrum. Once you have done this you can then turn to the question of how to achieve your investment objectives.

Broad Spectrum of Investment Opportunities

Because the American public has become so stock market conscious in the past two decades, we often fail to realize that a well planned investment program has several alternatives to consider. The various investment vehicles may quickly be summarized as including proprietary investments, real estate, common stocks, preferred stocks, bonds and savings accounts. We do not plan to discuss in any detail the first two of these. Proprietary investment, owning one's own business, is both an investment and an occupation and thus not readily available to the average investor. Some persons holding full time jobs are able to operate a small business on the side, but this is exceptional. The success of such an investment will depend on one's knowledge of the business and the effort which he can devote to it.

Real estate is also a highly specialized type of investment and very much dependent upon the local conditions where the investment is made. Thus, advice may be hard to come by especially where you wish to diversify your investments geographically. Whereas advice can be readily obtained on securities over a broad range of geographical and industrial

areas from a single advisor, advice on real estate investment may be difficult to obtain at all and probably will have to come from a great many sources, each of which is familiar with only one particular locality. While we have all heard of the substantial fortunes made in the real estate field, the risks of this type of investment are high and difficult to analyze in advance. Thus, we will concentrate our discussion here on securities investments because these will be of interest to the greatest number of potential investors.

Portfolio Should Be Balanced

A well balanced securities portfolio should include both common stocks and fixed income securities. Common stocks represent a share of ownership in the company issuing the shares and as an owner you are entitled to share in the company's prosperity if it is successful and, by the same token, in its losses if it is unsuccessful. Over their history, stocks of successful companies have shown an excellent overall rate of return (dividends plus growth), a rate considerably higher than on fixed income securities such as bonds or preferred stocks.

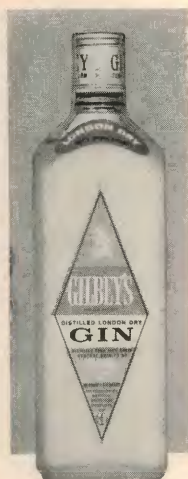
Bonds represent a loan to the issuing company and the bondholder is entitled only to a predetermined rate of return (interest) and to be paid back his capital investment at the end of a specified period of time (maturity). Preferred stocks fall somewhere in between these two categories, representing a form of ownership but, on the other hand, also carrying a fixed rate of return through a stated dividend. Preferred stocks are not especially suitable for individual investment programs because such an investment gives the investor no opportunity to share in the company's growth and the dividend need not be paid if the company is unable to do so. Interest on bonds must be paid or very serious problems can result for the issuing company. The purpose of bonds in a portfolio is to protect the investor against deflationary periods during which stock prices may fall whereas the bonds purchased, if carefully chosen, will still have an ultimate par value representing their face amount.

How to Invest—Need for Advice

There is a great variety of both common stocks and bonds available and the decision as to which of these many alternatives is most suited to your objectives is a difficult one. Stocks range from very conservative holdings whose primary function is to generate a high dividend return to speculative issues dependent more on current styles in the market than on sound investment fundamentals. Bonds, also, must meet certain quality standards and the nature of the bond instrument makes it a difficult security for the layman to analyze. Thus, it is very important that the individual investor seek out competent advice in the management of his investment portfolio. Such advice can be obtained from many sources including: (1) investment counselors; (2) banks and trust companies; (3) investment bankers and brokers who handle your buying and selling; and (4) market letters, which range from very good to outright tout sheets.

The most professional source of investment advice is Investment Counselors. Their only business is investment research and the application of that research to the management of their clients' portfolios. Thus, their sole source of income is from advice and they prosper only as their clients prosper. In a sense the clients of investment counsel firms cooperate in supporting an investment management organization for their own benefit. For example, a typical investment counsel firm employs a large, well staffed Research Department and commits substantial funds to investment research for its clients.

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The investment counselor provides not only unbiased advice, but also tailors the investment program to the personal objectives of each client. The modest fee paid by each investment counsel client buys the services, fitted to his own needs and goals, of a professional investment management group. Investment counsel service is available to those with capital of \$200,000 or more, although some firms will take only larger portfolios of \$500,000 or \$1,000,000 and up. However, many investment counsel firms are able to provide their high quality advice through Mutual Funds which they manage and which usually bear their own names. An attractive feature of these funds, discussed in more detail later, is that no sales commission is charged.

Another source of investment advice which can be acquired for a fee is the Investment and Trust Departments of commercial banks. This advice is an outgrowth of the large trust business conducted by banks and as a result is usually conservatively oriented. Many of the larger major city banks maintain their own research staffs, while the smaller banks will acquire research information from outside sources, primarily research companies which specialize in providing this for banks, brokers, insurance companies, etc.

Many investors utilize an investment broker for advice on securities, relying on his judgment as to which individual items to purchase. Most brokers make no charge for this service and are pleased to render it for the brokerage commissions which they receive when transactions are carried out. Thus we might say that the broker's primary function is the handling of security transactions but he is available to lend advice when asked by a customer to do so. If you plan to use a broker's advice, it is important to select your broker carefully.

Market letters are another source of investment advice and are relatively inexpensive. However, no personal contact is possible with the investor and all he receives is a collection of

ideas, the final decision resting upon his own shoulders. Furthermore, many of these letters lack a follow up so that a stock once bought often will not be sold when there have been fundamental changes in its outlook. Some market letters tend to be more "tout sheets" than carefully prepared investment letters.

For the investor with modest capital who wishes to invest on a periodic basis, such as monthly, there are two alternatives, Mutual Funds and the Monthly Investment Plan which is available through investment brokers. Under this plan the investor may invest an amount on a monthly or quarterly basis (minimum of \$40 per transaction) in any listed stock he chooses without regard to full share lots. Thus if he buys a \$60 stock with the \$40 minimum he would own two-thirds share until the next purchase.

The primary advantage of the Monthly Investment Plan is that the investor can make small purchases of stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange without having to be concerned with an even number of shares. However, there are serious drawbacks to this plan. First, the commissions are high, being 6 percent per transaction on amounts below \$100 and the regular Stock Exchange Commissions on amounts above \$100. Second, it is difficult to achieve any great diversification of your holdings with this plan except over a long period of time. While you could buy four different stocks a year, each on a quarterly basis, at the end of one year you would have only a small investment in each. Overall, the Monthly Investment Plan is not an especially attractive means of investment and lacks the basic advantages and convenience of mutual funds.

Mutual Funds

One of the most rapidly growing areas of investment is mutual funds. A subsequent column will discuss mutual funds

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in detail, but a few comments are appropriate here. The primary advantages of mutual funds are that they provide the investor with competent professional management of his investments and at the same time allow him to diversify his holdings among many attractive stocks and bonds rather than having to commit his limited resources to only a few and thus subject his capital to greater risk. Mutual funds can be found to meet almost any investment objective ranging from high income to very aggressive growth. There are literally hundreds of mutual funds, some with balanced portfolios, some with stocks only, some dealing with special industries such as insurance, electronics or chemicals and others concentrating on fixed income obligations such as corporate bonds or tax-exempt bonds. Also, some funds specialize in investments abroad.

All Mutual Funds charge a modest management fee which usually starts at one half of 1 percent of the market value. However, most funds also make a substantial charge when you first acquire the shares in the form of a sales commission which is called a "load." This commission may range as high as 8½ percent of your investment, the exact amount depending on the Fund you are dealing with and the amount of your investment. Thus, your initial investment must show an appreciation of as much as 8½ percent just to get back the commission and put you in the position of starting out even. However, there is a growing interest in a group of mutual funds which have no such sales load and are referred to as "no-load funds." Shares are acquired directly from the fund with no salesmen involved and thus no need for a sales commission. There are two real advantages to the no-load funds. First of course, all of the capital invested belongs to the investor and none is paid to a salesman. Second, almost all no-load funds are managed by investment counsel organizations and thus the management is investment-oriented rather than sales-oriented.

Thus, through the use of no-load mutual funds, the investor with modest capital can obtain high quality investment management of his funds and at the same time by pooling his resources with thousands of other investors, obtain a broadly diversified portfolio to meet his own individual objectives.

Our next column, in the April issue, will deal more fully with Mutual Funds and how they can help the investor achieve his investment objectives. ■

THE CHILDREN OF ABERFAN

They come to me at night
In the long socks and the jersey Gran knitted,
Bed-warm from the morning houses.

Their voices come
Double-tongued, the singing Welsh voice in the choir treble
The Druid speech.

They hurry by:
The strong one, the problem one, the teacher's joy
The flyaway jostling the stocky miner,
The next poet.

The Pied Piper's children,
To the cavern under the hill.

They come to me
Like the mist that drifts in the English winter,
Like a lifetime of small things lost,
Like the sadness of piled leaves after rain,
In the season of red-apple cheeks.
They come to me at night
Like my own child.

—MARY TILSITT



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THERE is a peculiar kind of ramshackle excellence about the Voice of America. I came to work there with the standard conceptions and misconceptions of an outsider. I knew something about its programs, from several years of overseas listening. I knew only a little about its history. I knew nothing about its organization. I did think of it as a calm and dignified group of broadcasters. I thought it was an important enterprise.

To my surprise, I found that I had misjudged the spirit—indeed the clamor—that exists inside the Voice. It was like walking into a stately building to find the residents holding up the walls with broomsticks while carrying on a terrific argument. There is a fine, antic sense of madness about the place, and, after a year and a half of taking my turn at the broomstick, I view the Voice and its employees with a feeling of pride and affection.

The headquarters of the Voice, and part of its polyglot population, are squeezed into crowded quarters in the Health, Education and Welfare Building in Washington. A colorful Babel

surrounded by the orthodoxies of HEW, the Voice is a little United Nations where the halls echo with a splendid mixture of Polish, Hindi, Burmese, Swahili, Mandarin, Arabic, Portuguese, to name just a few of the 38 languages broadcast daily by the Voice.

In addition to this catalogue of tongues, it is important to note the extraordinary diversity of talent and background brought to the Voice by its broadcasters. There are scholars, politicians, journalists, wanderers and proud exiles. They are, to a remarkable degree, people of spirit and intelligence, whose passion is to represent the United States in the best possible manner.

This corps of specialists is supervised and assisted by officers in the Foreign Service, drawn from the USIA and, occasionally, from the Department of State. They come and go, following the rhythms of their craft. They supply the VOA with a constant infusion of new talent, fresh ideas, and the vital area experience which keeps the broadcasts up to date, linguistically, politically and culturally. They are

men who generally have just returned from posts overseas where they were able to observe for themselves the effects of the broadcasts which originate in the studios on the second floor of the HEW Building.

There is something magic about these studios, something that leads one to a deeper understanding of the basic significance of the Voice of America. Every day, almost every hour, from the second floor at 330 Independence Avenue, S.W., there exists a link to someone in another country. When the Russian service goes on the air late every morning, radios are switched on throughout wide parts of the Soviet Union. And that broadcaster sitting in front of a VOA microphone is suddenly speaking into the ears of people in dachas, barracks, farmhouses, offices, and apartments. The United States is on the air. The broadcasters at the Voice understand this magic link, because the reality they perceive is the reality of the listener. For the VOA Russian broadcasters, it is no longer noon on a bright sunny day near the Capitol in Washington, but early evening in Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev. They realize the basic fact which makes the VOA important: that the studios in Washington are really foreign posts. They understand that micro-seconds after they speak, what they say is communicated to people in bedrooms, living rooms, tents, cars, caravans, as they enter the

Teletype room—operator reviewing copy to give Newsroom Editor Corinne Conde.



JOHN CHANCELLOR

The Intimate “Voice”

world of the listener. The official corridors of Washington fade, and the broadcasters are with the listeners.

It is essential that this connection be understood, for without this knowledge, no understanding is possible of what I unashamedly call the magic of the Voice. Moreover, unless it is understood by the broadcasters at the

Voice, the programs will not achieve their full potential.

Among the instruments of persuasion and communication at the USIA, the Voice alone is able to reach citizens of another country, without any display on their part of public commitment. The Voice carries a signal from this country to people elsewhere through channels of total privacy. To hear the Voice, it is not necessary to visit a library, see a film, talk to an American, borrow a book or attend an exhibition. All that is required is a radio and the desire to turn a switch and a dial.

That this has great political value in closed societies goes without saying. We all know that the Voice uniquely can bypass machinery of censorship and control. Jamming of radio signals can complicate this process, but jamming is an imperfect defense. Very few countries jam the Voice of America today; the Chinese Communists do, but their Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, recently told a visitor that he gets his information about the United States from American newspapers—and the Voice of America. We hope he continues to listen.

But, even in countries where there is ample access to information about the United States, the Voice has a special communications role. Radio is more than a means of crossing closed borders: it is just about the easiest means of communication. For busy people in open societies, radio remains the quickest, simplest method of keeping informed. Again, all that is required is a radio set and the desire to turn it on. Studies have shown that Americans now tend to go to their television sets in a "need-to-know" period. Elsewhere in the world, when people want information, they go to their radios. It is therefore extremely important that the Voice of America have a place in that spectrum of information offered by the radio dial. It seems to me that this applies almost equally to friendly and unfriendly countries.

Therefore, the Voice has a responsibility to get its signals to audiences everywhere. Its construction program, now underway, will provide that signal strength, by the end of the decade, to all the important parts of the planet. When the new transmitting plants now under construction go on the air, the VOA will be able to deliver a competitively strong signal to any desired audience. The Congress has been steadfast in its support of these projects.

As things stand today, the Voice is an outstandingly powerful broadcaster. Hundreds of technicians and engineers man a stunning array of trans-

mitters in this country and throughout the world. I have seen them at Hué, in South Vietnam, wearing sidearms: the Viet Cong have attacked in the past. I read the reports of their monitors, and listen to recordings of our programs made in shabby hotel rooms in the Orient, or made on boats off hostile islands. They are at work now in the rains and mud of Asia and under the blue skies of the Eastern Mediterranean, building more transmitters. They have risked their lives in a Florida hurricane to keep the programs on the air. And I have seen them calculate, using their arcane knowledge, the method by which a signal travels across the Atlantic, down across Europe, the Middle East and South Asia to find its way out of a radio speaker in Djakarta.

The VOA engineers supervise and operate an assembly of transmitting and receiving equipment that uses more electricity than all the radio stations in the United States. It is a giant enterprise today, and it is growing more powerful. The tubes in the transmitters at Greenville, North Carolina, are so big and so hot that they must be cooled with live steam. The VOA, in its size and power, is gigantic and awesome.

Power is necessary, but there is another factor at the VOA which is at least as important. That is the ac-

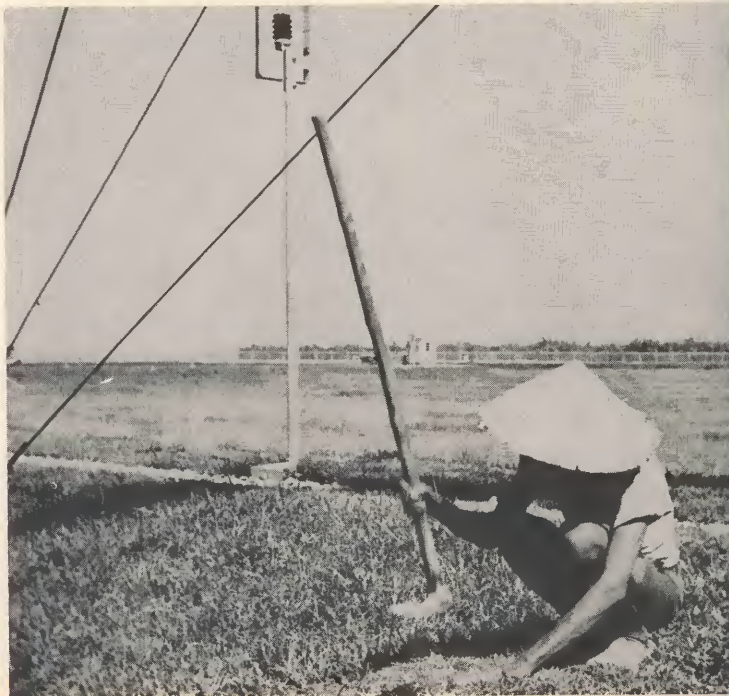
knowledge of the smallness, indeed the intimacy, of radio broadcasting. Of all the means of mass communication, radio is perhaps the most intimate. The VOA, for all its surging power and soaring signals, exists mainly to put *one* American in touch with *one* member of a foreign society.

It is fair to say that everything at the VOA depends on the recognition of this principle of intimacy. One American: one foreigner. When I lived in Europe, I listened to the Voice each day while shaving, and there were only two of us involved, the broadcaster in Washington and me standing in my bathroom, early in the morning.

To be sure, people listen to the Voice in cafés and markets, and young Russians play tape recordings of "Music U.S.A." at dances. But the overwhelming amount of the broadcasting which issues from the VOA involves only one or two people listening to any given radio.

Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that the broadcasters at the Voice shape their programs to conform to this standard of closeness, this few inches from the lips of the announcer to the ear of the listener. This involves the attitude of the broadcasters as much as specific programing techniques. It is no longer possible to speak to a radio "audience" from a

VOA transmitter in Hué rose out of rice fields in the summer of 1964.



stage. It is imperative to talk *with* a listener, and fatal to talk *at* a listener.

Further, it is impossible in these circumstances to speak in hyperbolic language. Shouting won't work. Recognition of the principle of intimacy demands that broadcasts be rational, sensible, credible, and honest. This need not diminish the effectiveness of persuasion; on the contrary, a more relaxed and reasonable attitude can be far more persuasive than a cold and detached argument.

This places particular burdens of skill on the broadcasters at the VOA. They represent, after all, an overwhelmingly powerful nation deeply involved in the affairs of the world. There are some hard things that must be said by the Voice; complex arguments which must be forcefully presented; and the actions of a great power persuasively explained. But at all times, a sense of human kinship must be maintained between the broadcaster and his audience. The simple reading of communiqués and speeches will not sustain the relationship. That is why the Voice, to be fully effective, must appear as a trustee of the audience, speaking from a broader base than the official chronicle of government statements. That it does so now is a tribute to the good sense of the American government.

And while working constantly to represent the United States in a persuasive manner, the Voice has a special responsibility in its newscasts. It must adhere constantly to the highest standards of the craft of broadcast



The Voice of America's master control console is the largest and most flexible in the world. It was especially designed and built for the Voice facilities in Washington.

journalism, and it is my pride, based on the work of the writers and editors at VOA news, that it does in fact maintain these high standards. But, why? Why tell the news "warts and all"? There are a number of reasons.

One is the basic reason that the Voice exists in the real world of the listener. The newscasts of the Voice are only one of a thousand means of getting information about the Ameri-

can society. There flows from the United States to the world each day a torrent of information about our society. Unless the VOA deals with the information fully and frankly, the audience has a right to question its value as a basic world news service. But if the standards of integrity of VOA newscasts are acknowledged by the audience, then the truth in those newscasts can be a powerful counterforce against the slander and the misinformation and the slanted reporting about our country which does exist in many parts of the world.

Another reason for producing truly accurate and comprehensive newscasts involves the compact every broadcaster seeks to make with the members of his audience. We ask listeners to give us their attention and respect when we explain, through VOA analyses, the position of the United States in world affairs. We must equally have respect and attention for the audience when we give the news. To believe the news makes it possible to believe the commentary. Both are truthful, but one is dependent upon the truth of the other.

Finally, there is the fact that the VOA represents an open society based on the principles of free information. In the final analysis, the Voice is as good as the society it represents; and the shaping or limiting of newscasts contradicts the basic standards of the American society. Truth, as Leonard Marks says, is our best propaganda.

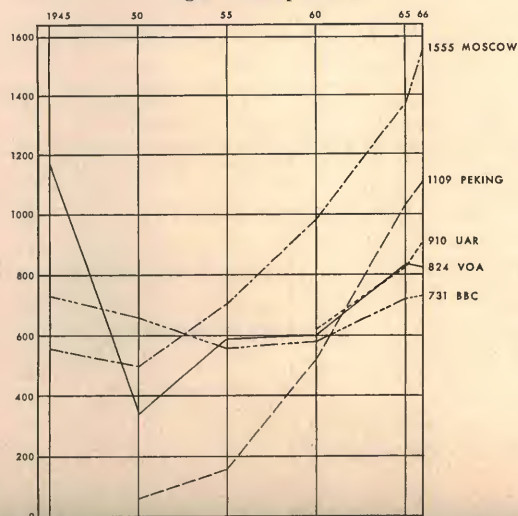
To put it another way, in the world of international broadcasting, credibil-

GROWTH AND COMPETITION IN INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

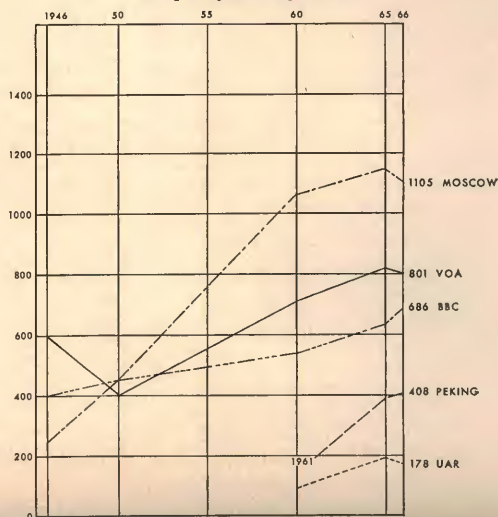
Contrary to popular opinion, short-wave broadcasting is not becoming obsolete, but, as the graphs indicate, it is continuing to expand. The world total of international broadcasting increased from 6,580 hours per week in 1950 to 24,300 hours per week in Dec. 1966. The graph on program hours refers

to the amount of programming the broadcaster does each week. The frequency-hours graph shows how many transmitters are carrying the programs every day, and gives an indication of how strong the signal is and over how large an area the signal can be heard.

Program Hours per Week



Frequency Hours per Day



ity is connected with basic attitudes toward the broadcaster's own society. I have long believed that the credibility of the BBC, which is rated high in many parts of the world, is in a direct manner connected to the listener's perception of the British character. If we accept this connection, then it becomes easier to be an American broadcaster than—say—an Albanian broadcaster. To be believed, we must seek constantly techniques of bringing American signals into other cultures, and in other languages.

Which leads us into an examination of the quality of our programming at the VOA, an examination that looks into the "sound" of the overall broadcasts. We recognize that we face some great cultural challenges: that the diversity of our audiences means that every language service is a specific problem. But if the VOA is to survive in a world of increasing competition for the time and the ear of the listener, it must continually examine the quality of its broadcasts, and test their effectiveness as representations of American culture.

In the autumn of 1966, the VOA's World Wide English Service introduced the first examples of a new "sound." A number of old programs were abandoned, and their functions woven into two-hour-long blocks of broadcasts, which we choose to call a "service" instead of "programs." It is hoped that in the future, the English-

language output of the Voice will be one continuous flow of programing elements, built around regularly-scheduled newscasts, which in their spirit, tempo and innate interest, will reflect the spirit and the tempo and the excellences of American life.

There is a less theoretical reason for this, as well. Older patterns of listenership are breaking up in the world: audiences are less willing to meet broadcasters at particular points in time each day, to hear a particular program on one subject. The new "service" in VOA English is designed to give the listener more flexibility in choosing when he wants his little slice of America through the air.

In other languages at the VOA, notably Russian and Spanish, the new forms—in one way or another—have been on the air for several years. The Russian service is a shining example of first-rate international broadcasting, and is certainly the best in its language in the world today.

I have observed an understandable tendency for Americans to judge the Voice on the basis of its English-language programs. But English is only one of our 38 languages, and there are outstanding success stories in nearly all of them. That they are working to revise and improve their standards of quality, that they are telling the truth, that they are seeking to be more persuasive, should come as no surprise. They have been doing it,

in good times and bad, for almost 25 years. This February the VOA will celebrate its silver anniversary.

It is my belief that this fascinating collection of people, this amazingly diverse community of broadcasters, with all their successes and their faults, with their spirited idiosyncracies, will see to it that their country is well served for at least another 25 years. By which time we'll be worrying about the problems of the Martian Service. ■

... And they write to the Voice from Japan:

I'm a Japanese aircraft engineer aged 24, who make it a rule to listen to the Report to Asia. As I'm not so good at English, the slow speed reading of the news are very helpful in understanding. What is most interesting to me is that I can catch the lively voices of the very persons in the news, such as President Johnson, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, etc.

Everytime I switch on the dial, I feel as if I were going to jump into another large world. The other day the Problems of Red China is focused in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which presented us many free opinions among the US citizens.

Whether the American commitment in the Vietnam War is right or not, I cannot tell, but the fact that the American Government allows its citizens to give free comments on the national problem seems to show us that there is still hope that someday and somehow the cruel war will come to an end.

from Lebanon:

Being a student at an official (public) school and unable to join a private school, I find that your program is the best way to learn English and is the best teacher . . .

from India:

It gives me immense pleasure to write this letter after years of listening to the Voice of America, Moscow and Peking radio stations. While Peking and Moscow radios are vehicles of Communist propaganda, there is a lot of objectivity in VOA's news reporting. While Peking radio wanted us to believe that land owners warmly welcome Mao's decision to expropriate their properties, the VOA many a time, reported on events like the Russian achievements in outer space very objectively and even admiringly. . . . After listening to a VOA report on an event there is a sense of satisfaction that you have heard both sides of it and there is little necessity to hear another station for "the other side of it."

VOA Correspondent John Hooley interviews Jordan Army schoolteacher assigned to the government elementary school for Bedouin children at Wadi Rum in Southern Jordan where location shots for "Lawrence of Arabia" were made.



An International Radio History... the VOA

THE International Broadcasting Service of the United States (the "VOA") is, in many ways, a highly intangible program. It deals with the minds of men. Its output is words—and words disappear the instant they are uttered.

In its short but lively history, the VOA has been maligned, praised, tolerated, and often misunderstood. Its story can readily be divided into a number of logical time eras based upon a continuity of events as well as major happenings.

This summary history attempts only to touch upon the high points of the Voice's story. The VOA's "parent body," policy of the US, pressures and pressure groups and facilities will be mentioned where required.

The Beginnings

The coming of World War I saw America's first effort devoted to international information. In 1917, President Woodrow Wilson appointed George Creel to head a Committee on Public Information. Creel's efforts began in April of that year and ended in March, 1919. Following this, no specialized Government Agency was left to continue the work of presenting the United States abroad.

By the late 30's the axis propaganda machine was effecting inroads throughout the world and international radio was one of the instruments used. The United States had no overseas program to cope with it. It soon was evident that the United States required a mechanism to make known to the world its intentions as well as solidify ties with others (at the outset, principally, with its Latin American neighbors).

Therefore, the United States set to organizing an information effort—radio being one part of this effort. In the initial stages mainly between 1938 and 1942 and then to a lesser degree between 1945 and 1952, many organizations were formed and reformed under different agencies of the government, with no clear-cut cause of action evolving. This was probably due to a lack of experience in the field of international communications and the lack of suitable facilities.

The Early "Information Agencies"

In May, 1938 in order to strengthen its ties with the American Republics, the US Government set up an Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and a Division of Cultural Cooperation in the Department of State.

On August 16, 1940, the office of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Affairs between the American Republics was established. Nelson A. Rockefeller was appointed as coordinator on July 30, 1941. Executive Order 8840 caused the office to be renamed the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

Another important "Agency" was The Coordinator of Information. This was set up under Col. William J. Donovan on July 11, 1941.

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs

The radio operations of the CIAA were carried on continuously from the first months of the office's existence until its information program was transferred to the Interim International Information Service in August, 1945. Technically, the term "Voice of America" was not applied to the radio broadcasts of the CIAA's office. However, the office did effect the first regularly scheduled international broadcasting activities of the United States. The CIAA directed all of its broadcasts to the Latin American countries.

When the CIAA entered the field in 1940 the radio situation in the Western Hemisphere was rather dim. Only 12 shortwave stations were broadcasting programs to the other American republics.

The CIAA entered into cooperative arrangements with these stations initiating programming on its own, leasing air time facilities as well as coordinating existing programming. A central office for editing and translating news items was formed. "Coordination Committees" in the field distributed information as well as placed programming. In effect, five methods were utilized for reaching radio audiences in the other American republics:

- 1) direct short wave broadcasts from the United States;
- 2) rebroadcasting of these programs by local stations on local frequencies;
- 3) commercial point-to-point delivery of special programs to local stations for rebroadcast;
- 4) distribution of transcription programs to local stations for their own use; and,
- 5) direct local production where facilities were available under the direction of the local "Coordination Committee."

The English, Spanish and Portuguese programs ranged from news and commentaries to dramatic shows, sports events, musical programs, and even serial dramas. Constant emphasis was placed on programs stressing the mutual friendship of the hemisphere countries and the values of democracy.

On November 1, 1942, following the formation of the OWI, the CIAA and the OWI signed leasing agreements with the licensees of the 14 existing short wave transmitters and literally took over the programming. This continued till June 20, 1946. Two-thirds of the time leased was allotted by agreement to OWI and one-third to CIAA. Payment for facilities was in the same proportion.



Emmanuel Jaja, personal assistant to the general manager of the Lagos DAILY TIMES and a former American Press Institute grantee, is interviewed by Elaine Weisskopf of VOA. Russell Schoch, Associate Director of the Institute, listens in.

The VOA in the Office of War Information

In late summer of 1941, President Roosevelt authorized Col. William Donovan to set up a small Foreign Information Service. This was subsequently headed by Robert C. Sherwood. The FIS supplied basic news scripts as well as foreign language broadcast translations to short wave station licensees. For a time the FIS also purchased foreign language scripts on a piece work basis from Shortwave Research Inc., an independent New York Organization subsidized by the US Government. The organization was founded to scout for foreign writers since Civil Service rules and regulations did not permit the employment of aliens. By March of 1942, the New York radio operators of FIS were divided into three divisions:

1. The Radio News and Features Division
This included operations of the newsrooms in New York, Washington and San Francisco.
2. The Radio Technical Division
This included the engineering operation of the Bronze Network (by which the FIS was linked via AT&T cable to existing short wave stations and production centers) and of all then existing facilities for radio broadcasting.
3. The Radio Production Division
This included the actual work of putting on radio programs of all kinds. This last division shortly became the Radio Program Bureau of the OWI.

Production of radio programs began in January, 1942 when the office of the Coordinator of Information produced its first broadcast for transmission in London over facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation. On February 24, 1942, the term "Voice of America" was applied to the programming with this message:

"... the Voice of America speaks. Today America has been at war for seventy-nine days. Daily, at this time, we shall speak to you about America and the war—the news may be good or bad—we shall tell you the truth..."

By April of 1942, the FIS was not only using multi-voice techniques in broadcasting the Voice but had also developed organized broadcast patterns. "Pattern A" consisted of a six hour period per day in the four major languages—English, German, French, and Italian. "Pattern B" carried Iberian, Scandinavian and Slavic languages; "Pattern C," other language programs.

Need for a centralized official "information agency" was becoming readily apparent. Therefore, by Executive Order 9182, the office of War Information was established (June 13, 1942). OWI was formed "in recognition of the right of the American people and all other peoples opposing the axis aggression to be truthfully informed..."

The OWI absorbed the Foreign Information Service. Sherwood's staff became the nucleus of the OWI's broadcasting division. Elmer Davis was appointed director of the OWI and Sherwood became head of the overseas Branch (where the Radio Program Bureau was located).

To say that the United States development of international broadcasting was rapid at the time is an understatement. In this limited space only a brief account can be noted.

When the United States entered the war there were thirteen short wave transmitters in operation by private companies in the continental United States—this compared to well over 100 for the axis powers. In short, the United States and her allies were losing the battle of the air waves not only to superior programming facilities but also to axis "jamming." Therefore, the need for increased facilities was obvious. 1942 saw a plan devised by the FCC, CIAA, and OWI to increase the number of US transmitters to 38. During 1942—44, this was accomplished with the Government building 19 facilities as well as assisting in various ways with the remainder.

In the Pacific, installations were established in Saipan,

Hawaii, and Manila. Australian transmitters were also used.

The radio arm of the OWI was located primarily in New York with San Francisco serving the Far East (most Japanese broadcasts were prepared in Denver). By 1945, the Radio Programs Bureau in the New York Office numbered over 500 persons. A little over 100 persons manned the radio operations of the CIAA.

Also by 1945, OWI was broadcasting over 1000 programs per week from New York alone. Fifteen minutes was the average length of these programs. Programming was in the following languages: *East Coast*: Albanian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Flemish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Yugoslav; *West Coast*: Amoy, Annamese, Burmese, Cantonese, Dutch, English, French, Japanese, Korean, Malayan, Mandarin, Standard Chinese, Thai, Philippine Languages (Bicolano, Cebuano, Hiligaymon—Visayan, Ibanag, Ilocano, Moro, Pangasinan, Pamargo, Samar-Leyte, and Tagalog). The office of the CIAA continued to broadcast in Spanish, Portuguese and English using about 1/3 of the available transmitter time.

1945 - 1952—VOA in the State Department

After the termination of hostilities there followed a rapid demobilization of men as well as wartime organizations—among them the OWI and CIAA. Two weeks after V-J Day, on August 31, 1945, President Truman transferred the overseas information function of the OWI and the office of the Inter-American Affairs to the Department of State as the Interim International Information Service (Executive Order 9608). Further orders were that the IIIS be liquidated by December 31, 1945.

The Voice of America faced a true crisis. Its budget was slashed, personnel was cut almost in half. From a war-time peak of over 118 program hours per week and 32 languages, the VOA was down to about 64 program hours per week in 24 languages.

Secretary of State James Byrnes and Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs William Benton came to the aid of the VOA. Benton, especially, made his voice heard before congressional committees and the country pleading that the United States had to tell the world what we were and in what we believe.

Eventually, under a departmental order of the Department of State, effective December 31, 1945, the IIIS was reorganized into the office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC). Within the OIC the official designation of the Voice would be IBD or International Broadcasting Division.

The next few years saw the VOA constantly fighting for its life every time congressional appropriation hearings were held. Neither the press nor the Congress was predisposed to it as a needed peace-time function. The Voice was also an activity strange to the State Department. In effect the Department inherited the Voice—the Voice was a step-child with no real home or legislation to make its program permanent. All types of ideas were considered even to forming an "International Broadcasting Foundation" which would house the Voice.

In 1946-47, the IBD aired 59 hours daily in 26 languages. Forty-two per cent of this total was produced by NBC and CBS under contract. The VOA produced most of the documentary and news and news analysis programming.

Then, in fiscal 1947 budget hearings, the House dropped all funds, in effect, for the VOA. Benton stated before the Senate Appropriations Committee—"if the House cut stands, I see no alternative but to eliminate our short wave broadcasting operation..." Again many voices rallied to Benton's aid—for example: the presidents of RCA and CBS and the Chairman of GE. Once again the VOA was saved!

By 1947, the VOA was operating 37 transmitters and

possessed relay stations in Algiers, Honolulu, Manila and Munich.

In the fall of 1947, following a reorganization due to budget cutting, the office of International Information and Cultural Affairs was changed to the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (OIE).

1948 saw rapid developments for the Voice.

1. The Soviet Union stepped up its attacks on the US and began "jamming" the VOA in late 1948.
2. Following a 1947 tour of 22 countries by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey and Representative Karl Mundt of South Dakota to investigate the US overseas information service, the Smith-Mundt Act was passed by Congress on January 19, 1948. Technically known as the US Information and Educational Exchange Act (P.L. 402) it was signed by the president on January 27th. This bill gave legal status to the VOA.
3. George V. Allen was confirmed by the Senate as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs on February 25, 1948. Allen immediately infused life into the information program.

The VOA became stronger and more persuasive. The year before, 70 per cent of all VOA broadcasting was in the hands of private radio networks so that less than 10 programing hours per day were produced by the VOA (vs. 23 hours for private broadcasters). Practically all of these broadcasts were returned to the VOA.

By the middle of 1949, the "cold war" was growing colder and the Soviets were jamming Russian language broadcasts up to 88 per cent of the time. In late 1949, Foy Kohler, career diplomat, became Director of the International Broadcasting Division while shortly thereafter Edward W. Barrett succeeded Allen.

On April 20th, President Truman called for a "Campaign of Truth" to answer the Soviets. VOA appropriations went up and a hard-hitting campaign was begun against the Soviet broadcasts. Language services were increased and as Barrett noted, "reports from competent authorities (specifically ambassadors) refer to the Voice of America as the 'most effective' single weapon the free world has behind the Iron Curtain..."

1950 also saw the formulation of the "Ring Plan" of transmitting facilities first conceived in the latter part of 1949. Developed by IBD engineers with advice and guidance of other qualified Governmental and industrial agencies, the "Ring Plan" provided for the establishment of high-powered short-wave facilities, linked in a network and situated at locations best able to penetrate the hard-core of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Major facilities would be trained on the Eurasian land mass with supplementary facilities provided for the coverage of Africa, South America, the Caribbean and Pacific Islands. Fourteen overseas stations and six feeder US stations were part of the plan. Total cost was estimated at over 88 million dollars.

By September, 1951, the VOA boasted 46 language services (the greatest ever) with plans for more to come. On December 1, 1951 the office of International Broadcasting (OIB) was established within the State Department under the office of International Information. Then, on January 16, 1952, the State Department announced an intensive reorganization of its overseas information programs. A semi-autonomous International Information Administration (IIA) headed by Dr. Wilson Compton was formed. Basically, the IIA would receive policy guidance from the State Department but it was to have a free hand in operational activities.

Soon, a number of Committees were studying the Information Activities of the United States Government: the President's Committee on Foreign Information Activities (headed by William H. Jackson); the Senate Committees chaired by Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa and Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin.

The McCarthy investigations were devastating to the Voice of America. Allegations concerning programing as well as facilities construction were made later turning out to be false or half true. Little was done to correct false charges.

Major Happenings—1953-1957

On August 1, 1953, the independent United States Information Agency was created by authority of the President's Reorganization Plan Number 8, approved by Congress. John Poppele was the first Director of the VOA under the USIA to 1956.

1953-1957 were years of consolidation and rebuilding for the Voice. Operations were cut almost 25 per cent. 34 languages for a total of about 30 hours were transmitted daily in 1953-54. About 42 per cent was straight news, and 58 per cent news analysis and features with 77 per cent of the output directed to the Soviet orbit. Worldwide English was slowly being increased. By January 1, 1954, Voice personnel had been cut to 1,591.

1954 also heralded the year of the VOA "move" to Washington, D.C. fulfilling a mandate from Congress.

By the end of 1955, the VOA was broadcasting in 38 languages with a strong emphasis on the USSR and its satellites. It also discontinued foreign language shortwave broadcasting to Western Europe. Arrangements were made with European broadcasters to carry VOA programs over their own facilities. VOA relay transmitter facilities were now located at: Honolulu, Munich, Manila, the Philippines, Okinawa, Salonika, Tangiers, Colombo, and the *Courier* (a floating transmitter ship launched in 1952).

The years 1955-57 saw a gradual strengthening in the VOA's position as a valuable tool for making United States' policy known throughout the world. It continued to beam information to the USSR that was avoided by Radio Moscow.

On February 25, 1957, President Eisenhower was the first Chief Executive to speak from the VOA's studios on the occasion of the Voice's 15th anniversary.

Robert Button served as Director of the VOA from 1956 to 1958.

Major Happenings—1958-1965

In 1958, Henry Loomis was appointed Director of the VOA. From this time until leaving the post in June of 1965 significant advances in the areas of programing and facilities construction were effected.

Programing:

1. Detailed studies were made to determine the relative priority of each language broadcast.
2. Worldwide English was increased. English is the most widely spoken language (especially among the leaders and politically curious the VOA seeks to reach).
3. Quality continued to improve with many new features being added such as *Forum*, as well as an increase in the number of "packaged programs" to Latin America etc.
4. VOA increased its hours in the Russian language at the expense of some of the "minority" languages.
5. Work on the "VOA Charter" was completed.

Facilities

1. Much of the VOA transmitter equipment and other facilities, built in the 30's and used by the commercial networks had by the 60's become substandard.
2. A massive facilities renovation and rebuilding program intended to update the VOA physical plant began. Some of the projects were:
 - A. Greenvale, N.C.—the world's most powerful short-wave complex. Begun in 1960 and completed in February, 1963, the site contains 6—500 KW,

(Continued on page 50)

McCarthy and the Voice of America

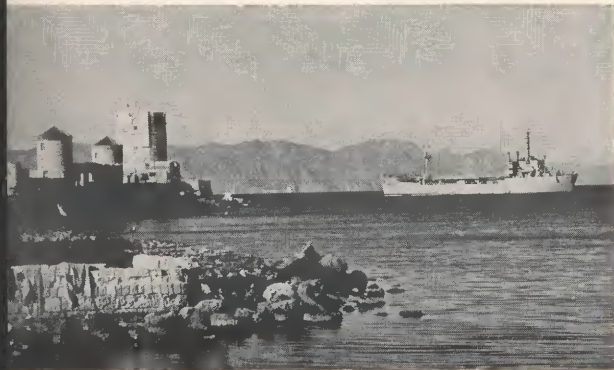
A Personal Appraisal

Now that the Voice of America has passed its 25th birthday and become a mature and effective instrument of US foreign policy under the guidance of such professionals as Edward R. Murrow and John Chancellor, it may be interesting to recall its darkest hour when Senator McCarthy and his chief hatchet man, Roy Cohn, almost succeeded in muffling it.

In May, 1950, I was transferred from Shanghai, China to Seoul, Korea, as political officer. Midway in the Pacific the assignment was changed to policy advisor for the Voice of America in New York. As a result, when the North Koreans invaded South Korea on June 25th, instead of being in Seoul, I was reporting for duty to Foy Kohler, then director of the Voice of America. Thus began three of the busiest, most intense and most satisfying years of my career in the Foreign Service. At the time, there were some 1500 employees of the Voice, scattered in offices and studios in some half dozen buildings clustered around 57th Street right off Columbus Circle. The news operation ran around the clock. The daily broadcast operation in 46 languages ran 30 hours due to the difference in time zones. It was a scene of bustling, purposeful activity dominated by a sense of dedication and devotion to the job at hand that made for keen rivalries and sharp arguments as to the best techniques to achieve our objectives coupled with an esprit de corps that was electrifying. The challenge of the Korean war, the necessity to back the UN's efforts to halt that aggression with appropriate propaganda to counter the Communist misrepresentation of the nature of the conflict was a task that galvanized the VOA into action.

But there was also a sense of isolation about the operation that was vaguely disturbing at the time. In 1950 the VOA was still an integral part of the Department of State, although it was to become a semi-autonomous agency within the Department in 1952 and, later still (1953), a completely independent agency subject only to policy guidance from the Department.

VOA's seagoing relay station, The Courier, at anchor near the island of Rhodes in 1952. The Courier was turned back to the Maritime Commission and decommissioned in 1964.



There were few Foreign Service traditions at the Voice of America in 1950. The great majority of the employees were natives (refugees) from the countries and areas to which we were broadcasting. Many of them were still in the process of acquiring their final citizenship papers. All had FBI clearances required by law. They had been recruited for their linguistic ability and for their intimate knowledge of the areas and peoples of their origin. Their instinctive understanding of the receptivity of their target audiences to broadcast material was profound and accurate. Their knowledge of the purposes and limitations of US foreign policy objectives was, at best, eclectic and, at worst, over-idealized. As broadcast operators they were largely ignorant of, and certainly impatient with, the need for clearances and co-ordination that make for sound, consistent policy enunciation.

On the other hand, the Department was very slow in adjusting its cumbersome mechanisms to reacting with the speed required by a round-the-clock broadcast news operation. To be effective, it had to be timely in countering the misrepresentations of a competent and unscrupulous adversary. In time, there grew up a deep resentment among the operators in New York against the "policy making bureaucracy" in Washington which opened up a rift through which the astute Mr. Cohn drove the McCarthy juggernaut with great skill.

The sense of isolation was increased by the continuing suspicious attitude of Congress toward all propaganda activities of the Government. The news professionals in the VOA operation were especially frustrated by the action of AP and UP in January of 1946 when they withdrew their news services from free distribution to the government. The government had to make do with INS. Although competitive factors played a role, there was the insinuation that the government was not to be trusted in the use of an independent, objective news service. In January of 1948 the Smith-Mundt Act also required that English transcripts of all foreign-language scripts should be available at the State Department for the perusal of Congressmen. Although this implied mistrust and was a time-consuming, tedious and expensive operation, it turned out to be a blessing. It bred responsibility and enabled the supervisory personnel to supplement their monitoring activities with a post facto check on what had been said. My briefcase bulged every night with scripts of the day's output for evening reading.

Under Mr. Kohler's direction a number of innovations had been introduced. He had hired away from Columbia University one of their most able public opinion analysts, Dr. Leo Lowenthal. Under his vigorous direction an able staff maintained a continuing analysis of output, contracted for research in target countries on effectiveness and audience numbers, analyzed listener mail, and generally maintained an excellent evaluation service. No staff sessions at the VOA were more acrimonious and also more critically constructive than the heated sessions reviewing a country desk's output. Among other experts whom Mr. Kohler induced to join in the operation with enthusiasm at the time was the brilliant and knowledgeable Bertram Wolfe who headed up the Ideological Advisory Unit and issued guidelines for intelligent analysis and effective refutation of Communist propaganda. As our chief English commentator we secured the services of Raymond Swing whose balanced and penetrating comment on foreign policy issues provided a note of objectivity and wisdom. Added to these luminaries was a host of professional writers, some of whom were past masters at touching the Communists where it hurt most—making them look and sound ridiculous. So recognized was the staff for its expertise in many facets of the whole problem, that outside experts such as Harry Schwartz of the New York TIMES, Walt Rostow of MIT and Norman Thomas of Socialist fame, among others, were frequent visitors for discussion, consultation and advice.

It was an exciting, exhausting operation at a critical point in our postwar foreign policy and it created the kind of comradeship in arms which only a shared struggle can produce. Under the pressures of the Korean War, the barrage of anti-US propaganda of Stalinist Russia, the vicious biological warfare campaign of the whole Communist propaganda apparatus, the Voice deliberately and consciously adopted a hard and hard-hitting, anti-Communist line. We were aware of the essentially negative posture of such a policy. I remember saying to Mr. Kohler one day after I had spent a week-end in intensive and extensive review of our output that we gave the impression of resolutely blocking a number of closed doors. I remember adding, "What happens if the Communists begin opening some of these doors?" Foy's answer was characteristically realistic: "We will fall flat on our faces!" As 1952 drew to a close and it became clear that President-elect Eisenhower had made up his mind to bring the Korean hostilities to a close, the vision of an opening door began to take shape. As we took steps to minimize the damage to our faces when the doors began to open, Senator McCarthy was drawing up plans to hit, first the USIA in Washington, and the then VOA in New York with charges of "being soft on Communism."

Also in 1952, Mr. Kohler was reassigned to other duties in the diplomatic service. His strong and dynamic leadership was sorely missed in the ensuing months. He was replaced by a procession of temporary directors among them Alfred Morton from the broadcasting industry.

Senator McCarthy's investigations of the information program began in Washington on February 13, 1953. The pattern soon became clear. By making sensational charges, exploiting the existing rivalries among branches of the information agency, and exposing the differences between policy-makers and operators, Senator McCarthy hoped to induce a number of employees to leave their jobs, either by resigning in frustration or being removed for incompetency. There was always a sufficient grain of truth in the charge to make it sound plausible. And there was also a suspicion that, after twenty years out of power, the Republican party needed to use drastic means to get some of its loyal adherents into positions of authority as well as to satisfy its need for patronage jobs. Whether McCarthy volunteered for the job, or was asked to do it, is a moot question. Certainly he was the most effective instrument at hand to carry it out. It was made easier for him by the willing co-operation of informants inside the Information Agency, who gave him and his staff access to all sorts of private and classified internal communications, sometimes within a very short space of time. Many of these communications dealt with issues which were being thrashed out in the search for the most effective way of dealing with a communist propaganda thrust.

A case in point was the use the Voice made of quotations from Communist sources to refute a current lie or to point out the inconsistency and even contradictory nature of some of the Communist contentions. Because the Department had done extensive research in this field, we had ample material and considered this one of the most effective ways of making the Communists eat their own words. The evidence of effectiveness of this device was overwhelming. Since the McCarthy Committee was peddling the charge that the Information Agency was propagating Communist doctrine by making available its documents, a panic reaction spread in the Agency. To our astonishment, we received a classified instruction late on a Saturday afternoon that we were immediately to cease all quotation from Communist sources in any of our output. We wired back in a classified message that we expected to continue our proven practices until we had had an opportunity to discuss the whole procedure and had worked out a solution on the basis of the facts and evidence.

On Monday morning, we received a message from the

Department, which was simultaneously released to the press, that Director Morton had been suspended from office pending investigation of charges of insubordination. Both he and I were immediately summoned to appear before Undersecretary (Lt. Gen.) Walter Bedell Smith. It turned out that during an early evening session with Senator McCarthy on the previous Saturday to discuss an entirely different matter, the Senator had slyly produced a copy of our reply to the Washington directive and asked the General blandly whether this was the way discipline was enforced in the Department. Since the telegram had not yet circulated through the usual channels, the General's anger understandably exploded in several directions. How had the message reached McCarthy? Why hadn't this issue been resolved in conference between the operators and the policy makers? As an old Soviet expert—he had served a tour as Ambassador to Moscow in the late 40's with Foy Kohler as his counselor—the General was inclined to approve the VOA procedures. As Undersecretary and a General he manfully administered the reprimand which was duly inscribed in my Foreign Service file. It was a wound

(Continued on page 44)

Two employees operated the Master Control Board for VOA programs in New York City. The Master Control Board was the most complicated mechanism used by the Voice for its international broadcasting service in 1952.



The United States and the Roman States

OFFICIAL relations between the United States and Rome started in 1797 and at the beginning, by and large, they were an informal affair. Consuls, initially citizens of the Papal States, would affix the consular arms to their private residence, conduct the government's business from their living rooms, and sometimes leave Rome for months and years on end. While gone, they entrusted the affairs of the consulate to obliging friends or relatives. They carried on long and generally one-sided correspondence with the Secretary of State in Washington, lamenting the limited income of the consulate. This was confined to receipts from certifying passports, as practically no American vessels called at the ports of the Papal States and receipts from commercial transactions, usually a major part of a consul's business, were therefore nil.

While their personal circumstances were somewhat precarious—the consulate earning an average four hundred dollars a year—the consuls enjoyed the privilege of frequent and direct access to the Pope in his temporal function as sovereign of the Papal States. They were treated with every courtesy, consideration and respect by the pontifical government. This obscure chapter of American consular and diplomatic relations with the Papal States dates back to 1797 and ends with the unification of Italy in 1870. It is relatively little known and generally disregarded in the over-all history of American foreign relations.

The official record of American political relations with Italy is considered to start with George P. Marsh, first US Minister to the unified Kingdom. A faded photograph of this talented diplomat occupies first place in the picture gallery of former US envoys in the first floor reception rooms

of Palazzo Margherita, the American Embassy in Rome. Technically this is correct; Marsh was the first Minister to the Kingdom of Italy. But this treatment commits to oblivion eleven consuls and five ministers who represented the United States at Rome for three quarters of a century. They were witnesses and participants in the historic pageant of Italy's emergence as a nation state and they observed the passage from absolute rule to constitutional government elsewhere on the continent. Some of these consuls and ministers were acute and colorful observers of the European scene, as revealed by their correspondence and despatches.

An analysis of these documents highlights the major issues and lines of conduct characterizing relations between the governments of papal Rome and the United States. Most prominent, perhaps, were the feelings of mutual accommodation and comprehension between the two governments. These were marked by concessions such as reciprocal shipping privileges, the prompt handling of claims and protests resulting from occasional run-ins between visiting Americans and the papal authorities, and a strict adherence to the diplomatic norm of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. This found expression on the part of the United States in a persistent refusal to extend official recognition to the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849, despite public sympathy for the republican cause, the continued urgings of the American Consul in Rome and the insistent pressure to which the revolutionary Mazzini government subjected the US Minister-Resident Lewis Cass, Jr.

When secession and civil war shook the American Republic twelve years later, the Papal government carefully abstained from giving encouragement or recognition to the Confederacy, despite missions to Rome by rebel clergy and representatives of the Confederate cabinet. True to his role, the Pontiff urged restoration of peace. He sent open letters to the Archbishops of New York and New Orleans calling for reconciliation. He indirectly offered his own mediation in the conflict by stressing the limited temporal power of the Vatican, remarking significantly to Minister Richard M. Blatchford on his presentation of credentials that "mediation to be accepted, must be tendered by a power so unimportant as to irritate neither the pride nor the sensitiveness of the American nation."

The mediation offer by Pius IX was not pursued. But his expressions of support and sympathy for the cause of the Union, expressed on various occasions to the six consuls and ministers who represented the US at the papal court during the civil war period, were warmly welcomed by the Federal Government. In 1866, General Kanzler, Papal Minister of War, hinted to US Minister Rufus King that the Pontiff was considering seeking refuge in the United States in case he had to abandon Rome. Secretary of State Seward quickly approved the dispatch by Admiral Goldsborough of the corvette *Swatara*, commanded by Captain Jeffers, to the papal port of Civitavecchia. The action was recommended by Minister King, in agreement with Augustus Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who happened to be visiting Rome at the time.

The contingency did not come about. The Pope remained in Rome as the self-imposed "prisoner in the Vatican" when his temporal reign was ended by troops of Victor Emmanuel and the city proclaimed capital of a united Italy. But the Pope's feeling that the "great American Republic" was the only country in which he would find a safe haven conditioned relations with the United States and its representatives during the final years of the papal government's existence.

Ample proof of their good will was furnished by the papal authorities. When John H. Surratt, accused of conspiracy in the assassination of President Lincoln, with a reward of \$25,000 on his head, was spotted as a soldier in the Papal Zouaves under the alias of John Watson, the Holy See, with-

out an extradition treaty, agreed to arrest and turn the conspirator over to American justice. The story of his escape and eventual apprehension is told later in this article.

Against this background of mutual cooperation and ready agreement on important issues, the formal opening of diplomatic relations was marred by minor disappointment and the closing chapter by a misunderstanding over the issue of Protestant worship. This caused the US mission in Rome to be terminated effectively but unceremoniously through cutting off funds, while it was left intact on paper.

The steps toward formal recognition began when President Polk recommended establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See in his message to Congress in 1847. The *Papal Gazzetta di Roma* reported that the appointment, as a special tribute to His Holiness, would go to Vanburgh Livingston, a recent convert to Catholicism. Instead, Jacob L. Martin, a Protestant, formerly secretary of the American Legation in Paris, presented his credentials as the first chargé d'affaires to Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, Papal Secretary of State, on August 19, 1848. A week later the unfortunate diplomat was felled by a stroke, following an attack of fever. All ministers and consuls after him sought to avoid Rome's reputedly unhealthy climate in the dead of summer.

The sudden demise of America's first diplomatic representative in Rome was echoed twenty years later by the lingering death of the mission itself. It faded away (through no fault of the Papal government) when the House of Representatives struck from the State Department's normal appropriations bill all funds for support of the legation at Rome. Behind this action was the mistaken impression of Congress that the American Church had been ordered outside the walls of Rome by the Papal government.

Instead, it was the Scottish Presbyterians who were ordered to leave the inner city after their split into two rival sects attracted public attention. The American and other Protestant denominations, by long-standing arrangement, were permitted to conduct services inside the city walls so long as the premises used carried the coat-of-arms of their respective national legations. The creation of "legation chapels" effectively circumvented—with tacit Papal consent—the ancient pontifical law limiting public worship inside Rome to Catholics.

General Rufus King, the last US Minister to Papal Rome, argued persuasively but to no avail that rather than helping American Protestants in Rome the threatened closing of the legation would force them outside the walls and that they would have their own Congress to thank for it.

The consular relations, that began fully fifty years before naming of the first diplomatic representative, also outlasted the closing of the legation. David Maitland Armstrong, last

Tomb of the first American Chargé d'Affaires, Jacob L. Martin in Rome's Protestant cemetery. Martin died a week after presenting his credentials.



US Consul at the Holy See, stayed on beyond the fall of Rome to become the first US Consul to the capital of a united Italy.

The strict separation between consulate and legation often resulted in mutual recriminations in their communications to the Department of State. Obviously consuls did not send their dispatches through the minister or chargé. For example Consul Nicholas Brown harangued the Department in voluminous dispatches for early recognition of the Mazzini Republic. At the same time the cautious Lewis Cass urged delay and prudence, convinced of the quick reestablishment of papal rule. He was proved right and the Consul's successor was named before Brown had a decent chance to resign after return to power of the papal authorities.

Unsalaries consuls, living precariously on scarce visa fees, obviously resented the relatively well-heeled ministers who drew annual stipends up to \$7500.

A major cause of consular complaint was finally eliminated when in 1867 after decades of fruitless intercession, Consul Edwin C. Cushman was placed on a salary of \$1500 per year.

In the early phase of consular relations with Rome, from 1797 to 1837, the Department of State did not consider American citizenship to be a prerequisite to nomination. The first two consuls, Giovanni Battista Sartori, who served from 1797 to 1823, and Felix Cicognani, who held the office from 1823 to 1837, were both citizens of the Papal States. Sound character recommendations, a knowledge of English, independence of means and availability in place without the added cost of a sea voyage, seem to have been the criteria for selection of applicants. Only with George W. Greene, the third consul (1837-1845), was the principle of American citizenship applied. Vice Consuls and consular agents continued to be appointed by the Consul at Rome without regard to nationality. Logically most of them were Italians, but for years the Vice Consul and unofficial Secretary of the Legation at Rome was a French citizen, Antoine Ardisson. Ardisson provided a link of continuity little appreciated by the State Department, which ignored his numerous despatches. He carried on his duties for sixteen years under four consuls and two ministers resident, reporting in their absence to the Department on political happenings in Rome using a lively mixture of French and English.

Even during the most hectic periods of the American mission to the Papal States, the great revolutionary movements of 1849, the sweep towards unification that deprived the Pope one by one of his temporal dominions and the fall of Rome itself in 1870, diplomatic and consular messages to Washington rarely averaged more than two or three a month. The State Department talked back even less. When it did, it would usually acknowledge a lengthy despatch with a terse note and concise instructions. Nor did the Secretary of State hesitate to reprimand Ministers and Consuls with cutting directness. As when the Secretary of State wrote Rufus King "I regret to learn . . . how widely you misunderstood the views of this government . . ." in calling him to task for attending a reception for Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, whom the US did not recognize. Consul Cushman was informed . . . "your conduct is entirely disapproved, and it will depend on your own better conduct hereafter . . . whether the Department can be content to leave the case with this reprimand." Cushman's lack of judgment was cited in accompanying papal troops to observe them in action and getting involved in a firefight with Garibaldi irregulars near Nerola.

There is no indication anywhere in the hundreds of despatches of the use of telegraphic or coded messages. The more confidential communications were marked "Private" and were sent directly to the Secretary of State. Mail, whether official or private, took about one month each way. The sense of urgency noted in some of the communications certainly had a different ring from today when the Department of



A century ago, the American Legation in Rome was located at 25 Piazza di Spagna, next to the Spanish Steps, today

occupied by Babington's Tea Rooms. The Legation occupied the back room of a private American banking agency.

State is in nearly instantaneous contact with posts in more than a hundred countries and exchanges as many messages with major embassies in a single day as it did with the mission to the Roman States in any one decade.

Space does not permit more than a cursory view of highlights in the tenure of the more interesting consuls and ministers. A fuller treatment may be found in the chapter on Political Relations of the book titled "Early Americans in Rome" which was published in Rome late in 1966.

We have limited this glimpse to Consuls Nicholas Brown and David M. Armstrong, Chargé d'Affaires Jacob L. Martin, and the Minister Residents Lewis Cass, Jr., John Stockton and Rufus King.

Described as a "gentleman of fortune," of whom very little else is known, Nicholas Brown spent most of his time away from Rome, leaving the consulate in charge of that colorful tutor in languages, the Frenchman Antoine Ardisson. He was a man of outspoken republican sympathies and highly critical of the oppression practiced by the papal government. In the relatively short time he spent at his post before and during the revolutionary Roman Republic of 1849, he found time to write sixteen lengthy and impassioned despatches on the political situation, pleading for speedy recognition of the Republic by the United States.

Not a single one of these long-winded despatches covering more than sixty closely-spaced foolscap pages was acknowledged or acted upon by the Department of State.

Brown felt certain that the US would act upon his recommendations and extend early recognition to the fledgling republic. But as the months passed without any action or even reply to his communications, a rising note of urgency and bitterness crept into his despatches.

When the old order triumphed with the breaching of Rome's defenses by the French expeditionary force under General Oudinot, Brown had made his decision. "As the struggle is now ended," he wrote Zachary Taylor, "I hereby, Sir, most respectfully offer my resignation." Unbeknownst

to him the Department a month earlier had appointed William Carroll Sanders to succeed him, without waiting for the return of his mandate to the President.

To the last Brown remained faithful to the leaders of the revolution whose friendship he had earned by his conduct. A study by historian H. Nelson Gay on American relations with the Risorgimento movement, published almost sixty years later in 1907, included the statement "now it can be told that when Brown left Rome he took with him not only his family, but, disguised as a servant, Pietro Sterbini, ex-minister of the Roman Republic."

The brief mission of Jacob L. Martin, an able diplomatic officer, was cut short by his death three weeks after his arrival in Rome in the summer of 1848. His mission preceded the revolutionary events in which Consul Brown took such an active role the following winter. Martin arrived August 2nd "in the midst of a canicular heat, and at a season when even the most acclimated think it hazardous to encounter the scourge of malaria."

He bore instructions from James Buchanan to cultivate the most friendly relations with the papal government in its temporal role of ruler over the Roman States, leaving religious matters completely outside his range of proper concern.

Martin was warmly received by the Pope on August 19th. His address, upon presentation of his credentials the same day to Cardinal Antonelli, was given great prominence in the official daily *Gazzetta di Roma*. Martin was deeply impressed by Pius IX. "He took me by the hand both coming and going and assured me of the great pleasure which it gave him to enter into diplomatic relations with a country for which he entertained so high a regard . . . He alluded frankly to his efforts to introduce liberal reforms into his states and the difficulties which he encountered, observing that it required prudence and patience to prepare his people for an order of things to which they had not been accustomed . . . He spoke with evident emotion yet with a serenity of countenance and suavity of manner very touching and impressive . . ."



David Maitland Armstrong, the last US Consul to Papal Rome, had his offices in the 16th century Zuccari palace on Via Sistina 64, a stone's throw from the Spanish Steps.

Martin's despatch was found in his trunk the day of his death on August 26th. It was forwarded to James Buchanan by J. Clinton Hooker, partner in the banking firm handling the Legation's accounts and later Secretary of the Legation itself.

The tenure of Chargé Lewis Cass, Jr., who was promoted to Minister Resident in 1854 at a salary of \$7500 per annum, spanned half the period that the United States maintained diplomatic representatives at the Holy See. A former Major of Infantry in the Mexican War, Cass was an acute and dispassionate observer. The son of a diplomat—his father was Minister to France and later Secretary of State—Lewis Cass, Jr. was raised in France and always liked to live abroad. He spent his later years in Paris where he died about 1879. While in Rome he acquired something of a reputation among the diplomatic corps. The autobiography of a later consul, William J. Stillman, reports that Pius IX always referred to Cass as "quel Cass" who "could not be quiet of nights." In the last year of his tenure the despatches of Cass and his instructions from the State Department turned into a father-son correspondence. There are nine such communications, Lewis Cass Jr. to Lewis Cass, on record in 1857/8

—father Cass having succeeded William M. Marcy as Secretary of State in 1857.

Though cautious in the extreme in his initial despatches, unlike the fiery Brown who in the meantime was launching his barrage of missives to the Department urging immediate recognition, Cass became more impressed with the seriousness, sense of responsibility and devotion to public order with which the revolutionary government set about its tasks.

"The belief prevails in the United States," he wrote Buchanan on April 21, 1849, "that the party which insisted on reform and which showed its discontent of the Pope's government is merely an ultra-democratic faction in the unfavorable sense of these words. But such is far from being the case. I have learned to my surprise that there is a large party of moderate, educated, and comparatively wealthy men in the Assembly, who care nothing whatever for a republic—who abhor communisme (sic), who desire more than all things protection of property, and who express the conviction that no right or freedom or happiness is possible under the sway of the cardinals whom they have always regarded as the real government."

Cass wrote with admiration of the Roman spirit of courage and resistance to overwhelming odds when a series of routs were inflicted both on the French expeditionary force and on the troops of the King of Naples coming up from the South in engagements outside the walls of the city. "In Rome's best days when the Capital was menaced by a foreign foe, no better or braver spirit was ever manifested. I have not until now realized how deeply the Roman heart and soul are engaged in the cause and how united the country is to resist foreign dictation."

His vivid descriptions were read with care back home, and had their desired effect. An instruction authorizing him to present his credentials to the revolutionary regime arrived three weeks after the city's defenses had been breached by the French expeditionary force.

When the great events of the revolutionary year had subsided, Cass resumed his normal representational and reporting functions. His lengthy tenure saw his promotion to Minister Resident, squabbles and concerns over the ill-attended consular function—three consuls were named during his term, yet the consulate was vacant for four years—and troubles with a deranged Englishman who walled up his wife in Villa Palatina accusing her of misconduct with the American Minister.

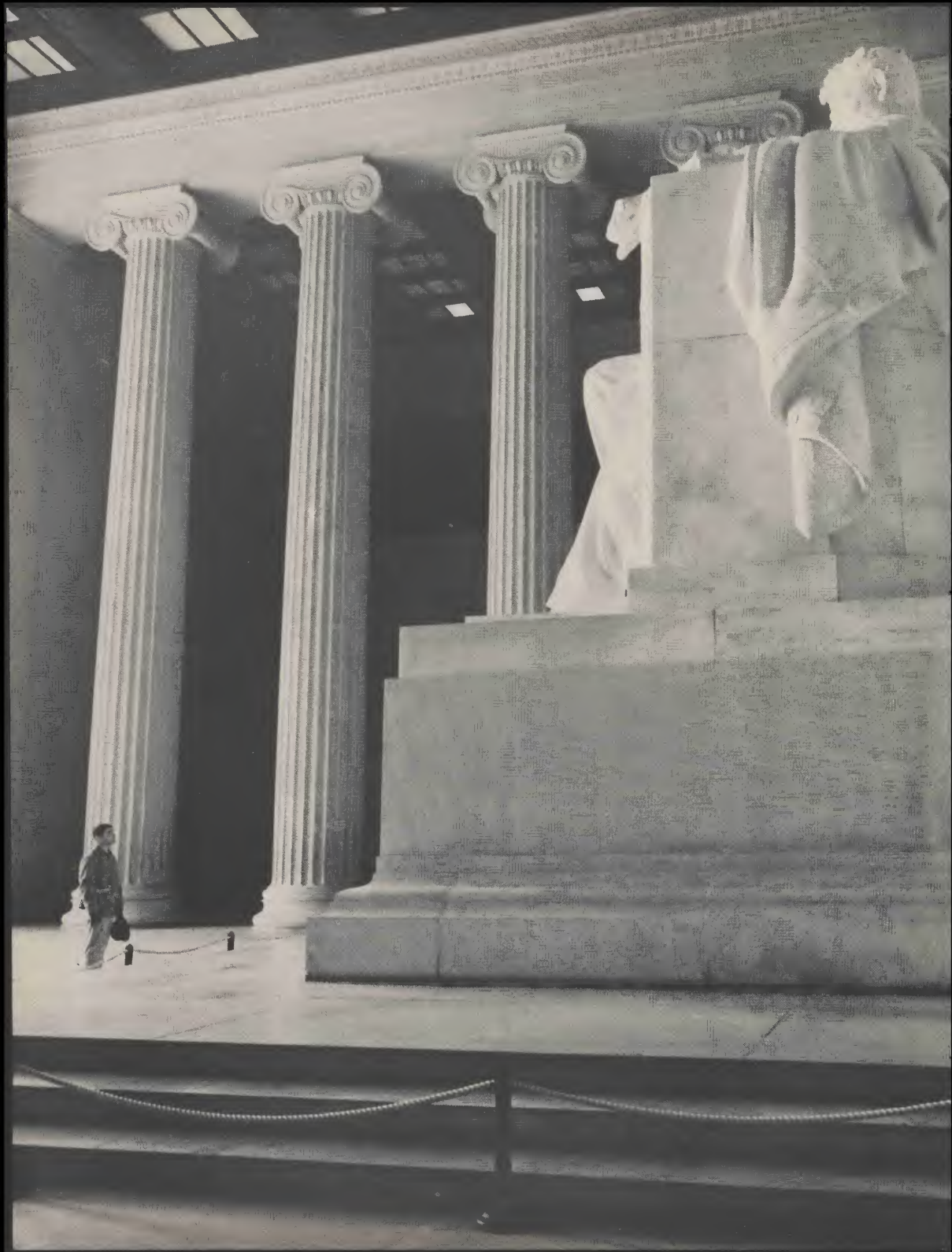
Cass requested retirement from his post in April 1857 but was asked by the President to remain on duty until his successor reached Rome. In successive audiences Cass submitted his Letter of Recall and his successor, John P. Stockton, his Letter of Credence to the Pope, the morning of November 27, 1858.

Rome was a beehive of rumors when Minister Resident John Stockton arrived in the late fall of 1858. Italy was the object of big power diplomacy and a war about to start on her soil. Tension mounted daily between France and Austria, both of whom maintained troop contingents in the papal states. "In the absence of a free press," Stockton explained to the Department, "information reaches Rome almost entirely by telegraph to the Ministers or officials of government, and yet these telegraphs have been so erroneous at times, that it is dangerous to receive them as true until confirmed."

With uprisings and disturbances throughout the Papal domains triggered by the victories of Victor Emmanuel's troops, the United States found itself embroiled with the papal government in the so-called "Perkins Incident" that for a while threatened to disturb the friendly relations between the two countries.

Edward N. Perkins, a prominent citizen of Boston, together with his family and two servants, making a party of seven, were staying at the Hotel de France in Perugia the

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Salute to a Seasoned Performer

WE celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the Voice of America by devoting a major part of this issue to the story of that estimable arm of the USIA. It seems appropriate, too, to offer a salute to the Voice and its parent organization for the obvious growth in professional excellence achieved since its beginnings.

In years gone by, it must be admitted that many Foreign Service officers saw little virtue in international information and cultural programs. The propaganda efforts of USIA and its predecessor organizations were even called "undesirable interferences in the normal conduct of foreign affairs" by one Ambassador. Voice broadcasts were regarded by some officers as more often harmful than helpful in achieving foreign policy objectives; USIS activities at the posts were too frequently looked upon as producers of needless clutter.

Today it is rare to find a Chief of Mission or other seasoned Foreign Service officer who believes that any large modern nation could conduct its foreign affairs successfully without a substantial public affairs arm. The activities of USIA have become not only accepted but for the most part both understood and appreciated.

There have been, of course, some ups and downs in the history of the USIA and its radio arm. Changes in the domestic political atmosphere, changes in the international situation, changes of leadership—all have contributed. But the steadfast continuing efforts of career people, both foreign service and domestic, spurred from time to time by fresh ideas and methods brought in by experts from outside the Government, have insured a steady rise in effectiveness. Interchange of Foreign Service and domestic officers and staff between the State Department and USIA have played an important part in the process. Mechanisms for rapid consultation on policy and operations, involving the White House, State Department, and other agencies with USIA have been improved so that now collaboration is close and USIA operations respond with sensitive speed to the needs of any changing international situation.

Of late, the phrase "public diplomacy" has been applied as an honorable professional label for activities of the sort carried out by the USIA and kindred organizations maintained by other nations. Surely public diplomacy in the kaleidoscopic atmosphere of today's world has reached a high point of effectiveness in the operations of the Voice of America. ■

Slow Is the Climb

WE applaud the Precepts to the Twentieth Selection Boards. The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration has provided career guidance which is perceptive and unequivocal. The emphasis is clear. Evidence of potential to handle higher levels of responsibility is the essential criterion. At the junior grades the direction is even more specific: "The Department's policy is to offer attractive career opportunities

to dynamic, high calibre young people, to identify them early and move them forward. . . ."

We sincerely hope that the promotion lists, when they appear—and we hope that there will not be the long delays of recent years before their publication—will show that the Boards have carried out their instructions.

For the Service is getting long in the tooth. In 1946 and 1947 many officers at Class 6 were in their twenties. Today an FSO-6 of 25 is quite a rarity and most are in their thirties. At the senior grades, the aging process is even more noticeable. For instance, in 1958, nearly a fifth of the Class 1 officers were under 45. Today, only a thirty-fifth of the class is in that age range, and this includes some who started their Foreign Service careers recently at FSO-1. Similarly, the percentage of Class 2 officers aged 36 to 40 decreased from a twentieth to a mere fraction in the same period; while the number aged 41 to 45 declined from roughly a third to a fifth.

The conclusion is inescapable. For good reasons or bad, the climb from the bottom of the career ladder is getting slower all the time. The progress(?) of the Class of '47, described in an accompanying article, illustrates the fact. It is simply getting more and more difficult for a career officer, no matter how good he is, to rise to the top of the Service.

The new precepts will not change all this; but they are an advance in what we consider to be the right direction. Essential, however, is a willingness on the part of the Administration to steer firmly on this course for a number of years. If, year after year, the emphasis continues to be upon youth, dynamism and potential, we believe that the nation and the Service will benefit. ■

The Value of Certain Titles

IT HAS often been noted that retired officers of the armed services are more likely to obtain distinguished or highly-paid positions after retirement than Foreign Service officers do. Why?

Obviously they are held in higher public esteem. Also, why? Several reasons may be suggested. One is that their titles adhere after they retire. Not only career Army and Navy officers like General Taylor, General Marshall, Admiral Radford, Admiral Burke, General Collins, etc. carry their titles through life, but even civilian officers like General Draper and Colonel Bill Donovan do so also.

Yet a recent press announcement referred to one of our most distinguished retired ambassadors as "Mr. Julius C. Holmes," and the Department of State NEWS LETTER recently captioned a photograph "Mr. Loy Henderson." Would any newspaper article ever refer to Mr. Taylor or Mr. Radford? No one would know who they were talking about.

Modesty is a good characteristic, and most Foreign Service officers feel shy about insisting on titles. Perhaps the Department, the Foreign Service Association, and DACOR can help put the Foreign Service on a par with the Armed Services in terms of prestige by giving more attention to the subject. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

GALLERY GADDERS have a curious mania. Even when they have no particular interest in a painter, they will move heaven and hell to see one of his canvases as soon as they learn that it is on temporary exhibit, that this is positively the last chance to see it unless they want to travel to Warsaw or Cochabamba or Duluth. But rare is the gallery gadder who, after descending on the visiting masterpiece, will condescend to inspect other works by the same painter in the museum's permanent collection.

One of the most dramatic manifestations of the "I'll only get one chance" mania occurred a few years ago in Paris when USIA mounted a stupendous collection of French Impressionists, lent by private collectors in the United States. The Embassy was besieged by thousands of Parisians who wanted invitations to the opening night. Every officer was importuned by friends and acquaintances. Many applicants admitted cockily that they had never seen a single work by an Impressionist in a Paris museum. One woman said in an outburst of dizziness and irrationality: "Why should I run around Paris museums looking at *their* Impressionists? I can do that any time at all. But this is my one and only chance to see the Impressionists from the United States. Even if I went there I would have to travel thousands of miles, from one end of that vast country to the other, to see all these pictures."

Something similar happened when Burlington House staged its notable Chinese exhibition. The place was mobbed by people who were seeing Chinese art for the first time and would never see it again. The permanent Chinese collection of the Victoria and Albert would have afforded interesting points of contrast but that was singularly uncrowded. Again the Metropolitan's famous retrospective show of American art attracted thicker mobs than a department store bargain basement the day they advertise "Founder's Day—rock-bottom prices." But as soon as the show was over, the Metropolitan's not unworthy permanent collection looked like a church on Monday morning.

All this is a preface to saying that a splendid opportunity to indulge the mania is upon us. The National Gallery will exhibit through February three paintings with a spectacular his-

tory. They are "Self Portrait" (1643) by Rembrandt, "Portrait of a Man" by Gerard ter Borch and "Portrait of a Young Woman" by Johann Tischbein. All three were stolen from the Weimar Museum by two German soldiers in 1922. The pictures vanished for more than a decade and then turned up in a house in Ohio. The owner assumed they were copies and put them in the attic. In 1945 his wife took them to the Dayton Art Institute where they were speedily identified. At this point the United States government classified them as enemy property and sent them to the National Gallery for safekeeping. Last year Congress passed special legislation permitting the return of the three pictures to Germany. Since Weimar is in East Germany, the German Democratic Republic will be named trustee.

Hence this is a legitimate occasion to stage a gallery gad among transient treasures. If anyone feels like behaving sensibly he will find other Rembrandts and one ter Borch for comparison purposes. The National Gallery, however, owns no Tischbeins.

Miraculous Letter

The State Department's Mail Room arouses, during the course of a year, so many curses that it is a pleasure to record something from the other side of the ledger:

A slightly muddled inhabitant of Greenwich, Connecticut, addressed, on December 28, a letter to a Foreign Service officer, retired and now living in Alexandria, Virginia. The address read:

Mr. John Esmond
American Embassy Post Office
APO D 1114—114—92
New York, New York

In the extraordinary time of five days the letter bounced into the Department, right into the hands of an intelligent man who knew how to cope. He wrote the correct address in Alexandria on the envelope and there it arrived the next morning.

Mary Garden: Three Glimpses

Mary Garden, one of the most effulgent personalities of the century, referred to by James Gibbons Huneker as "a condor, an eagle, a panther . . . a siren . . . a superwoman," died in Aberdeen on January 3, at the age of 92. The newspapers and news mag-

azines promptly recounted the colorful career of the great singer. Repeating all this would be excessive in a monthly magazine but nevertheless *something* should be said about Mary Garden so here are three episodes that show various aspects of the flamboyant personality. None of these has ever appeared in print before.

1. Mary Garden carried on a lively feud with another opera singer whom we will refer to discreetly as Gerda Brandval. Brandval was not a great artist but her beauty and her profitable marriages to rich men brought her much publicity and success. The scales in the feud tipped first this way and then that but Garden won out in most rounds.

One day some years after their careers had ended, the two eminent ladies came face to face, by chance, on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice. Simultaneously they made up their minds to call off the feud. "Why should two old hags keep it up?" said Garden. "Our careers are all over. I can no longer sing and she never could sing." They embraced. "Mary, cara!" "Gerda, my dear!" Brandval got so exhilarated that she said, "I was having a little constitutional, but I've got my car here. Why don't you come home for lunch with me? My house is up there in the hills—just above Nice." Garden accepted.

"The car was a Rolls," said Garden. "All the way up I kept asking myself, 'I wonder who's keeping her now?' I couldn't imagine her without a rich man on her lead. However, when we got to the house—a quite lordly house—there was no sign of a man. Most curious. Before lunch I went upstairs. A brief reconnoiter showed no sign of a man's clothing. I got more and more puzzled till the end of the meal. The dessert was raspberries. 'Gerda,' I said, 'I feel like indulging myself. Could I have some sugar?' Gerda rang. In came her handsome young butler. She looked up at him brightly. 'Darling, would you bring some sugar for Miss Garden?'"

2. A wary, hostile dog squatted in front of the fireplace. "Don't touch him, don't even go near him," said Mary Garden.

The dog had had a tragic life. Living the life of a cur in a Swiss mountain village he was constantly brutalized by children. At the moment when Mary Garden first saw the

dog he was lying on his back, trussed up with wires and the children were applying red hot coins to his paws. The little brutes had even stuffed rags into the dog's mouth so they wouldn't be discommoded by the beast's anguished barks. Miss Garden made an offer to buy the dog and the children, tired of their fun, readily consented.

"I had hoped," said Miss Garden, "to give Marceau a gay and glamorous life. But alas! It didn't work out that way. I am the only human being he can stand—the only one he will permit to touch him. He is terrified of all others. Indeed he hates them. Poor dog! Only me! A rather restricted life, I say."

3. Mary Garden asked a friend to dine with her in the restaurant of her hotel in Paris. The head-waiter made a great to-do over a dessert called *Pêche Mary Garden*. His attention was then distracted to another table.

Mary Garden pretended never to have heard of *Pêche Mary Garden*. "When they start naming fruit after you, you're made. But thank God they didn't choose a pear. Think of '*Poire Mary Garden*'" (Poire: French slang for booby.)

The head-waiter now returned. "We have improved the *Pêche Mary Garden* since you were here last time—last year wasn't it? Miss Garden is such a good hostess. She always comes down early in the day to compose the menu for guests and she always insists on *Pêche Mary Garden*."

Miss Garden looked thoroughly composed. "Think nothing of it. We all get caught out occasionally."

Leaving the table, the guest asked "Are you still addicted to Scottish folk songs?"

"Am I not!" Suddenly she broke out into "Loch Lomond" with about as much voice as if it was Salome's last scene at the Chicago opera. She was a vibrant, dazzling figure; the eyes of all the diners followed her triumphal progress to the door—or almost to the door. Suddenly her voice broke catastrophically on the words "on the bonny, bonny banks . . ." The guest could not bear to look at her. He with the silly question had brought this humiliation upon her.

But nothing could stop Mary Garden from turning a little reverse into a triumph. She stopped dead still and faced her companion. She then said in a voice loud enough to fill a theatre, "I am so damned full of *Pêche Mary Garden* I can't sing another note." Resounding applause accompanied her remaining five paces to the door.

Peaks on Parnassus

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

A marvellous stillness pervaded the world, and the stars, together with the serenity of their rays, seemed to shed upon the earth the assurance of everlasting security. The young moon, recurved, and shining low in the west, was like a slender shaving thrown up from a bar of gold, and the Arabian Sea, smooth and cool to the eye like a sheet of ice, extended its perfect level to the perfect circle of a dark horizon.

Joseph Conrad: *Lord Jim*

Not for the Hammock

What books do Foreign Service officers read? What books do publishers think they ought to read? Answers to these questions were to be obtained at a recent exhibit of "Books for the Statesman" held in the north entrance of the Department. The exhibit comprised 992 books from 53 American publishers.

While the emphasis in this imposing collection was on international affairs, diplomacy and foreign relations, there was a little something in all divisions of the Dewey index including literature.

In all categories there were books to make brain cells whirr. Examples: "Beginning Cebuano," "The Lean

Years," "Will the Human Race Survive)," "Something Terrible Has Happened," "Dictionary of Anthropology," "The Kapanka Papuans," "Six Cultures—Studies of Child Rearing."

Award

An unhappy man is Jean Meurtdesoif, a civil servant of Lens, France. His last name means "dying of thirst" but it has other unfortunate connotations. It is a hundred times harder to get one's name changed in France than in the United States. It occurred to M. Meurtdesoif that if all people with unfortunate, gritty names got together and formed an association, perhaps they could influence French bureaucracy. Leafing through Didot-Bottin, the French population directory, M. Meurtdesoif found many other names as bad as his own. For example: Salope (slut), Grosse-Tête (big head), Belette (weasel), Pleur-nicheur (sniveler), Porc (pig), Tripotier (bungler), Larron (thief). All these and hundreds more received a notice to come to a meeting. When Jean Meurtdesoif looked around the room, however, he found himself with only one other man who introduced himself as "Cocu" (cuckold).

It was all a vast disappointment but M. Meurtdesoif deserves credit for a brilliant idea, that could have spread and spread from country to country until all undesirable names were excised from the register. For his effort M. Meurtdesoif gets the February award.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"See how you can stretch your representation allowance by serving American wines?"

American Diplomacy and the God King

TODAY'S tension in the Himalayas is a new face of an old problem which troubled India's northern border regions half a century ago. This was a period of imperial rivalry as Great Britain, conscious of India's security, resisted first Czarist, then Manchu encroachment in Tibet. Czar Nicholas II's secret diplomacy in Lhasa, exaggerated by Lord Curzon, Britain's aggressive viceroy in India, provoked the British to invade Tibet in 1904 and led to the Dalai Lama's long exile in Mongolia. The failing Manchus made a final bid for power in Tibet when General Chao Erh-feng invaded Tibet in 1910, driving the Dalai Lama once more into exile—this time to India. Obscured, however, by the main current of history is a curious little eddy which unexpectedly thrust United States diplomacy into a relationship with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

W. W. Rockhill



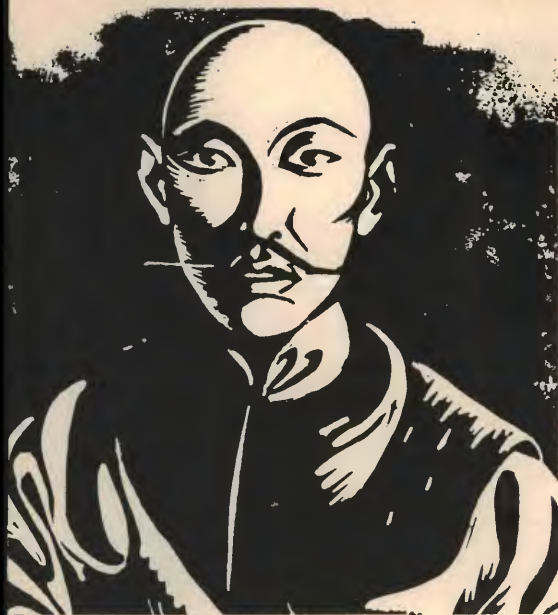
In June 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt's envoy to China, William Woodville Rockhill, met Tibet's God-King in the sacred Buddhist shrine of Wu-t'ai shan in Shansi Province. After having spent nearly four years as an exile in Urga (now Ulan Bator) as guest of the High Lama of Mongolia, the Dalai Lama stopped to meditate at this holy shrine before going on to the Manchu Court at Peking. The Anglo-Chinese convention of 1906 which guaranteed Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, and the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907, intended to neutralize Tibet and provide a formula for peaceful co-existence between the two countries in Asia, paved the way for the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa. But first he had to make peace with his Manchu suzerain who had been no less incensed than Curzon with the Dalai's eagerness to ally himself with the Czar.

Under instruction to discover the Dalai Lama's plans, Rockhill seized this first opportunity to see the Buddhist pontiff in person. Never before had any American met a Dalai Lama and the Minister had no way of knowing whether the Tibetan leader would have any interest in a link with so distant a power. Rockhill was, in fact, graciously received by the God-King who sent through him warm greetings to President Roosevelt. While nothing of substance was discussed, a personal relationship had been established and a basis provided for later contact in Peking.

Soon after his arrival in Peking the Dalai Lama sent for the American Minister. Perhaps as a calculated gesture he chose October 6 to receive Rockhill. This had been the date set by the Manchu court for the Dalai Lama to be received by the Emperor and the Dowager Empress before it was cancelled—apparently because the God-King refused to accept politically significant protocol arrangements which required him to prostrate himself, or *kowtow*, before the Emperor in an attitude of subjection. The Lama had very much in mind the precedent established during his fifth incarnation when in 1652 he met the Manchu Emperor Shun-chih on equal footing.

In his report to the President,* Rockhill wrote of the Dalai Lama: "I found him in a much less happy frame of mind than when I had seen him last. He was evidently irritable, pre-occupied and uncommunicative." His request to have a trusted abbot continue the conversations in more detail at an early date betrayed his deep concern and urgent desire for American counsel.

*Rockhill's letter to the President was sent to Washington by the American Legation in Peking under cover of confidential despatch No. 1041 of November 10, 1908. A copy of this despatch and Rockhill's letter is held in the National Archives.



*The Thirteenth Dalai Lama
Original linoleum block print by the author*

A fortnight later, Korostovetz, the Russian Minister, sought out Rockhill to inform him that the Dalai Lama had once again petitioned the Russian Government for support against the Chinese. Bound, however, by the recently concluded Anglo-Russian pact which accepted China's suzerain authority over Tibet, the Russian envoy was powerless to encourage the Dalai Lama. And recognizing that the Dalai Lama would look for help where he could hope to find it, the Czar's minister reminded him that the British similarly were in no position to aid him. Korostovetz advised the Dalai to see Rockhill, "the representative of an absolutely disinterested power." The purpose of the Russian minister's call was, therefore, to ask Rockhill if he would receive the Dalai Lama's political advisor, a Buriat Mongol monk called Dorjjeff.

Aguan Dorjjeff had been at the root of Britain's conviction in 1904 that Russia meant to absorb Tibet. In the tense years at the turn of the century he had even been suspected of having negotiated a secret treaty formally linking Tibet with Imperial Russia. Convinced that this mysterious agent of Czar Nicholas II was intent on subverting the Dalai Lama, Lord Curzon argued with Whitehall that the Russian threat to India could be met only by military intervention in Tibet. In 1904 a British military expeditionary force headed by Sir Francis Younghusband marched on Lhasa and Englishmen were able to see the towering Potala for the first time since an eccentric traveller named Thomas Manning ambled over the Himalayas and reached Tibet's secluded capital on a lark nearly a century earlier.

While in retrospect it is clear that the British Viceroy exaggerated the Russian threat and used it to justify a "forward policy" in the Himalayas, Dorjjeff nevertheless gained considerable notoriety. He was clearly the leading performer in the "Great Game" of reconnaissance and intrigue played by Britain and Russia along the edges of Central Asia where the two expanding empires came into contact.

A meeting with the enigmatic Dorjjeff, scheduled for October 21, must have appealed to Rockhill's sense of romance. The American Minister, an outstanding Tibet scholar as well as astute diplomatist, was probably well aware of the stories told about Dorjjeff. This wily Buriat had allegedly hinted to the Dalai Lama that Czar Nicholas had become a Buddhist. This chicanery was intended to convince the Dalai that his "patron-priest" relationship with the Manchu Emperor could be transferred to the Russian Czar. According to this formula, the Dalai Lama could become supreme pontiff for all Russia! The legends surrounding Dorjjeff at this time also credited him with poisoning the mind of the Dalai Lama against the British by telling him that Curzon meant to destroy Tibet's religion.

In this setting of intrigue and mystery Rockhill was not prepared to find a "quiet, well-mannered man," whom he described as "impressionable like all Mongols and apparently but very little less ignorant of politics and the world in general than the Tibetans." In his letter to Roosevelt, the American Minister added, "I do not think he was or is more of an intriguer than any Asiatic would be when confronted for the first time with . . . a new and intricate question (such) as Tibet's policy in Central Asian politics and its relation to the two great empires, its neighbors."

Dorjjeff came quickly to the point with Rockhill and asked if the Dalai Lama should ". . . remain in Peking . . . or return at once to Lhasa" in view of current Chinese efforts to impose reforms on Tibet. The Buriat also described the minimum demands of the Dalai Lama which were (1) protection of the "Yellow Hat" or *Gelugpa* sect of Lamaism which he represented, and (2) the right to "memorialize" or have direct access to the Chinese Emperor without having to go through Chinese pro-consuls, known as *Ambans*. The American envoy sympathized with the Dalai Lama's position but, with blunt realism, advised him to "return without delay to Lhasa," whatever the terms. When Dorjjeff at a second meeting bitterly complained that the Dalai Lama had not only been denied direct access but was being forced to associate himself with a humiliating pronouncement drafted by the Chinese, Rockhill could only advise the God-King philosophically to "take the bitter with the sweet."

Rockhill's summation to President Roosevelt tended to depreciate the Dalai Lama and accused him of caring "very little . . . for anything which did not affect his personal privileges and prerogatives."* The letter concluded, "I have probably been a witness to the overthrow of the temporal power of the Yellow Church, which curiously enough, I heard 20 years ago predicted in Tibet where it was commonly said that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama would be the last." In fact, the Thirteenth Dalai, after further trials and hardships, including exile in India to escape from the Chinese, was able to reestablish himself in Lhasa and rule there for many years. But his successor, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who has also been forced into Indian exile to escape Chinese harassment, no longer exercises temporal power in Tibet. So, to this extent, Rockhill's observation was prophetic. But more accurate was the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's own last will and testament written in the 1930's, just before his death, which predicted that Tibet's religion and way of life would one day fall victim to the "Red people," or Communists. ■

*Sir Charles Bell, the British friend and advisor to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama during the latter's subsequent exile in India, felt that this analysis was incorrect and did the Dalai a great injustice. In a book entitled *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with The Manchu Emperors of China* (Leyden, 1910, p. 91), Rockhill, himself, presented a more balanced analysis when he described the Dalai as being ". . . deeply impressed with the great responsibilities of his office as Supreme Pontiff of his faith, more so, perhaps than by those resulting from his temporal duties."

What Happened to the Class of '47?

WHEN the first battalion of the 13th Infantry (Regulars) stormed the Confederate lines at Vicksburg, it lost 50 per cent of the unit. Even in the bloodiest war of our history, this was considered a particularly deadly assault on a single objective.

Custer only lost five companies out of eleven; and that was called a Massacre.

Of the 222 men and women who were commissioned Foreign Service officers in 1947 barely half (58 per cent) are still in the Service twenty years later. This is not a blood-letting, it's a ruddy hemorrhage.

These were, for the most part military veterans, tested in the furnaces of World War II. They had passed through a rigorous screening process of long written examinations followed by oral, medical and security reviews. They had competed against many others for their commissions.

(The figures on 1947 are not at hand but they were probably not greatly unlike those of 1946 where one was selected out of every seven who had already passed the written exams.)

After twenty years of judicious assignments and careful training, these officers should be working at senior, responsible jobs. Certainly that is where we find our military colleagues of the West Point or Annapolis classes of 1941-42-43, the men who served their apprenticeship in war and continued to develop their professional abilities in the twenty years since V-J day.

In fact, only nineteen of our Class of '47 are at Class I.

Table A shows in statistical form how the total group is sprawled along our system and what the relative rates of progress have been — on the average.

The reasons why 92 officers dropped out cannot be determined

without exhaustive and exhausting study of the archives. Probably every reason from death to selection out can be considered.

More significant for the survivors—and for those who follow on—is a study of the men (no women) who made it to Class I in less than twenty years. We may assume that all of the Class of '47 were relatively superior human beings, in view of their careful screening and the high standards of the selection criteria. We may also assume that the nineteen who have made it to the top were not greatly different in backgrounds or capability, although three of them did go to Princeton. Table B is descriptive of their progress.

In brief, all nineteen had college educations and most have worked for graduate degrees. All but three performed military service. All but two speak French.

In the area of training, all but four attended a War College or the FSI's

TABLE A: Average Rate of Progress for the Class of '47

Class	Original Class No. of Officers who E.O.D. in 1947 at Class 6	No. of Officers who have resigned or separated, by Class	% of Officers who have resigned or separated	No. of Officers remaining on duty, and their present class	% Break-Down of the Remaining (130) Officers in their Present Class	% of Remaining Officers by class as compared with Original Class (222)	Avg. Age of Remaining Officers by Class as of 1-1-66	Avg. No. of years for Officers to reach their Present Class
6	222	37	16.7					
5		35	15.8					
4		15	6.8	7	5.4	3	44.6	13.5
3		5	2.3	42	32.3	18.9	45.5	15.4
2				62	47.7	27.9	46.5	14.2
1				19	14.6	8.6	46.4	17.7
	222	92	41.6	130	100	58.4	45.7	

Senior Seminar. Less than half have taken up "hard" languages.

Five men are Ambassadors. There is little similarity obvious among them, except that all five were in the war in uniform at least three years. Three went to War College, one to the Senior Seminar; but the first among them to become Ambassador is innocent of any training. Curiously, only two of these five men ever served as DCM, a post usually considered a requirement before consideration for Chief of Mission. However, eight of the remaining Class I officers are

serving or have served as Deputy Chiefs of Mission.

Significantly, three of the five Ambassadors were in the first promotion list of their class—in 1949. But it would be unwise to stress that fact too much. Three of their colleagues who were commissioned in 1947 and were also promoted in the first ground in 1949 are still nestling in Class III.

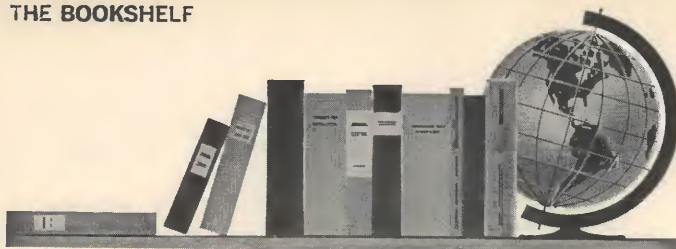
Perhaps more significant is the fact that their average age on being commissioned FSO-6 was 27.4. In fact the average entry-into-the-Service age of

all the Class of '47 officers who have made it into Class I was 27.6. These youthful starts compare favorably with today's average age for Class VI officers who must face a similar, if not more difficult, obstacle to reach the Class One prize.

Obviously the trouble with statistics is that they can be made to support almost any conclusions. These are only interesting as a revelation of what can be celebrated on the twenty-first anniversary of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Let the reader decide just what to celebrate. ■

TABLE B: Room at the Top

	Age at EOD	Universities Attended	Degrees	Yrs. Mil. Ser.	Hard Lang. Trg.	Lang. Knowledge	War. Col.	Sr. Sem.	Con. Gen.	D. Cm.	Amb.	Years of Promotion				
												05	04	03	02	01
A	27	Brown	AB	3		Spanish	X		X		X	49	51	58	60	64
B	34	Harvard	AB MA	3		French German	X		X	X		50	52	57	59	65
C	25	Williams Coll. Fletcher Law	BA MA		X	French, Italian, Spanish, Arabic		X		X		51	57	58	62	66
D	30	Wheaton Coll. U. of Ill.	BA MA PhD	4	X	French, German, Japanese	X		X	X		50	52	57	60	65
E	29	Princeton Georgetown U.	AB	5		French, Spanish, German			X	X		49	52	57	60	65
F	25	Ursinus Coll.	BA MA	3	X	French, Arabic, German	X			X	X	51	57	58	62	66
G	30	Georgetown U.	BS			French, Italian, Spanish		X	X			50	52	56	59	65
H	32	Ohio U. Cincinnati	BS	2		French German			X	X		50	52	56	60	63
I	30	Harvard	AB LLB	4	X	French, Japanese German	X		X			50	52	56	60	65
J	28	Ill., L.S.U., Minn.	BA, PhD MA	4		French German	X			X		50	52	56	60	64
K	31	Dartmouth	AB	4		French, Port., Spanish		X	X	X	X	49	51	54	59	63
L	31	Princeton	AB +	5		French Spanish			X			50	54	58	60	65
M	25	Columbia	AB MA	4		French German	X			X		49	52	57	62	66
N	29	U. of Calif. Columbia	AB MS	4		French, Urdu, Spanish, Hindu, Russian	X				X	50	52	56	59	64
O	26	So. Western Harvard	BA MA	4	X	French, German, Javanese, Greek, Chinese	X		X			49	52	57	61	63
P	29	Virginia	BS, PhD MA			French German		X	X			49	52	57	62	65
Q	25	Brown Fletcher Law	BA MA	3		French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian					X	49	54	60	63	64
R	27	Princeton	AB LLB	4	X	French, Urdu, Hindustani	X		X	X		50	52	56	59	65
S	32	Columbia	BA +	4	X	Japanese	X		X			50	52	57	60	66



OPEN LETTER TO AN AUTHOR
The Dominican Republic:
Days of Turmoil

It was a critical hour in the history of the Dominican Republic when President Kennedy appointed John Bartlow Martin as Ambassador. It was 1962; the egregious Rafael Trujillo, dictator for 32 years, had just been assassinated and hopes were running high that the country might, out of a sheer sense of release, set up a democracy. Trujillo's ghost, however, still rode over the land and Ambassador Martin's troubles grew by the day. The history of the stormy days has now been told by the Ambassador in a new book, "Overtaken by Events: The Dominican Crisis from the Fall of Trujillo to the Civil War" (Doubleday, \$7.95).

Since the book churns up so much drama and excitement it seems to spill over the confines of a book review. Only an article could seem to hold such a record of these thronging days. The JOURNAL persuaded another Ambassador, Philip Bonsal, who has had experience in the Caribbean, to write his reaction to "Overtaken by Events."

The Honorable John Bartlow Martin
18 Aiken Avenue
Princeton, N. J.

Dear John:

I have read "Overtaken by Events" with great appreciation and excitement. I have been tremendously impressed by your skill and talent as author and by your dedication, devotion and industry as principal actor in the events described. Your book will long be the primary source for the happenings of those years (1961-1965) when you played so significant a part in the history of the Dominican Republic. I am full of admiration for the way you carried out your role as you conceived it, for the imagination, the courage and the resourcefulness which you demonstrated. And your sensitive insights into Dominican life at all levels reveal great breadth of vision and unaffected human warmth. My hat is off to you!

But, as I told you the other day, I

have strong convictions as to the role of an American Ambassador in situations such as we confronted and still confront in the Dominican Republic. I understand the sentiment of special commitment and uneasy conscience which we experienced toward that country in 1961 as it emerged from the Trujillo era. I share your belief in the values of a dynamic, forward moving, representative democracy along the lines envisaged for our country by Franklin Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, John Kennedy and President Johnson. And I am convinced that our successes and our failures here in the United States in responding to the leadership of these men have had and have a significant impact on political life beyond our borders. But I do not believe that these concepts can be translated by the American Ambassador and by the serried bureaucratic ranks, civilian and military, at his command into an effective series of day to day decisions and actions on the part of the government to which the Ambassador is accredited. And I question whether the civic muscle in the Dominican Republic required for the tasks in which we both believe was strengthened by the *modus operandi* which you so well describe.

You established with the Dominican Consejo in 1962 and with President Bosch in 1963 a close and intimate relationship not free from occasional serious frictions. It involved your direct and forceful participation in many of the top level decisions with which these governments were confronted, and you were immersed in a series of manipulations of the civilian and military leaders of the country. You functioned much as would the authoritative coach of a rather backward football team. And you also coached most of the home team's opponents in the fundamentals of the game!

Trujillo was murdered only six weeks after the Bay of Pigs. Though we were glad to be rid of him, the specter of "another Cuba" haunted us. From the very beginning of the post-

Trujillo era in 1961, we picked the good guys, decided what we wanted to see happen, sent a high level negotiator to see that it did and "despatched the fleet to the horizon to back him up." I cannot help wondering whether if we had let the Dominicans stew in their own juice politically while assisting them economically they might not have cooked up a stew better adapted to their palates and digestions than what was in the event served up to them.

Perhaps we took the situation too seriously. On a number of occasions you state that Bosch, whom you viewed with a closely reasoned pessimism, might well be the Dominicans' last chance at free and representative government. Why last? Such a view was not justified by the Castro/-Communist strength at the time and, even in Cuba, free and representative government will infallibly replace the present personal dictatorship with its Communist orientation.

And then you state that what happened in the Dominican Republic could set a political pattern for all of Latin America. But the Dominican Republic just does not project to Latin America in that way. Nor does Cuba as Castro has discovered to his discomfiture. What does project to Latin America in both these cases is the way we in the United States conduct our relations with these two countries and with others in the area.

At several points you mention the Loeb formula—so called after one of its early practitioners in the current cycle of our intermittent efforts in the course of this century to use leverage to promote constitutional government in the Hemisphere. As you describe it, the formula is one under which, when we perceive a military coup or *golpe* in the offing, we make known to those involved that "the United States would find it extremely difficult to recognize and almost impossible to assist any regime which took power by force or threats of force." Our ability, in a number of cases, to overcome that extreme difficulty and that almost impossibility are on the record. Although at the time of Bosch's fall in 1963, the formula enjoyed strong support in Washington—you quote then Senator Humphrey as remarking that we should "make it crystal clear that military juntas are out, that they will not be given any help, that they will not be recognized, that they will not be tolerated"—I would hope that the inefficacy of the formula is for the present established. Certainly no constitutional government should relax its vigilance or its measures of self-defense because of the notion that we

are guarding its flank against its own military elements. Perhaps as a result the civic muscle in which you and I are interested will be strengthened.

The most painful and dramatic pages in your book are those where you describe your interview with Bosch when he was a prisoner in the hands of the military with whose permission you were able to see him. You spare the reader none of the details even to the sticking of the door as you tried to open it to make your departure from the midst of those who had so completely disregarded your injunctions of the night before. One wonders what was said behind that recalcitrant door after you left. And then the climax: "No one will ever know whether the people would have gone to the streets to protest Bosch's fall if it had not rained!"

Many are the fascinating incidents and thoughts that reward the reader of your fast moving account of the events that led up to the fall of Bosch: the presence of our fleet over the horizon and the entertainment of high Dominican personalities aboard our naval units as factors in the stabilization of the regime; the identification of the fortunes of Bosch with those of the Kennedy administration; the participation of a member of your staff in the drafting of a Dominican ultimatum to Haiti, a draft that was rejected by Bosch who wrote his own; the degree to which considerations based on fears of under-evaluation may have warped our appraisal of the Castro/Communist potential at this time (and later!); your instruction to your staff to express unwavering support for Bosch at all times in their local contacts (an instruction perhaps difficult to carry out to the letter under the circumstances then prevailing without creating an impression of implausibility but one which nevertheless appears to have comforted Bosch when you told him of it); your riposte to Bosch "To hell with that!" when he said that some of your legislative suggestions designed to save his government were unconstitutional; the fake telegram from the Department which you had your staff draft and which you strengthened for possible use in a showdown with the military (it was not used!); Bosch's repeated refusal of your insistent suggestion that you be present at his critical interview with the rebellious military; your last minute message to General Wessin making a number of very definite commitments on behalf of Bosch. Your ingenuity and resilience were extraordinary.

Your final chapters deal with the Civil War and the Intervention in the spring of 1965 when your role though

most important was shared with many other officials of our government. I believe, on the basis of many accounts I have read of those frenzied days and nights, including your own where you maintain your high narrative and historical standards, that intervention for any purpose other than the evacuation of American citizens was regrettable and that the consequences of the action we took will be with us, with the Dominicans and with the rest of the Hemisphere in unfortunate ways for a generation to come. But then perhaps the policy we had pursued in the island since 1961, the "another Cuba" complex, the intelligence estimates that most caught our fancy at the time—all combined to make the action so nearly inevitable as to render the discussion of a possible alternative academic. From now on, however, the possibility of another intervention will be a factor in the thinking and the behavior of all concerned in the future destinies of the Dominican Republic. And the impact of that possibility will be to warp and stunt the inevitably slow and painful progress toward responsible democracy in that unhappy country. Will not the Dominicans tend—some with regret and some with satisfaction—to consider that their political fate is ultimately not in their hands but in ours?

Your observations on the relative merits of career and political Ambassadors were naturally of special interest to me. Your thesis, as I understand it, is that the political appointee can indulge in more independent decisions and actions than the career man because the former, unlike the latter, has no career on the line in the event the decision or action goes sour. The political appointee is thus in a position to be less cautious, more imaginative, more vigorous. I dissent. In theory and in practice, the actions and the decisions of an Ambassador should reflect policy established in Washington taking into account the Ambassador's recommendations. The latter are most important and he is rated on their quality. The domestic political or administration ingredient should be injected in Washington rather than by the Ambassador in the field. The need for freewheeling should be minimal.

I am in complete agreement with you when you write that we can no longer afford hacks in Ambassadorial posts. It may be prejudice on my part but I believe the career system of selection has done a better job of keeping hacks from the top echelon of the Foreign Service than has the mechanism concerned with the appointment of political figures to Ambassadorial posts. But we all know

that many brilliant and courageous political appointees have served our country abroad particularly in recent years. I have been privileged to have served with some of them and to have had first hand knowledge of the work of many others.

We have come a long way in this respect since the day in the last century when my father, a young reporter, asked the then Secretary of State why the President had appointed to a diplomatic post a certain man who soon proved himself spectacularly unsuitable. The Secretary replied: "I can assure you the President would not have made the appointment if he had had any idea he would ever hear from the man again!"

In closing, let me repeat how impressed I am with your account of the gallant, energetic and resourceful campaign you conducted to transfuse into the Dominican body politic the values and methods you identified with our political system in general and with the Kennedy administration in particular. You admit failure. I believe that it was the concept itself and not your brilliant work on its behalf that was at fault. A process involving the constant participation of the American Ambassador, no matter how high his motives or how great his political skill, in the domestic affairs of the country to which he is accredited cannot produce constructive results. On the other hand, an American Ambassador knowledgeable as to the political realities of the country where he is stationed as well as thoroughly imbued with and motivated by the aspirations of our own political system and able to build relationships of close friendship and mutual confidence with key local figures is in a position to exercise a beneficent and discreet influence in a variety of ways and may indeed find great opportunities of usefulness at critical moments. But this role, for which you have such outstanding and demonstrated capacities, is far removed from the concept that the American Ambassador in certain countries and under certain circumstances should participate conspicuously and continually in the command decisions of the government to which he has been accredited.

I would not have you think that I am advocating a passive or negative role for our Ambassadors particularly in the countries of the Western Hemisphere. I am convinced that in furthering our interests within the legitimate bilateral field of those interests and in developing broad and potentially useful relationships through as wide as possible a spectrum of the leadership elements they will find work that will absorb and more than

absorb the energies of the most vigorous and industrious among them.

With my most cordial regards and a renewed expression of admiration for your book and for the work you did in the Dominican Republic, believe me,

Sincerely yours,
PHILIP W. BONSAI

Washington

A Dispassionate Documented Analysis

IN this symposium, the nature of the war in Vietnam and its significance for Asia and the West are discussed in essays by fifteen political analysts. Seven are Asians—from Vietnam, India, Laos, Korea and the Philippines.

The situation of Vietnam is compared with pertinent experiences of Korea, Laos and the Philippines; policies and attitudes of the United States, India and Australia towards Vietnam are surveyed; the character of guerrilla warfare is explained—among a number of other matters. Professor Robert Scalapino of Berkeley writes on Vietnam and world peace, P. J. Honey, author of "North Vietnam Today," on the origins of the war in Vietnam, and Brian Crozier, author of "South-East Asia in Turmoil," on communist subversion in Southeast Asia.

Despite the eminence of its contributors, this collection of essays provides a *tour d'horizon*, not a study in depth. It presents much valuable information and perceptive interpretation; at the same time, its far-ranging kaleidoscopic approach is almost overwhelming in variety of subject matter. Nonetheless, it is well worth the reading, and especially so because it sets forth representative Asian opinion. Its dispassionate, documented analysis of the complex Vietnam problem is a respite from the opinionated, "I-Was-There" personal chronicles of American newsmen.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM—SEEN FROM EAST AND WEST, edited by Sibnarayan Ray. Praeger, \$5.95.

The Small-d Democrat

A FULL-LENGTH biography of a man who held important posts under every Democratic President between the Civil War and World War II, among them Secretary of the Navy and Ambassador to Mexico, and who died more than 18 years ago, has long been overdue. This need has now been amply filled by Professor Joseph L. Morrison's "Josephus Daniels: The Small-d Democrat."

Perhaps the chief reason for the delay was that Daniels' own five-volume autobiography began appear-

ing as long ago as 1936, while he was in Mexico City. I reviewed that volume for the Foreign Service JOURNAL at the time and, as a result, came near being transferred to Mexico City. Mr. Daniels wanted some help on research. Jack Earhardt, Chief of Personnel, ruled against the transfer.

The present volume is sympathetic, as well it should be since the University of North Carolina, where Professor Morrison teaches, was almost as near to Ambassador Daniels' heart as prohibition, the Raleigh NEWS AND OBSERVER, which he owned and published for over 50 years, and the Democratic Party, which he served well and faithfully from his earliest youth until his death in 1948, at the age of 86.

There can be no doubt that Josephus Daniels was a lifetime liberal, whose heart beat for the little fellow and the under-privileged. Unlike most men, he did not grow more conservative as he grew older. In fact, his chief departure from the liberal ranks came in his 30's, when the Democrats in North Carolina were struggling to gain control of the State following the reconstruction era. The Negro vote was solidly Republican, and Mr. Daniels, as a politician, found himself aligned with the whites against the colored voters. Professor Morrison admits that Daniels "was not in his best form" during an episode in 1903, when John Spencer Bassett, a history professor at Trinity (now Duke) wrote an article stating that Booker T. Washington was "the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years." Editor Daniels led the hue and cry against Bassett, demanding that he be driven from the faculty. Politics make strange bedfellows. The Duke family, rich and conservative Republicans, upheld Bassett on the basis of academic freedom, while Daniels, the liberal Democrat, was vicious in his attacks against Bassett and the small Methodist college.

Despite this incident, Daniels came to be beloved by the Negroes of his State because of his undisputed sympathy for their underprivileged condition. Although he refused to discuss racial questions during his later years and was heard once to murmur that the problem was unsolvable, his deep emotional and religious belief in the brotherhood of man were qualities which stood out above all else.

When Daniels was named Ambassador to Mexico by his former assistant, Franklin Roosevelt, the press of both the US and Mexico played up the fact that he had been Secretary of the Navy in 1914, when the US bombarded and seized Vera Cruz. Professor Morrison's book makes it

clear how this great humanitarian became, despite the initial handicap, the most beloved, and now venerated, American in the history of US-Mexican relations.

—GEORGE V. ALLEN

JOSEPHUS DANIELS: THE SMALL-D DEMOCRAT, by Joseph L. Morrison. University of North Carolina Press, \$7.50.

"Rare Kind of Heretic"

US FOREIGN aid programs stem from "a muddle of mixed motives," asserts Mr. Brynes. His implied thesis on historic calamities—more often the outcome of confused objectives than the effect of evil intentions—is acceptable. But an author faces a challenge who attempts to disentangle motives in courses of action as complex, as deeply embedded in the psychological substratum of a nation and as diversely affected by the changing realities of a world in "progress" as the courses followed by US foreign aid. Bravely confronting the wave of sloganry and tearing apart the partitions of hardened categories, Mr. Brynes develops the view that United States foreign aid overshoots the mark: gingerly aimed at peace-keeping, it may well add fuel to latent conflicts. "A connection between other people's welfare and US security," Mr. Brynes reasons, is indirect at best and too loose to prevent deviations from stated purposes and the encounter of unexpected pitfalls.

"We Give To Conquer" searches for "the problem, the gap, the irrationality" in the US stance. Figures and institutional details are adduced for illustrative purposes. Accidental inaccuracies are witness to the author's discomfort with AID's changing organizational pattern and micro-macro economics. The title is flippant but it describes admirably Mr. Brynes's dual criticism of foreign aid: international credits, loans and technical assistance could be justified as trade incentives but their higher purpose of benevolence leads to a fatal exercise of power politics.

Since public aid always includes a grant component, the US Government is tempted to exact a *quid-pro-quo* for the grant. This affords a justification at home. And the *quid-pro-quo* is well meant: it generally consists of conditions intended for the benefit of the recipient. But adversaries who deliberately misconstrue the conditions expose the "strings" as neo-colonialist and, by opposing, they emulate them. Soviet Union and United States competition in foreign aid, Mr. Brynes continues, is now duplicated by competition among members of the ex-bloc and among members of the Free

World alliance. Kindled by competitive foreign intervention under the guise of assistance, marginal conflicts, always latent among the six-score national states that encompass the earth, threaten to spark up a nuclear conflagration.

Mr. Brynes does not forget that American assistance is some thirty times as large as communist assistance but he finds little comfort in this fact. A challenge to Communists, the very extension of the US aid enterprise affords them opportunities for selective intervention. Power politics supported by aid are costly but can assistance be dissociated from the use of power? Human nature being what it is, aid activities boost the donor's ego, debilitate the recipient's will and leave the former no alternative but loss of his investment or imposition of his will on the weaker. Mr. Brynes follows the process in many programs from failures of mass philanthropy at home to "Diplomatic Use of Food," and advances the conclusion that the more benevolent government aid proclaims itself the more subject it is to debasement in the political arena.

Mr. Brynes is no dogmatist. He affords the reader an opportunity for "restoring the meaning of words"—a first step in policy making according to the Chinese philosopher. He proposes various schemes that would limit the risks of foreign entanglement and could make economic development a truly universal undertaking. But he is far from confident that nations in their impatience for "progress" will follow the counsels of peace. A rare kind of heretic—Mr. Brynes: he challenges policies on grounds of effectiveness, not on grounds of morality. The morally strong should welcome this type of heresy.

—CHARLES H. TAQUEY

WE GIVE TO CONQUER, by Ashler Brynes. Norton, \$4.50

A Tale for Our Time

I WAS on Great Cambyes Selection Board. Satrapes from afar were being selected out. We, poor scribes, were ruining our eyes on clay tablets brought in by ten thousand camels. Five thousand among them had suffered broken backs. The Satrape of Gaul came up. His glory was like the sun, but he had a check mark on the low case of his Performance Rating Tablet, item II-17. He would have gone below the line in his category: But, Old, Wizened Magian Gaumata spoke up: "Leave the Gaul in, lest the Scythian arise!" . . .

The nightmare was over. An ill-kept promise to review a few books on the French President was its cause. Here are the books: Schoenbrun's "Three Lives," a background study with a keen sense for the mistelling anecdote and "De Gaulle: Implacable Ally," a montage of speeches implacably translated. The Petain—De Gaulle parallel by M. Tournoux would remain a rhetorical exercise but for a narrative of now-forgotten, early relations between the two leaders. Fabre-Luce's summons of the hero before the tribunal of history is a graphic picture of French intellectuals' mood with respect to their public figures. French intellectuals will never find themselves in agreement: Fabre-Luce's is a trial without a verdict . . . Magian Gaumata did not sit on his jury . . .

—CHARLES H. TAQUEY

THE TRIAL OF CHARLES DE GAULLE, by Alfred Fabre-Luce. Frederick A. Praeger, \$4.95.

SONS OF FRANCE: PETAIN AND DE GAULLE, by Jean-Raymond Tournoux, The Viking Press, \$5.95.

DE GAULLE: IMPLACABLE ALLY, Roy C. Macridis, Editor. Harper & Row, \$6.00. THE THREE LIVES OF CHARLES DE GAULLE, by David Schoenbrun. Atheneum, \$6.95.

At Your Own Risk

THIS is a solemn word of warning to all American Males. If you think you have yourself and all women attached to you more or less under control you might as well give this book the skip. If on the other hand your brain is sometimes invaded by the suspicion that your psyche could do with a little repair work and that your adjustment to women needs a little guidance, this book might be enormously helpful. It examines some of the current sexual illusions and the mere stigmatization of the illusions might help to soothe a few fevered brows.

—ASGER T. SCRIBNER

THE AMERICAN MALE, by Myron Brenton. Coward-McCann, \$5.95.

On International Systems Research

THE DEPARTMENT, as everyone knows, is now busily looking into ways to use computers in the management of foreign affairs. In part, this is a response to a White House directive of last summer instructing the heads of federal agencies to give priority to the use of electronic computers. It may even be a form of recognition in some quarters of a need for greater rationality in the conduct of the Department's affairs. In any case, it is an acknowledgement of the efforts of computer-minded persons outside the

government to develop a theory of international relations whose propositions are based either upon logical or mathematical proof, or upon strict, empirical procedures of verification.

The authors of the present volume of essays in the theory of international politics are skeptical of the scientific—some would say scientific—school of international theory and systems analysis. As Hedley Bull, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Research Unit of the British Foreign Office and a contributor to this collection, put it in a recent article in *WORLD POLITICS* (not included in this volume),

. . . if we confine ourselves to strict standards of verification and proof there is very little that can be said about international relations, . . . general propositions about this subject must therefore derive from a scientifically imperfect process of perception or intuition, and . . . these general propositions cannot be accorded anything more than the tentative and inconclusive status appropriate to their doubtful origin.

What, in these circumstances, the policy maker must do, we learn from these "Diplomatic Investigations," is to rely on his own careful and critical reading of history. Of the kind of history, one might add, found in this thoughtful, gracefully-written group of essays on such subjects as natural law, collective security, and the balance of power.

This approach to the subject doubtless leaves the foreign affairs practitioner as far as ever from a reliable formula for dealing with the Cyprus question, the Panama Canal problem, or any other topic one would wish to name. Necessarily, therefore, it also leaves the foreign affairs administrator equally without reliable outside guidance—electronic or otherwise—in applying his judgment to administrative matters: how, say, to allocate representation funds between posts in backward countries and advanced, in friendly areas and hostile, or in high cost capitals and low.

It is much to the credit of the Rockefeller Foundation and its then head, Mr. Rusk, that the British Committee on the Theory of International Politics was brought together some years back and given the assistance and encouragement which ultimately led to the publication of this superior little book.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

DIPLOMATIC INVESTIGATIONS: Essays in the Theory of International Politics, edited by Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight. Harvard, \$6.25.

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MCCARTHY

(Continued from page 27)

stripe I wore with pride. In due course the proper procedures were worked out so that this effective device could continue to be used.

In addition to the flow of information from inside sources, Roy Cohn and his staff worked long and hard digging into the backgrounds of their marked victims. When the Committee had a particularly sensational item to display, McCarthy would make sure of a full attendance of his fellow senators on the Committee and arrange for television coverage.

From New York we watched these spectacles with mixed emotions. The attack on Reed Harris, then Acting General Manager of the International Information Administration, was a saddening spectacle. Watching Brad Conners, the very able deputy for policy in IIA, become impaled on the question whether he had read Karl Marx was suspenseful. He chose to say he relied on his experts to provide him with information on the enemy doctrine and was castigated by McCarthy for trying to direct US information policy without a firsthand knowledge of the position of the enemy.

More ominous, however, was the appearance at these hearings of several people from the Voice of America in New York, who used this forum to make irresponsible personal attacks on many high-ranking American diplomats, including among others Chester Bowles, Ambassador to India. It now became clear that the McCarthy staff had invited many disgruntled and frustrated employees at the Voice to use the Committee as a means to air grievances against decisions which had been made in full knowledge of all the facts, sometimes because of budgetary stringency and sometimes because of strong objections from field posts to whose immediate knowledge of the situation in their respective countries we had to defer. The illusion was cleverly created by Roy Cohn, and it persisted for a long time among some people at the Voice, that the Committee was in a position to reverse some of the decisions of the "Washington bureaucracy" in connection with zealously advocated personal projects.

Within the Voice factions formed, secret meetings were held and everyone looked upon everyone else with suspicion and distrust. Any off-the-cuff remark or innocent wisecrack could be transmitted to the ubiquitous and diligent Cohn whose mind was quite capable of twisting the context to make lèse-majesté or softness on Communism, or something verging on subversion out of any casual comment.

The newspaper headline, "Policy Advisor at Voice Describes Religious Program Director as Atheist," was a transmutation of a casual (and careless) remark of mine to Assistant Secretary Edward W. Barrett when he asked me about the sectarian affiliations of our religious program director. I replied, half seriously and half jokingly, that it was unconstitutional to make religious affiliation a criterion for employment and added, "For all I know, the man might be an atheist." This I knew *not* to be true, because the individual was a sincere, conscientious reformed Jew who had spent much time abroad and in the United States, studying comparative religions.

In briefing new desk officers, it was impressed upon them that our first concern was with the national security of the United States. Our strong and vigorous opposition to communism was because of its alliance to Soviet military power and the real and present threat to impose their political views by force of arms. We emphasized that we were prepared to tolerate and compete with other political systems on merit and public acceptability, but were opposed to coercion. With coaching from Mr. Cohn one of these hapless informants "translated" this to the Committee as a statement that "our enemy was not communism."

In cases of this sort, the Committee staff procedure was to have these headline-making charges blared in the light of TV cameras to the full Committee. Only if the other Senators

insisted—as Stuart Symington did—were the targets of the charges invited (*not* requested) to defend themselves by setting things in the proper context. To make sure the rebuttal got buried on the back page of the day's news the victims were heard in the late closing hours of the afternoon after most Senators and news reporters had departed about their other business.

After having made pretty much of a shambles at IIA headquarters in Washington, McCarthy announced that he was moving his hearings to New York. On the eve of the hearings we obtained knowledge of Mr. Cohn's list which contained the names of those marked for "victimization" in New York. It was a puzzling list, ranging from broadcast construction engineers and administrators, to people involved in policy, programming, research and evaluation. The common denominator was that they were all what would be called in government "good jobs," that is, those that paid enough to make them useful for political patronage and which carried some authority.

During the Presidential campaign of 1952, the Voice of America had about the same proportion of Stevenson enthusiasts as any other agency of government, or, for that matter, any other organization in the United States. The coverage of the campaign in our output had been meticulously balanced down to word count, emphasis and even voice inflection. This had been standard practice in the Information Agency since the Dewey-Truman campaign of 1948 when the Agency really had to scrounge for Truman material to balance its coverage. The real message to get across was the essentially free nature of the election process. Senator McCarthy expressed some incredulity when I informed him at one of the hearings that we had broadcast extensive backgrounders on General Eisenhower's world-wide experience to point up his qualifications for the Presidency. Despite some partisan disappointment, the people at the Voice were happy and even enthusiastic about the General's election.

There was hope that the new administration of President Eisenhower and, more immediately, Secretary Dulles, would have a more sympathetic attitude toward the Voice of America. When President Truman launched his "Campaign for Truth" in mid-1950 and requested a tripling of the information budget largely to allow for increased power for VOA to breach the Iron Curtain, support for an expanded propaganda effort was voiced before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on July 5th by Secretary Acheson, General George C. Marshall, John Foster Dulles (then an adviser to Acheson) and by General Dwight D. Eisenhower. It understandably came as somewhat of a shock when the new Secretary indicated that he wished to divorce the "pure" foreign policy making function from operations. But it was a real let-down when he followed this by a statement that he was unwilling to defend each individual or operation which McCarthy was investigating.

During the hearings in New York there was a steady procession of employees from the VOA to the Waldorf Towers headquarters of Mr. Cohn. Those who had nothing to "contribute" to Roy Cohn's purposes were dismissed after a few brief questions. Others were encouraged to air frustrations and coached in the manner of presentation. It is difficult to judge the motivations and actions of these people. Their own backgrounds, in many cases, had made political accommodation a way of life for them. To them, Senator McCarthy represented the new political power. They wished to retain their jobs, for which they possessed unique qualifications not marketable any place else in the domestic broadcast industry. Many of them quietly offered their considerable talents to universities and other foreign broadcast agencies such as Radio Free Europe and left in a dignified way. Others doggedly defended what we were trying to do and refused to seek personal advantage.

Meanwhile back at headquarters the show had to go on.

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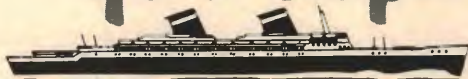
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Morale had plunged to an all time low. The large staff policy meetings at 9 a.m. every morning became a high adventure as the factions openly disagreed. On one occasion after I had read the policy guidance on a particularly controversial issue, which had been hammered out with Washington in the early morning hours, there was open revolt and uproar until someone shouted: "Don't shoot the piano-player; he didn't write the music!"

A more serious disruption of our operation occurred on the day Stalin died. What we said in our Russian broadcasts had to be carefully formulated. Yet on that day the head of our Russian broadcast service was summoned to Washington to appear before a session of the McCarthy Committee and we were forced to improvise our output till his return.

To the lasting credit of the majority of the VOA employees they put the service of their country ahead of their disputes and differences and carried on a creditable operation until the sound and fury had died down. One suicide and at least two nervous breakdowns which required hospitalization can be attributed, at least in part, to the investigations. How many others still carry traumatic scars is impossible to estimate.

The McCarthy investigation of the information program—unlike the concurrent investigation by the Hickenlooper Committee—was *not* conducted to produce information on which to base better legislation and provide Congress with a more informed judgment in making appropriations. It was designed to produce personal publicity for Senator McCarthy and, probably also, to make as many "Democrats" (McCarthy would say "incompetents and subversives") as possible leave good jobs in government to make room for other appointments. In both these objectives he succeeded. On July 30, 1953, the Republican-dominated Senate Appropriations Subcommittee added a rider to the USIA appropriation giving the new director of USIA authority until January 1, 1954, to fire any employee—a move described by the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY as "aimed at weeding out both Democrats and incompetents" (Congress and the Nation 1945-1960, p. 214). A great number of highly competent people both in the State Department and the USIA resigned rather than undergo the kind of examination the Committee conducted. In the success of McCarthy's personal publicity campaign, the public media, despite some valiant isolated attempts at countering him, must bear a large part of the blame. During the Voice hearings, for example, a simple telephone call to the target victims of distorted charges would at least have placed a balancing reply alongside the original charge.

On the debit side of the McCarthy ledger I would list the following harmful effects, in ascending order of importance:

- The personal tragedies of large numbers of hard-working conscientious government workers who were vilified on flimsy and irrelevant grounds;
- The loss to the government of a great many competent public servants who turned away from the indignities of the hearings and resigned because of the lack of support from their superiors;
- The tolerated demagogic attack upon the Civil Service principle which animates thousands of able people to serve their government loyally, irrespective of political changes in administration;
- The infection of McCarthy's albeit temporary success which spread among his colleagues in both the Senate and House;
- The loss of respect and prestige abroad for American processes of democracy, principally in Europe, but also in other areas.
- Misleading the American public about the nature of our conflict with communism to the point that anti-Communism has become a horse for any demagogue to ride.

Of those who blandly say we dealt with McCarthyism, I can only ask: At what price?

THE ROMAN STATES

(Continued from page 31)

evening of June 21, 1859 when Swiss mercenaries in the papal service, "restoring rebellious Perugia to legitimate authority," pillaged the hotel, shot its proprietor, threatened the Americans and carried off their jewelry, money and clothing. Stockton fired off a stiffly-worded protest demanding punishment of the guilty soldiers and compensation for the damages caused the Perkins family. Though contesting some of the reported facts of the assault and looting, Cardinal Antonelli made a full apology for the deplorable incident and sent Stockton a package containing 3256 Roman scudi in gold. This corresponded to the value of the missing articles, to which Stockton had added the sum of 1000 scudi for incidental damage caused by the loss of private and valuable papers.

The case excited much attention in America and the President was asked to keep the US Senate fully informed.

The war and revolution lapping at the shrinking circumference of the Papal states and the gathering clouds of insurrection and civil war in the United States take up most of Stockton's later correspondence with the State Department. But now and then he finds time to record a major item of local history such as the official visit of the Pope to the newly-dedicated North American College. The College, on Via dell' Umiltà, not far from the Quirinale, continues today as an active Roman institution that has trained thousands of American priests in the century since its founding. The papal visit is commemorated by a stone tablet on the grounds of the college.

John Stockton resigned his commission when the Lincoln administration took office and later served his native State of New Jersey with distinction in the US Senate and as attorney general.

General King's eventful four year tenure saw the close of American diplomatic relations with the Roman States. Rufus King reached Rome after leading the Wisconsin brigade in the Civil War. Much of his initial time was occupied in reporting and countering the maneuvers of Confederate agents, who sought in vain to obtain papal recognition of the South. Immediately on arriving he was asked to check a report that the Pope had recognized the Confederacy. This turned out to have been inferred by advocates of the Southern cause from an acknowledgment by Pius IX of a letter by Jefferson Davis. Davis had seen fit to thank the Pope for his message to the Archbishop of New Orleans voicing hope for the early restoration of peace. The Pope's note of reply was addressed to Davis as President of the Confederate States, which was the way he had signed himself.

Cardinal Antonelli reassured King that recognition of the Confederacy was neither implied nor intended, the Pope's acknowledgement being "a simple act of courtesy devoid of any political design."

The Pope and the Cardinal Secretary held frequent conversations with Minister King on the progress of the war, welcoming news of Union successes and of President Lincoln's re-election. When news of President Lincoln's assassination on the night of April 14th at Ford's theater in Washington reached Rome two weeks later it was a totally unexpected shock that brought expressions of indignation and sympathy from every quarter. "As the tidings spread," King reported to the Department, "the Americans in Rome gathered together at the rooms of the US Legation and held a meeting to give utterance to the feelings which the news had excited in every loyal breast. The resolutions I transmit herewith but feebly express the intense emotions which the dastardly crime of the Southern conspirators has everywhere aroused. Nor is this confined only to our own countrymen. From the Cardinal Secretary of State, the Ambassadors of France, Spain and Austria, the representatives of Russia and Brazil and other members of the Diplomatic Corps, and from some of the

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principal Roman nobility and citizens, I have received assurances of the utter detestation with which they regard the crime and of their profound sympathy with the Government and People of the United States in this hour of terrible trial and affliction."

King's great day came with the discovery in the Papal Zouaves of a key figure in the conspiracy against the life of Lincoln. John H. Surratt, accused of complicity in the murder of President Lincoln and a fugitive from justice in the United States, was spotted in the Papal guard by a fellow soldier, of Canadian origin, who had known Surratt (alias John Watson) during his plotting days at Baltimore. The Canadian Zouave, Henri Beaumont de St. Marie, offered to testify against Surratt before an American court, if his release from the Papal service and passage to US could be secured. He testified under oath before General King as to his positive identification of Surratt whom he had met while teaching school at the village of Ellengowan outside of Baltimore and of Surratt's admission of complicity in the plot and membership in the Secret Service of the South.

In the absence of an extradition treaty King was instructed to lay the case before the Papal government, requesting the arrest and handing over of Surratt as a voluntary act considering the gravity of the crime. Cardinal Antonelli agreed with King, and General Kanzler, the Minister of War, subsequently sent orders to the Zouave Battalion Commander at Velletri to have Surratt brought to Rome under secure escort. It was a crestfallen Antonelli who told King a few days later that the prisoner, escorted by a detachment of six armed men commanded by a corporal, escaped by jumping over a balustrade and plunging 35 feet into a ravine. His fall was broken by garbage from the barracks accumulated on the rocky ledge below. An immediate pursuit organized by the company commander yielded only a peasant who reported he had seen an unarmed Zouave heading towards the nearby border of Tuscany.

An international cops-and-robbers chase ensued, involving the American diplomatic and consular representatives at Turin, Naples, Malta and Alexandria, Egypt. Surratt succeeded in making his way to Naples and obtained passage on a steamer to Alexandria. Various breakdowns and delays in communications between consulates facilitated his getaway, but he was ultimately apprehended by Charles Hale, American Consul General at Alexandria, on November 27, 1866, three weeks after his astonishing leap to freedom at Velletri. Admiral Goldsborough, commanding the US Mediterranean Fleet, was ordered to send a warship to Alexandria to convey the prisoner to the United States. The corvette *Swatara* was dispatched on this mission from Civitavecchia. Also on board was the ex-private, St. Marie, whose release from the Zouaves had in the meanwhile been obtained. The corvette had been sent to Civitavecchia ostensibly to be available in case of need for the evacuation of American residents. But there was another, secret, reason: two trusted counselors of the Pope, the Minister of War and the Pontiff's private chaplain, were holding confidential conversations with General King. "I have received from several officials of the Papal Government," the Minister wrote Seward, "intimations that the presence of the American Ship of War at Civitavecchia was highly desirable and that if the Pope felt compelled to abandon Rome, he might seek refuge in the United States. General Kanzler, the Minister of War, and Monsignor Nardi, domestic chaplain to the Pope—both, it must be presumed in His Holiness' confidence—each expressed very explicitly the opinion that the only country in which the Pope could seek and find a suitable and secure asylum was the great Republic of America. General Kanzler added the expression of his earnest hope that the Pope would take this course and seemed anxious to know how I thought it would be received in the US."

King told General Kanzler he had no doubt that His

Holiness would be welcomed in America, the home of religious and civil liberty, and left unmolested to carry on his great work as Head of the Catholic Church. While Seward approved the course taken by King in calling for a Man of War to be on hand in case of need, he expressed strong doubts and implied criticism of the Minister's hasty conclusions: "I do not find in your despatch sufficient grounds for assuming that His Holiness entertains any idea of coming to the United States in the event of apprehended revolutionary movements in Rome. Certainly it would be indiscreet and disrespectful to the Pope were I to assume that he entertains that idea on no better grounds than the fact that irresponsible individuals who hold subordinate places under the Papal Government are discussing it in the political circles of Rome."

Seward may have been overly harsh in his assessment of Kanzler and Nardi as irresponsible and subordinate. The events of the day make it entirely conceivable that they were sent to sound out the American government on the asylum issue.

Consul David M. Armstrong, last of the eleven consuls, wrote only one lengthy despatch in the final year of the Pontifical State. It was his detailed and dramatic eyewitness account of the fall of Rome to the troops of the Italian Kingdom, September 20, 1870. His careful account projects the awareness of having participated in an historic event that needed to be fixed on paper for posterity: "I know of no correspondent of an American newspaper having been here during the siege, and have thought that an account even of some trifling things, might be of value."

Among the incidents he reports that a bullet passed through an upper window of the American Consulate, then located at the Palazzo Zuccari, 64 Via Sistina, without causing damage.

Armstrong stayed on as first consul general to the Kingdom of Italy after Rome was proclaimed its capital and a new chapter in America's diplomatic relations opened with the accreditation of George P. Marsh as first American Minister to the capital of the united Kingdom of Italy at Rome.

The birth of the nation was closely watched from the other shore of the Atlantic: "More than ten thousand citizens celebrate today the union of Rome with Italy and send their congratulations," read the text of the telegram dispatched by a testimonial mass meeting at the New York Academy of Music, January 12, 1871. Theodore Roosevelt, father of the twenty-sixth President, headed the list of organizers. ■

Perils of the Foreign Service: 1850

Despatch of Chargé d'Affaires Lewis Cass, Jr. to Secretary of State John M. Clayton of June 14, 1850. This is despatch No. 27 of the Lewis Cass Jr., series.

*Legation of the United States
Rome, June 14, 1850*

Sir,

I beg leave to submit to your attention the following statement:

A short time since, a man and a woman, Italians, who described themselves as servants in the service of a Mr. Smith, an Englishman, residing in Rome, applied to me for assistance, in behalf of their mistress, an Italian lady, the wife of this gentleman. Mr. Smith, they informed me, was the proprietor of the Villa Palatina, built upon the ruins of the ancient palace of the Cesars, in the subterranean dungeons of which he had immured his wife, whom they believed to be at the point of death. For several years, they said, she had endured the most brutal treatment from her husband, who had even attempted to take her life. They informed me that by artifice Mr. Smith had decoyed his wife into the subterranean dungeons beneath the Villa, and secured her in one of the dark, mouldering cells, and that it was only after a diligent search of two days, in conjunction with the other servants of

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the Villa, they had succeeded in finding the place of her confinement. Immediately upon this discovery, they concerted measures for her release, and addressed themselves to me, as, in their opinion, the proper authority. The British Government, as you are aware, has no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Americans and Englishmen are very often indiscriminately confounded by the lower classes of Rome, and it was under the impression that I was the English Minister, that this application was made to me for assistance. I immediately communicated the information I had thus received to the Police authorities, and in the course of an hour, as I subsequently learned, Mrs. Smith was removed, in a state of insensibility, from the dungeon in which she had been immured. A few days afterwards, her husband had her conveyed, at midnight, to an obscure convent, accusing her of an intention to elope with three different individuals, of whom I was named as one. As soon as this fact came to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities, an investigation into the circumstances was instituted, at the instance of the Austrian Ambassador, which resulted in the immediate liberation of Mrs. Smith. Mr. Smith has left Rome, highly incensed at the action of the Government. Previous to his departure, he caused a calumnious report to be circulated, charging me with improper conduct towards his wife. It is the general opinion that he is deranged, and certainly his conduct warrants this belief. In communicating to the Police the information of which I had become possessed, I but yielded to the dictates of common humanity—to the instinctive impulses of nature, and no man, I think, of proper feelings, would have done otherwise. The language of Mr. Smith, however, assails my official as well as private conduct, and I have therefore considered it my duty to lay before you the preceding statement.

Respectfully,

Lewis Cass, Jr.

VOA HISTORY

(Continued from page 25)

6-25KW, and 6-50 KW, transmitters.

- B. Project North—updating of facilities in Great Britain.
- C. Protect Larry—development of facilities in Monrovia.
- D. Transportable short-wave transmitters—these units are capable of being air-lifted anywhere for practically immediate use. They were used during the Cuban Missile crisis.
- E. Projects Bamboo (Far East) and Gamma (Near East) intended to bolster the VOA signal in these areas.

The appointment of Edward R. Murrow, veteran broadcaster, as USIA director in 1961 seemed to give added lift to the VOA. John Chancellor, another veteran broadcaster, assumed the duties of VOA director in 1965.

On February 26, 1962, the VOA celebrated its 20th birthday. The late President Kennedy stated at the commemorative ceremony:

"in the last 20 years the Voice of America and its parent organization have grown in strength and in stature, but in the next 20 years our opportunities to tell our story will expand beyond belief. The event of the Communications Satellite, the modernization of education of less-developed nations, the new wonders of electronics and technology, all these and other developments will give our generation an unprecedented opportunity to tell our story. And we must not only be equal to the opportunity but to the challenge as well . . ."

This account was but a brief sketch of the Voice's 25-year history. It is more than evident that the Voice has not only been equal to the opportunity but to the challenge as well—in the past, and most assuredly in the future. ■

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Don't Kick the Computer

MESSRS. BRAY, CONSTABLE, et al,¹ are very perceptive: the Foreign Service and most other large organizations could use greater executive competence. But, you do not get it by merely superimposing an economics, analytical, and business administration background upon "un-usual competence in diplomacy."

As a former FSO, now managing a large corporation's department of "economists, mathematics-oriented analysts and computer experts," I can assure Mr. Bray and his colleagues that most people of this type do not make good executives either.² And for precisely the reason that most FSOs do not: they prefer to concentrate on their professional specializations rather than spend a lot of time on managerial activities. The Bray article rightly points out that the executive succeeds through the efforts of others; in the Foreign Service this translates into the senior man giving adequate supervision and leadership (and nearly equal time!) to each of the major activities at his post—consular, public affairs, political and economic reporting, administrative, etc. But in fact, at a large post the ambassador or consul general more often concentrates on political and/or economic reporting.

I find it hard to agree with the article's notion of how large corporations develop their executives ("tracks [for] . . . sales and production . . . administrative support . . . and developing executive staffs"). Rather, I believe that most corporations rely upon competition in management positions to indicate their best executive material. In the case of corporations that do not have good executive management, it has frequently turned out to be because they promote out-

standing, but narrow, specialists to positions that are beyond the fields of their greatest interest. This is somewhat analogous to the Foreign Service emphasis (as described by the Bray article) on "diplomatic technicians" rather than broad executive competence.

Again, the authors are to be commended for their interest in new techniques (even though the use thereof will not make executives out of "dedicated non-managers"). Few things have hurt the Foreign Service's image as much as its members' expression of derision, in the JOURNAL and elsewhere, at the application of mathematical techniques to problems in international affairs. On the record, improvement is necessary; and while operations research or systems analysis may not be the answer, those who have never used the techniques are in no position to criticize.

STEVEN KLINE
Huntington Beach, Calif.

The Risk of Obsolescence

THE JOURNAL seems increasingly to be discharging the vital function of dissenting from sacred shibboleths. A fine case in point was the challenging article in the November issue in which six Foreign Service Officers contend that the Foreign Service risks obsolescence unless it modernizes.

The bold thesis is broadly convincing. We must move the Foreign Service closer toward the center of formulation and implementation of foreign policy. To the authors, this means emphasizing our elitiness, by giving us virtual monopoly over the functions of command and coordination. It was not explained how motivation and quality would remain among our minions, once their bases for dreaming grand and glorious careers were eliminated.

In any event, they were legitimately concerned that "in 1966 . . . the principal tools of foreign affairs . . . are controlled by agencies not fully responsive to the Department of State (i.e., the Department of Defense, AID, USIA, CIA, Agriculture, Commerce, etc.)." The latter named two agencies and "etc." are, of course, primarily concerned with specific "domestic" sectors which, in a globe being rapidly shrunk by accelerating technological developments, to an ever greater degree interlock with the "domestic" sectors of other nations. Such considerations pose huge problems. but at the present point, the huger problems relate to the fact that the other four agencies named are primarily concerned with our business, namely, the world outside the United

States and its impact upon us. This is what egregiously complicates our tasks. In fact, such issues as these seem to be more and more tangled up with efforts to understand what has happened in Southeast Asia since 1954. Similarly, the institutional complexity of our foreign policy processes tends the policy itself toward an unfortunate rigidity.

Might one not question whether an even more radical—or reactionary—therapy than that posed by the authors would be pertinent to our malady? Might one not seriously consider whether, instead of exclusively seizing and holding the commanding posts in the hierarchy, the preponderant mass of the posts, could, in a rationalized order, be dispensed with? True, we are frequently told that bureaucracies can never be abolished. But less than a generation ago, we learned that aircraft could never fly faster than the speed of sound. History eternally reiterates that today's "facts" become yesterday's superstitions.

Among the most influential forces which have dominated US foreign policy since World War II have been a number of phenomena flowing from our National Security Act of 1947. The National Security Council, with its heavy representation of military considerations, superseded the Secretary of State as the theoretical pivot of US foreign policy, and especially as foreign policy "adviser" to the President. A rival agency to the Department of State was created, which has gradually come to be endowed with vastly larger resources for the analysis of political and economic—as well as military—developments abroad, and for impressing its observations upon influential persons and the public, often through the Department of State. In some measure the inevitable prejudices and rationalizations of a large number of cruelly treated and frustrated refugees and émigrés became institutionalized in a strangely inflexible set of interlocking political considerations. Possibly related to these considerations, other bureaucracies have burgeoned in the foreign policy arena. Attempts at orchestration in the field have led to the "Country Team," and in the Department to cumbersome committees, and less conspicuously, to a de-emphasis in our own traditional efforts at political and economic analysis. In fact, the Department itself sometimes seems to have become overwhelmingly preoccupied with countless housekeeping chores, generally under the most imposing titles of "Executive Management," "Coordination," and "Administration."

There seems to be a striking fer-

¹1966: *Are We Obsolete?*, FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, November, 1966.

²*Why Only Few Operations Researchers Manage?*, MANAGEMENT SCIENCE, Aug., 1966. As to those "trained in the management of large, complex organizations," even if they were attracted to the State Department, they would very soon aspire to the elite slots: political or economic reporting.

ment aiming toward a reappraisal of our institutional jungle, especially in the academic community and in Congress.

The Secretary of Defense (at Montreal) and the Vice President (at a luncheon sponsored by the American Foreign Service Association) have been in the forefront of those questioning recently whether military hardware, military aid programs, and narrow obsession with "security" are sufficient to meet the world's problems today.

Under Secretary Rostow at the November meeting of the OECD Ministerial Council indicated his belief that a key issue on which the future of peace and progress depends is to direct greater attention to the problem of assisting the development process in non-industrialized countries "to avert social catastrophe on an unimaginable scale."

The late lamented "Ball proposals" appeared to assume that we could do much more in the direction of economically developing Less Developed Countries by relying more on Ex-Im Bank type loans to private enterprise, and tax incentives, and commercial policy than by installing additional bureaucracies in different countries and thus transplanting our own disorganization. The latter have tended to get too involved in short-sighted political considerations, and this may be inevitable.

One of the problems is that we are viewing the world in a fragmented, kaleidoscopic way. Our bureaucracy serves as a prism to break up the light, parceling out different shafts to different experts, each piece of policy separately examined, and with insufficient knowledge or interest anywhere in the *Gestalt*. This may not be inevitable, contrary to our general assumption.

Perhaps we have been tackling symptoms of difficulties more than causes, and hence perhaps at times exacerbating the latter. And we have been doing all this in such a way that it enormously strains our balance of payments. The total outflow of US resources from military programs, CIA, AID, USIS, Peace Corps, and ancillary (including some ostensibly private) activities severely restricts our potential for stimulating the more efficient private investments which would have a much better cost-benefit ratio, especially in terms of accelerating global economic development, and in terms of bringing tangible returns to the American people.

Among the basic precepts of contemporary public administration are the presumptions that the command

function is normally not so efficient when narrowly exercised as delegation of responsibility commensurate with authority (which may be incompatible with the central theme of the article), that "policy" cannot be so easily severed from "operations" as was once assumed, and that real power tends to gravitate, in any large organization, with the allocation of financial resources and personnel. These precepts would seem to lead to different conclusions from those presented in the article.

JOHN J. HARTER

Geneva

Hands Across the Sea

CURRENT studies of the attitudes of Britons towards Americans, and Americans towards Britons, show clearly that there is a great amount of misunderstanding. This is caused by ignorance, bias and indifference. The millions of people on both sides of the Atlantic should be better informed about each other. To accomplish this it is essential to have the most effective flow possible of objective factual information. The future of the free world is bound up with the mutual understanding of the people of our two great democracies.

Friction and misunderstanding are prevalent, despite many official, semi-official and voluntary agencies of communication in the Anglo-American areas. We can mention as examples the British Information Services, the United States Information Service, diplomats, the columns of newspapers, periodicals and books, TV and radio as well as the work done in education, cultural exchange of artists and art, musicians and music, trade and travel.

For instance, a recent study of national biases made by the American Historical Association and the British Association for American Studies showed that history text books of both countries, through misstatements of facts, indoctrinate children with national prejudices. Other equally pernicious sources poison the minds of people.

To air this condition, stimulate public discussion and encourage increased activity among voluntary groups, individuals and government to communicate, an award of \$5000 has been set up for the most comprehensive and practical program, submitted by an individual, to increase the knowledge of American and British people of each other. A Jury of Award has been appointed to select the winner. Manuscripts will be limited to 5000 words. They must be postmarked not later than midnight June 30, 1967 and

sent to the Edward L. Bernays Foundation Award, 7 Lowell Street, Cambridge, Mass., which will send any further information desired. The competition is open to any individual anywhere.

We trust you agree that the underlying problem is grave and that constant efforts must be made to improve and expand our communications. We can make the publics aware of the great similarities of the aims and cultures in both our countries and explain our differences. The things that unite us are vastly more important than those that separate us.

EDWARD L. BERNAYS

Cambridge, Mass.

The Pudding of the Year

THE following was inspired by the attached news item which appeared in the Washington Post of November 19 and is dedicated to the Foreign Service wife—who, during President Johnson's recent tour, was asked to make tapioca pudding at two o'clock in the morning. (The author will understand if the dedication is considered a confidential, "affair of State.")

*"American as apple pie" is known the world around,
While doughnuts were the favored food of doughboys on the town.
Then came the time when crepes Suzette did make a hostess shine
Or fruits and foreign cheeses—accompanied by wine.
Ice cream has been the standby when you were in a hurry—
A hand-turned freezer is a "must"—it saves a lot of worry.*

*But now we all must change our ways if we are out to win—
Keep tapioca on the shelf—who knows who might drop in?*

BERNICE D. BUSKNELL

Chevy Chase, Md.

In a Buyer's Market

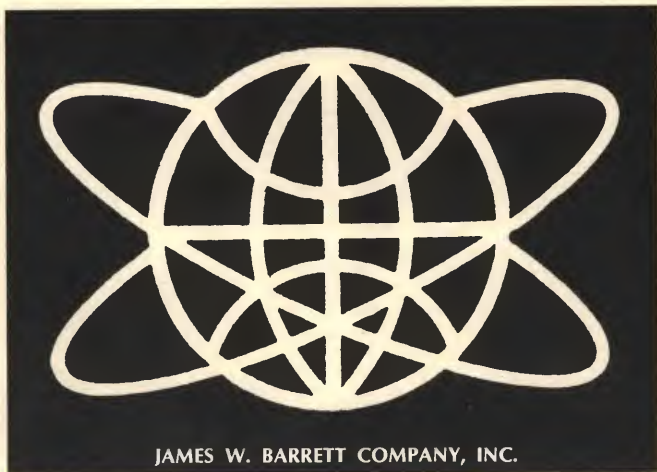
I HAVE just run across Mr. Howatt's letter on the morality of the car sale rules in the September JOURNAL. Having had the misfortune to lose \$1000 on a car sale at my last post, I am wondering whether the Department could not find some way to tap the reservoir of excess profits which has presumably come into existence through the application of the rules to the transactions of my more fortunate colleagues and provide me with a little Christmas cheer? After all, charity begins at home.

ROBIN HOOD

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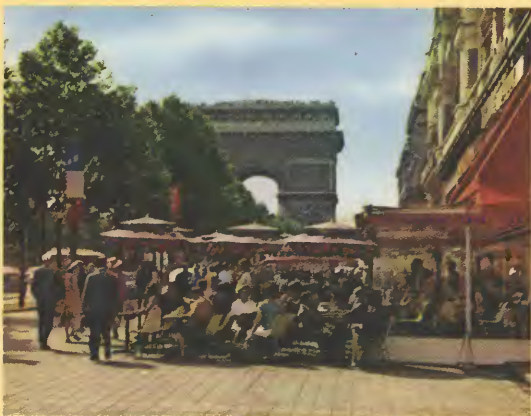
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