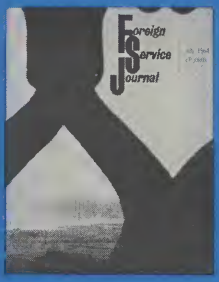
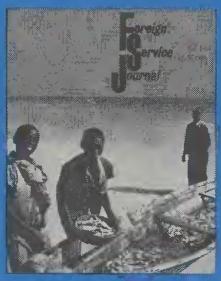
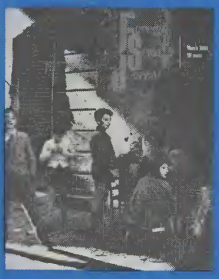
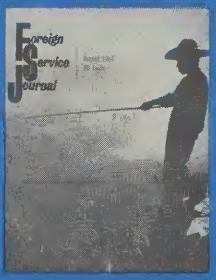

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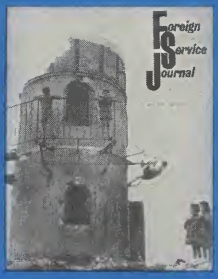












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The Foreign Service JOURNAL is the professional journal of the American Foreign Service and is published by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit private organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers 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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The Foreign Service JOURNAL welcomes contribntions 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 nsed only if the original letter includes the writer's correct name. All letters are subject to condensation.

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Ambassadorial Nominations

WILLIAM W. HEATH, *to Sweden*
HENRY CABOT LODGE, *Ambassador-at-Large*
JOHN M. MCSWEENEY, *to Bulgaria*
KARL F. ROLVAAG, *to Iceland*
CLAUDE G. ROSS, *to Haiti*

Marriages

BARTELT-RILEY. Lesley R. Bartelt, daughter of Consul and Mrs. John R. Bartelt, was married to Vice Consul Wilson A. Riley, Jr., on April 1, at Chula Vista, California. Mr. Riley is stationed at American Consulate General, Tijuana.

MARLOWE-MILLER. Sheila Marlowe, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Sanford S. Marlowe, was married to Kelton B. Miller, on March 27, in Washington. Mr. Marlowe is PAO in Hong Kong.

PEARCE-CARTER. Mildred A. Pearce, a former member of the Canadian Foreign Service, was married to FSO James W. Carter, on February 25, in Ottawa. Mr. Carter is assigned to the Department.

SINCLAIR-SHARP. Mary Jean Sinclair was married to Frederick Dent Sharp, IV, son of Mrs. Alleyne C. Howell and FSO Frederick Dent Sharp, III, on March 28, in Washington.

SWIHART-GREGG. Mignon Swihart, daughter of FSO and Mrs. James W. Swihart, was married to Gerald Gregg, on April 1, in Berkeley, California.

THIEU-HARBIN. Kim Thieu of Saigon was married to FSO William B. Harbin, on March 10, in Stockholm, where Mr. Harbin is now serving as Commercial Officer.

Births

CABRERA. A son, Julio Benito, born to Mr. and Mrs. Carlos R. Cabrera, on January 28, in Manila.

Deaths

GARDNER. Arthur B. Gardner, Ambassador to Cuba, 1953-57, died on April 11, in Palm Beach, Florida. Mr. Gardner, who also served the government as a dollar-a-year member of the War Production Board and as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, 1947-48, retired as chairman of the board of the Pundy Tubing Company last December.

GRAVES. Catherine Calloway Graves, wife of George M. Graves, FSO-retired, died on March 13, at Bradenton, Fla.

RIVKIN. William R. Rivkin, Ambassador to Senegal and Gambia, died on March 19, at the Embassy residence in Dakar. Ambassador Rivkin served as Ambassador to Luxembourg from 1962 to 1965, then as a consultant to the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

RUSSELL. Dorothy Nell Russell, FSS, died on April 15, in Baltimore. Miss Russell's most recent assignment was Cairo.

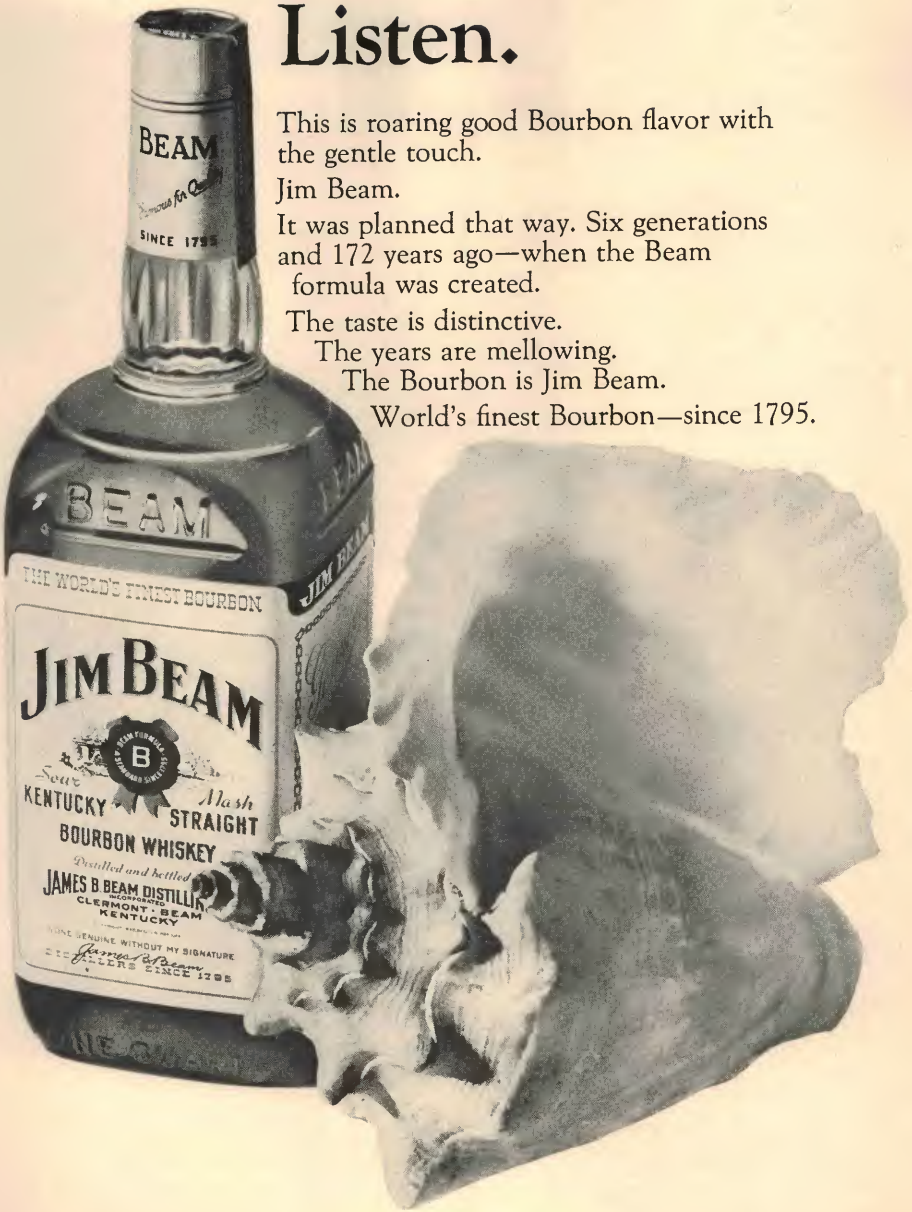
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Among Our Contributors

WILLIAM E. BABCOCK painted "River Taxi, Chao Phraya River," in Bangkok in 1962. Our cover artist has served at Tokyo and Hong Kong as Regional Director covering nine countries for the Office of Foreign Buildings. Mr. Babcock's work was called to the attention of the JOURNAL staff by Earl Wilson, a frequent contributor and cover artist.

HOWARD J. GROSSMAN, author of "Conquest of Inner Space," claims a royal address, King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. He is a professional city planner and writer, with a regular column for his local newspaper and thirty free-lance articles in national magazines.

NANCY DAMMAN writes, "have served overseas almost steadily since 1950, first with USIA in India and Nepal, and later with ICA and AID in Indonesia and Thailand. In recent years I spent most of my time advising on communications problems with village audiences re our malaria and rural development programs. My official title is Communications Resources Advisor, whatever that means." The JOURNAL article, "Know Your Audience," page 32, was based on Miss Damman's experiences.

"The Outer Space Treaty," page 27, concentrates on two aspects: the significance of the treaty as an arms control measure and the treaty's development in the Department of State. Author CRAIG R. EISENDRATH, a Foreign Service officer for seven years in the Office of UN Political Affairs, had action responsibility for outer space questions. Mr. Eisendrath won a Meritorious Honor Award in 1965. He resigned to become a teacher and writer and is now a Teaching Fellow at Harvard.

AMBASSADOR JOHN MOORS CABOT who contributes his recollections of "The Last Days of Shanghai," page 28, is serving in the Department after a tour as Deputy Commandant at the National War College. LIFE, in its issue of July 4, 1949, said: "Consul-general John Cabot (from Boston) got a black eye when he stumbled into his mantelpiece in the darkness." Ambassador Cabot's first person account does not cover this incident.

JOHN JAY ISELIN, National Affairs Editor of NEWSWEEK, describes the passage of the Truman Doctrine through Congress on page 19 and following. Mr. Iselin did the necessary research and much of the writing while he held a research grant from the Brookings Institution in 1960-61. He wrote for CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY in 1961-62, then joined NEWSWEEK's Washington bureau as a correspondent. Mr. Iselin says, "I became interested in the Truman Doctrine because I was curious about the conditions that lead to a radical policy departure in a democratic society such as our own. I went into the subject in some detail trying to come up with a precise, concrete answer to this rather abstract question."

ROBERT G. KAISER, a staff writer on the Washington POST, is preparing a book on the Truman Doctrine based on two years of research at the London School of Economics and in this country. "The Truman Doctrine: How It All Began" appears on page 17.



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President's Correspondence

March 30, 1967

The Honorable
J. W. Fulbright
Chairman of the Committee on
Foreign Relations
United States Senate

Dear Senator Fulbright:

On behalf of the American Foreign Service Association I wish to express our appreciation to you for having introduced in the Senate S-624 which would rectify present inequities between the cost of living adjustment provisions applicable to retired Foreign Service personnel as compared with those now obtaining for persons retired under the Civil Service system. The Association understands that this bill was drafted in the Department of State in consultation with DACOR, Inc. (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired), approved by the Bureau of the Budget and submitted to you with the request that it be introduced.

As you know, your committee favorably reported and the Senate passed during the last session S-3247 which included the substance of this bill. We would therefore hope that the Committee, which now has this matter under consideration, will find it possible to report S-624 out soon with recommendation for favorable action by the United States Senate.

As you may know, the American Foreign Service Association is a nonprofit professional organization whose membership consists principally of persons who are serving or have served the Department of State or other United States Government agencies abroad. Among our 7,500 members are approximately 1,000 retired officers who have been adversely affected by failure of their retirement payments to keep up with the rising cost of living. The existing legislation is not only inequitable in discrimination against this group as compared with the larger body of Civil Service retirees, but works a considerable hardship on them in periods of relatively rapid rise in prices. Anything you can do to assist in early enactment of this draft legislation by the present Congress would be greatly appreciated by them and by the Association on behalf of its entire membership.

Sincerely,

FOY D. KOHLER
President

The Good Old Days (Washington in 1868)

No rich or fashionable stranger had yet discovered the town. No literary or scientific man, no artist, no gentleman without office or employment, had ever lived there. It was rural, and its society was primitive. Scarcely a person in it had ever known life in a great city. . .The happy village was innocent of a club. The one-horse tram on F Street to the Capitol was ample for traffic. Every pleasant spring morning at the Pennsylvania Station, Society met to bid good-bye to its friends going off on the single express. The State Department was lodged in an infant asylum far out on Fourteenth Street while Mr. Mullett was constructing his architectural infant asylum next the White House. The value of real estate had not increased since 1800, and the pavements were more impassable than the mud.—THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS

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New Board Member for AFSA



ROBERT T. CURRAN, 35, of Hillsdale, Michigan, is Special Assistant to Leonard H. Marks, Director of USIA.

He graduated from Haverford College in 1953 and received a Certificate from the Russian Institute and an M. A. in history from Columbia University. From 1954 to 1956 he worked with IBM's Watson Laboratories in New York City.

Mr. Curran joined the Agency's foreign service in 1956 and has served in Berlin and Tuebingen, Germany; Lebanon, Jordan and Yemen. He went to Yemen before the 1962 revolution and opened a USIS post in Taiz, the southern capital of the country.

Mr. Curran is married to the former Marcia Mattson and they have two children.

New Editorial Board Member

S. I. NADLER, currently Deputy Assistant Director, USIA, for Public Information, entered foreign service in 1946, following nearly six years of military duty in the U. S. and China. He has served in Tientsin, Singapore, Taipei, and, most recently, as Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs in Buenos Aires. He received his A.B. degree from Columbia College and M.A. from Teachers College, Columbia University. Before his World War II service with the Army and the Office for Strategic Services, he was a radio script writer. A frequent contributor to the Foreign Service JOURNAL for the past fifteen years, Nadler was a member of the Board once before during a previous tour in Washington.



Mr. Nadler's latest article, "Buying a House," appears on page 23 of this issue.

All day today (said Antrobus) I have been addressing Christmas cards, an occupation both melancholy and exhilarating; so many of us have gone leaving no address. They have become "F.O. BAG ROOM PLEASE FORWARD" so to speak. Some are Far Flung, some less Far Flung, some Flung out altogether like poor Toby. It is a season which sets one wondering where dips go when they die, old man. Do they know that they can't take it with them, or is there perhaps a branch of Coutts' in Heaven which will take post-dated cheques? And if they live on as ghosts, what sort of? Is there a diplomatic Limbo—perhaps some subfusc department of UNO where they are condemned perpetually to brood over such recondite subjects as the fishing rights of little tufted Papuans?

—SAUVE QUI PEUT, *by Lawrence Durrell (Dutton, $3.50)*

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Cook's Tour



by HELEN K. BEHRENS

SEVICHE (OR CEBICHE)

Do you like oysters? Then why not raw fish? Actually, the South American recipe for *seviche,* known to the Japanese as *sashimi* and eaten in the South Seas as well, is a method of cooking fish with lemon juice. The result is unbelievably delicate in taste; the texture is the same as cooked fish.

To make *seviche* as it is eaten in South America as an hors d'oeuvre, fillet very fresh raw fish—it should be a firm, white-fleshed fish such as sea bass, red snapper, corvina, or pike and pickerel—and cut into small, bite-sized pieces. Put the fish in a flat bowl and cover with lemon juice. Leave at room temperature for 1½ to 2 hours, until the fish has "blanched" (become firm and white.) You should turn the fish occasionally during this marinating process to make sure it has all been covered by the lemon juice: let it soak longer if it isn't all white. Lime juice is good to use too; its action on the fish is more rapid, however, so be careful that the flesh does not become mushy. To slow down the process, marinate the fish in the refrigerator.

When firm and white, rinse the fish and dry the pieces on a towel. Arrange on a platter with any of the following sauces, which the fish should be dipped into before eating:

crushed red peppers with a little water and salt
tabasco
a blend of crushed garlic, oregano, thyme, and parsley, mixed with olive oil

If you like hot foods, you can add peeled, seeded hot chile peppers to the fish at the beginning, with the lemon juice.

To serve seviche as a **salad,** sprinkle 1 tablespoon of olive oil, a few drops of tabasco, and 1 teaspoon of salt on the prepared fish and serve on a bed of lettuce with sliced onions and peeled, seeded, sliced tomatoes.

A typical South American **onion sauce** is also good with seviche; to make it, slice three medium red onions, blanch them in boiling water to cover for one minute, rinse well, add 1 teaspoon of salt, and steep the onions in 3 tablespoons wine vinegar or the juice of three lemons for 20 minutes.

If you insist on some degree of heat to cook your seafood, try **shrimp cebiche** from Mrs. John Pauker's file of Ecuadorean recipes. Peel and clean shrimp, then boil for one minute in water to cover. Rinse and wash thoroughly in cold water immediately. Now cover with lemon juice and marinate for four hours. This is served with the onion sauce given above. Or mix the shrimp and refrigerate overnight in this sauce: ¾ cup of orange juice made from sweet and sour oranges; 1 tablespoon catsup; a dash of chili powder or pepper; 3 tablespoons olive oil. Serve with parsley.

In Japan, although the method of preparing raw fish is similar, lobster served in this way is not even marinated in the

lemon juice; it is merely chilled in ice water. The Japanese serve both fish and lobster **sashimi** with grated raw horseradish and soy sauce; dip each piece in these condiments mixed to taste, with lemon juice and monosodium glutamate added optionally.

To conclude this dissertation on raw fish, Virginia Petree told me of a touching Japanese ceremony in Fukuoka, Japan, when she and Richard were invited to say farewell to a fish called *Shirao*. The **shirao,** which comes up the river to spawn when very small, is then eaten live; Virginia had, some months before, been offered a bowl containing water, 3 or 4 live fish 1½" long, and a sieve with which to transport the fish from the water to a bowl containing soy sauce and vinegar; the drill was then to toss the fish back into your mouth, but whether to chew or not depended, I suppose, on how one feels about oysters. (Virginia, remembering the tiny fish's agility, quickly crunched.) Much relieved to learn that this time all that was required was a goodbye to the **shirao,** Virginia enjoyed their return to the sea, accompanied by koto music from performers in ceremonial costumes and poems of farewell, written on paper and thrown onto the water.

National Day Reception

by Betty Kalish

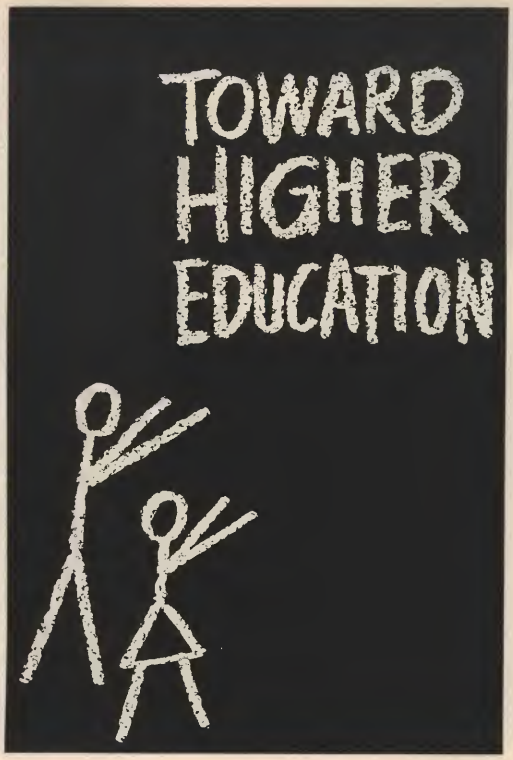
The ballroom's bright with a pitiless light, and the air's been there a year.
The musicians pound out a lot of sound, and smile from ear to ear.
The hosts are dressed in their National Best. For a record crowd they pray.
Yet, schizos all, wish the roof'd fall, and frighten us all away.

It's a busy night for the boys in white (or perhaps we should call it gray).
With their tired displays on their sticky trays, they zigzag into the fray.
A crusted egg bombs a trouser leg, as an elbow and tray collide.
The carrot curl is getting a whirl, since yesterday's canapés died.

The guests, all smiles, brave the waiters' wiles for a glass of Warm and Weak.
As eyes meet eyes, the decibels rise—murmur to shout to shriek.
The ladies glow at friend and foe. They are charmers, but let's be frank:
As cheek meets cheek, even then they peek for someone of higher rank!

The Red Chinese, in twos and threes, have established ports of call.
Some flags are dipped, obeisance lipped. The Yankees "ignore" it all.
Here a Nepalese hails a thin Burmese, and an Indian skirts a Pak.
It's a game they play in the same old way. The object is: don't step back!

The chief of state is a half-hour late. Oh, when will his siren wail?
Then the Great Man shows, and the old mike blows; and the toast, half-heard, is stale.
Comes the National Song. It's incredibly long, the music, as usual, flat;
And all eyes are glazed as the glass is raised to Republic of This or That!



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

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

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

25 YEARS AGO

MAY, 1942 IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

The Month That Was

Writing of 25 years ago in May one would be shortsighted to pass over all of the shattering and hopeful news of the battles. In the first week the Japanese cut off access to China by the Burma Road after taking Lashio and Mandalay. On May 6, General Wainwright with 10,000 men had to surrender Corregidor and Forts Drum, Hughes, and Frank. American forces landed in New Caledonia. On May 4, British forces landed in Madagascar and S. Pinkney Tuck, Chargé in Vichy, was told to explain our support of this action to the Laval regime. On May 7 reports began to come in of a naval victory in the Coral Sea. In mid-May, the Russians counterattacked south of Kharkov but the Germans laid siege to Sevastapol and captured it a month later. On May 26 Rommel renewed attacks that shortly regained Tobruk and forced the British back to Alamein.

The Drottningholm

With "DIPLOMAT" painted in huge letters above and its name and nationality below, on its sides, the Swedish vessel *Drottningholm* entered New York May 1 from Götcborg with 154 passengers of whom 114 were Americans stranded in northern Europc when the war broke out. On the eastbound voyage the *Drottningholm* carried 867 German, Italian and other enemy officials and their families to Lisbon. Frederick B. Lyon was the State Department's representative on the voyage. When he had to deal with the passengers he did so through the Swiss representative, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Gossweiler. Notwithstanding a lively crop of rumors the passengers sighted no submarine. The *Drottningholm* returned to New York June 1 with the American diplomats and newsmen liberated from Germany, Italy and enemy-occupied countries in exchange. Ranking officers were Leland Morris and George Wadsworth, Chargés in Berlin and Rome, and Herbert C. Pell, Minister to Hungary.

The American group at Bad Nauheim had left in two trains the night of May 12. George Kennan was in charge of the group in the second train. His later report in the JOURNAL mentioned varying political reactions. South of Paris a dining car window was smashed from outside. Shortly afterward, a man in a field unfurled an Amcrican flag as the train went by.

The group in Rome traveled to Lisbon in four trains. The first left May 2 and the fourth May 13. Besides George Wadsworth, the officers included Burton Y. Berry, Gilson G. Blake, Elbridge Durbrow, Charles A. Livengood, A. Dana Hodgdon, Douglas Flood, William E. Cole, Jr., and Merritt N. Cootes.

Under Surveillance in Rome

Elbridge Durbrow, then Second Secretary, later wrote for the JOURNAL about Embassy life in Rome after Pearl Harbor. Members of the Embassy were allowed to live at home but each person had a plain clothes guard assigned to him and could go nowhere without him. They were able to wind up Embassy business and help the Swiss representatives set up an American Interests Section and also to turn over to the Swiss by degrees the foreign interests the consular section had been handling. One officer was in daily contact with thc Swiss Legation, one with the Foreign Ministry and one with the Latin American missions whose governments had declared war or broken off diplomatic relations with Italy. By these

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means they were able to negotiate part of their own exchange agreement.

For recreation, they used the Ambassador's office as a club room. They set up facilities for croquet and ping pong. The North American College of the Vatican supplied baseball equipment. At one o'clock everyone gathered to hear the BBC news and read the latest radio bulletin. There was time for sightseeing and long walks. The guards admitted they learned about churches and antiquities they did not know existed. They complained to the Captain of excessive exercise and wear and tear on rationed shoes. The Captain assigned younger men to the heavy walkers. For some long walks the officers supplied one of their cars so the guards could ride behind in luxury. One of the guards had served in the American Army in France in 1918.

By February everyone was in hotels anticipating departure. They continued to receive the quadruple ration given the diplomatic corps but the diet was monotonous. After the long strain of waiting, one can imagine with what relief came the news that the *Drottningholm* had sailed from New York.

In the Caribbean

In October 1941 the Department set up the Caribbean Office with Coert du Bois as Chief and John B. Ocheltree as Assistant Chief. In March 1942 the United States and Britain formed the Joint Caribbean Commission. The American members were Charles W. Taussig, Co-Chairman, Rexford Tugwell, and Coert du Bois. The Commission first met in Trinidad, then went on to British Guiana, Barbados, St. Lucia, and Antigua. Carlos Hall in Port-of-Spain, Carlton Hurst in Georgetown, and Ilo Funk in Barbados had reunions with Mr. du Bois, with whom they had served in earlier years. Harvey Melbourne in Port Castries and Frank Schuler in St. Johns helped the Commission also. Governor Tugwell took along his assistant in San Juan, Frederick P. Bartlett.

It was about this time that Samuel Reber began his active role in the touchy Martinique situation. The President directed Admiral Hoover, Commander of the Caribbean Area Front, and Samuel Reber, then Assistant Chief of the Division of European Affairs, to go there and negotiate directly with Admiral Robert, the French High Commissioner and representative of the Vichy Government. They arrived in Martinique May 8, 1942. In the harbor were the French aircraft carrier *Béarn,* the French cruisers *Emile Bertin* and *Jeanne d'Arc,* freighters and tankers. About 100 US fighter planes were aboard the carrier, caught there when the Germans invaded France. On shore was a substantial French gold reserve. Pinkney Tuck in Vichy had to explain to the Laval Regime why the United States was dealing directly with the French Admiral.

Torpedoed Effects

Jane Wilson's "News from the Department" reported that 200 officers had lost household effects on ships sunk on their way to South America and Africa. Furniture and office equipment destined for a number of offices were also lost. James E. Brown, Jr., assigned to Buenos Aires, lost all his household effects for the second time. The first time was in October 1941 when he was on transfer from London. He also lost his automobile.

State Still Conducts Foreign Relations

Milo Perkins, Director of the Board of Economic Warfare, drafted an Executive Order that was approved and gave BEW power to acquire strategic stockpiles. This was so worded as to seem to newsmen to allow the Board to take over part of the foreign relations work of the State Department. At his press conference on May 1, the President answered that the order was not altogether clear: the State Department remained in full charge of foreign relations.

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☐ $ 50,000.00	$ 36.00	☐ Other ($)	at 72¢ each $1,000.00

Coverage will be effective on the first day of the month following the date your application and premium are received. There is a common renewal date (September 1) and, therefore, a pro-rata premium, based on a rate of 6¢ a month for each $1,000.00 of principal sum, should be submitted with your application when coverage is to be effective on any other date. For coverage effective on March 1, submit one-half of the annual premiums shown above (36¢ each $1,000.00)

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6. If you desire insurance for your dependents, please complete the following:

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Dependent's Beneficiary			TOTAL	$

*Maximum amount of principal sum available on dependents: Wife—50% of husband's benefit but no more than $50,000.00. Each child $10,000.00. Minimum on member or dependents: $10,000.00.

†You are eligible if you are less than 69 years of age. Eligible dependents include the spouse of the member, unless legally separated, and any unmarried children over the age of 13 days and under the age of 19 years. If he has passed his 19th birthday and is a full time student at an accredited college or university, such a child will continue to be an eligible dependent up to his 23rd birthday or the date he ceases to be such a student, whichever occurs first.

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A son, Cyril Leo, Jr., was born to Mr. and Mrs. Cyril L. Thiel on April 25, 1942, in Guayaquil. The boy went to schools in Mexico, Spain, Australia, Brazil, and Cuba; then was admitted to the United States Merchant Marine Academy, Great Neck, Long Island. In 1964 he graduated with the rank of Lieutenant in the Naval Reserve. He is now a Second Officer in the Merchant Marine and is assigned to the United States Lines. He hopes to enter the Wharton School of Finance next September. His father retired in May 1962, after 38 years in the Foreign Service. Before retiring he was Consul General in Belfast. He lives in Washington and keeps busy around the house when not away traveling.



A daughter, Sarah Lawrence, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Hawley Oakes on April 10, 1942, in Washington. She prepared for college at Madeira, where she was President of the Riding Club. In 1963 she graduated from Middlebury College. She has been doing graduate work in philosophy and, with a view to teaching, is now studying for an M.A. at the New School for Social Research in New York. Her father is now retired after many years of Foreign Service and work on foreign affairs in Washington and keeps in touch with old friends and colleagues.

Mission Chiefs

On May 1, 1942, Admiral Leahy bade farewell to friends and officials in Vichy and left for Lisbon and Washington. Marshal Pétain made his private railroad car available. The train bore the bier of Mrs. Leahy who died on the eve of the departure after undergoing an operation. Woodruff Wallner accompanied the Ambassador. At the Spanish frontier they transferred to a special railway car made available by General Franco.

When relations with the exiled governments of the Netherlands and Norway were raised to ambassadorial level at this time Anthony Drexel Biddle in London became the first American to be Ambassador to four governments at once: He was also Ambassador to Belgium and Poland, as well as Minister to the exiled governments of Greece and Yugoslavia.

On April 30, 1942, Arthur Bliss Lane presented his credentials as Ambassador to Colombia. He first became a chief of mission in 1933 when he was named Minister to Nicaragua. He had been in the Foreign Service since 1916.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

The Diplomatic and Consular Act of August 18, 1856, had what may have been the first bud of a career service starting at the bottom. It sprouted in Section 7:

> And be it further enacted that the President be, and is hereby, authorized, whenever he shall think the public good will be promoted thereby, to appoint consular pupils, not to exceed twenty-five in number at any one time, who shall be citizens of the United States and entitled to compensation for their services, respectively, at a rate not to exceed one thousand dollars per annum, to be determined by the President, and to assign such pupils, from time to time, to such consulates, and with such duties as he may think proper; and before the appointment of any such pupil shall be made, satisfactory evidence, by examination or otherwise, shall be furnished of his qualifications and fitness for the office to the Secretary of State, and by him laid before the President.

The bud never sprouted. It was nipped by the second section of the Act approved February 7, 1857, which, under a new administration, repealed Section 7.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

How It All Began

This issue of the JOURNAL *commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. The history of the Doctrine falls into three phases: The origins of the crisis that led to the Doctrine are given in* "The Truman Doctrine: How It All Began" *by Robert G. Kaiser. The presentation of the Doctrine to Congress and its evolution into the Marshall Plan are given in* "The Truman Doctrine: Its Passage Through Congress and the Aftermath" *by John Jay Iselin. The intricate formulation of the Truman Doctrine and the masterly work of Dean Acheson and Loy Henderson were related in an article that appeared in the* JOURNAL *in July 1966:* "The Architecture of a Decision" *by John H. Stutesman, Jr.*

ROBERT G. KAISER

(reprinted by permission of THE WASHINGTON POST, *March 12, 1967)*

TWENTY YEARS AGO today, President Harry Truman presented his Truman Doctrine, acknowledging that the United States was a super power. He addressed the world with words that President Johnson could use tomorrow and surprise no one:

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Historians may conclude that he thereby set the course of United States foreign policy for the two decades that followed, and probably longer.

Mr. Truman's intentions at the time were certainly more modest. In early 1947, he was a politician in trouble. He was the victim of British weakness and Russian aggressiveness abroad, and of indifference to the world at home. The Truman Doctrine was a reaction to those three problems.

The President's speech that March 12 included no grandiose requests. He asked Congress for only $400 million to aid Greece and Turkey, not an astonishingly large sum, all things considered. The speech caused a stir because of the extravagant terms Truman used. His bold words—especially the recommendation that the United States support "free peoples" whenever they were threatened—established a new

mood in American politics as well as a new international situation.

The new mood made the Marshall Plan possible later in 1947. And, after the Truman Doctrine, the world knew that America was planning to play the kind of role in international politics that it had always avoided before.

The First Statement

The Truman Doctrine was America's first statement of intent regarding Communist expansion in Europe and the first message to the Soviet Union that the Western democracies would support their friends.

But no immediate threat to Greece and Turkey or no particular act of Russian aggressiveness prompted the Truman Doctrine. It was the sudden decline of British power that compelled President Truman to address both houses of Congress that March 12.

The United States had hoped and expected that, after the war, Britain would continue to exert a balancing influence in Europe, offsetting Soviet power where necessary.

Not until February, 1947, did America and the world realize that Britain would not be able to play such a role. That February was a disastrous month for Britain, not because of any act of man but because of the weather. It was the coldest February of the century, and one of the most eventful months in the history of the Empire.

The cold weather enveloped Britain on January 25, and in ten days the country was covered with snow and ice. On February 7, the Labor government announced that coal would have to be drastically rationed. Electricity would be turned off for four hours a day until more fuel could be accumulated. Britain became dark as well as cold.

Largely by coincidence, the first important signs of the impending dissolution of the British Empire appeared during that same February. On the 12th, Britain's brilliant but unpredictable Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, told representatives of Palestinian Arabs and Jews that the British government would turn the Palestine problem over to the United Nations.

On February 20, Prime Minister Clement Attlee announced to the House of Commons that Britain would withdraw from India by June, 1948.

Impact in Washington

The combination of the economic crisis and international political developments had a powerful impact in Washington. Until that February, anti-British feeling had been an important and powerful sentiment in the Capital. In 1946, the House had dallied for months before approving a $3.75 billion loan to Britain to make up for canceled Lend-Lease help. Aid or comfort to the Empire had then been widely attacked as "pulling British chestnuts out of the fire."

The fuel crisis demonstrated that Britain no longer had many chestnuts, nor much fire.

On February 21, a junior official in the British Embassy in Washington delivered two notes to the State Department announcing that, because of economic problems at home, Britain would cease all aid to Greece and Turkey on March 31. The United States was asked to provide aid to the two countries in Britain's place.

The messages arrived when the world situation looked increasingly bleak from Washington, but no means of improving conditions seemed available. The notes were eagerly seized by the Administration as a vehicle for a new statement of American policy. The most important question for many key officials was whether this should be the occasion for an "all-out" declaration of United States interest in Europe. Some counseled caution, but a consensus favored such a declaration. It came in the Truman Doctrine speech.

If Britain could have continued to play its traditional role in Europe and the Middle East in early 1947, there would have been no Truman Doctrine. And if there had not been a dramatic fuel crisis in Britain, Congress would likely have refused to approve so significant a departure in United States policy.

A Scared Congress

This was demonstrated in the days just after Britain's notes arrived, when Administration officials met with leaders of Congress to explain the new situation. At one meeting, Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, who spoke for the Republican majority in the Senate on foreign affairs, told the President bluntly that he would have to scare Congress into approving aid to Greece and Turkey.

Vandenberg himself had been most impressed by a remark made by the Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, at a briefing. Acheson told a group of Congressmen that the British notes meant there were only two great powers left in the world—the United States and Soviet Russia—and that American security was in jeopardy.

That kind of argument persuaded Congress to approve the aid to Greece and Turkey that Mr. Truman requested, and later to approve the Marshall Plan.

The argument was convincing because it was based on the threat of Soviet expansion and the inability of Britain or the rest of Europe to cope with the Russian menace.

Later, when the confrontation had become the full-fledged Cold War, the Communist threat alone was enough to persuade Congress to act. But in 1947, it had to be demonstrated that the threat was a real and serious danger to the United States. Britain's obvious economic problems cut down the barriers between Europe and America and conveyed a sense of imminent danger to American shores.

There is no indication that Mr. Truman intended to begin an anticommunist crusade with his March 12 speech. He had shown two months earlier that the presence of Communists in a situation would not be the sole determining factor in formulating his response to it.

That situation was in China, where repeated United States attempts failed to persuade Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists to work together. In late January, 1947, the United States announced it was giving up its mediation effort, although many American experts doubted that Chiang could survive without American help.

Mr. Truman knew that American public opinion would not allow him to conduct any adventures in Asia, whether the "enemy" was Communist or not.

A Later Effect

After the Truman Doctrine speech, the President avoided other immediate opportunities to support "free peoples" who resisted "attempted subjugation," most clearly in Czechoslovakia, where Communists seized power in an ugly coup in 1948.

Only later did the promises of the Truman Doctrine take on awesome proportions. The Cold War did not begin with all the ferocity it attained in the 1950s. Nor did Harry Truman establish America as the world's policeman on March 12, 1947.

It was a different world then, and a different United States. The dominant fact about 1947 was the aftermath of World War II, not the possibility of World War III. The United States was only just coming of age in world affairs and had not established a pattern of intervention in international disputes. Britain had only just relinquished its position as the world's dominant power, and Soviet Russia had only just begun to indicate the breadth of its ambitions.

"Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events," Mr. Truman told the country and the world 20 years ago. He could hardly have realized how much greater the responsibilities would become. ■

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Its Passage Through Congress and Its Aftermath

The Truman Doctrine signaled American official awakening to the sweep of "Bolshevik expansionism" as Truman liked to phrase it. It articulated the policy of containment. It symbolized an American foreign policy landmark—the initial decision to intervene abroad in peacetime. It signaled the dawn of United States maturity in post-war foreign affairs.

JOHN JAY ISELIN

At 12:16 on Wednesday, March 12, 1947, Speaker Joseph W. Martin declared the House in recess, and Congressmen began easing out of their front row desks in preparation for the coming of the Senate and Cabinet. Shortly after, in the Senate, presiding officer Arthur Vandenberg adjusted his glasses, tugged at his coat and rose, gavel in hand. He addressed himself to Florida's Spessard Holland, who was exploring legislation limiting Presidential tenure to two terms. Vandenberg melodramatically observed: "The chair will have to ask the Senator from Florida to suspend in order that we may keep our date with destiny." He immediately recessed the Senate so the two bodies could jointly receive the President's personal recommendation for settling the Greek-Turkish crisis.

The Senior Senator from Michigan strode out of the chamber and down the second floor Capitol corridor toward the House side. Behind came a straggling band of fifty-odd Senators. At 12:46 the portly President *pro tem* led his forces into the other body, just as Joe Martin was beginning to gavel the milling, murmuring membership to order. About the floor and the packed galleries there was a mood of heightened urgency. The Congress and the nation awaited the President.

A committee of six was waiting on the House side—Senators Connally, Taft and White, and Representatives Halleck, Eaton, and Rayburn—appointed to escort the President to the podium. Outside the House Chamber the members of the Cabinet waited. At 12:57 they entered in pairs—Dean Acheson and John W. Snyder leading the procession—and took their seats in the first row of extra chairs. At 1 p.m. the doorkeeper announced the President.

As the packed chamber rose and applauded, Truman entered the chamber. He was dressed in a dark blue suit with matching tie. He looked drawn. On the platform he put down his black loose-leaf notebook. He sipped half a glass of water. Then he opened the notebook. It was 1:03.

Truman spoke without fanfare or flourish. His voice was flat and reedy. His delivery was somber, his pace measured, at one hundred and twenty words a minute. His approach was workmanlike. Gravely he read the eighteen minute declaration that would become known as the Truman Doctrine. Almost immediately it was extravagantly compared to the Monroe Doctrine, and to the "Quarantine" Speech wherein President Roosevelt, speaking in Chicago in 1937, called for "a quarantine against aggressor nations." As he spoke, his voice was transmitted to the nation, to Europe and to the Middle East.

"The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today," Harry Truman began, "necessitates my appearance before a joint session of Congress." The President then launched into a description of the urgent situation in Greece and Turkey. He said:

> One aspect of the present situation which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey.
>
> The United States has received from the Greek government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance . . . I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek government. . . .
>
> Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.
>
> The United States must supply that assistance. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.
>
> No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.
>
> The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31.
>
> No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect.

As planned, Turkey received only short and swift mention. The President conceded that the "circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece." Nevertheless, Turkey's integrity was essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. He therefore suggested concurrent action:

> The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.
>
> As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.
>
> It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds available to Greece, in such manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting.

Truman's audience listened quietly and grimly. Thus far, through the specific discussion of Greece and Turkey, the Chamber had only once broken its silence. There had been a brief scattering of handclaps when the President stressed the need to supervise the expenditure of aid.

Otherwise the room sat seriously and solemnly. Some, like Joe Martin, carefully followed Truman's words on a printed text. A few, like Senator Taft, silently fiddled with their glasses, as the President moved on to the broader implications of intervention:

> I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey

and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

He set forth the theme that one of the primary objectives of American foreign policy was "the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion." He noted, in passing, that this was also the objective of the United Nations, nevertheless its practical achievement would require America directly "to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions. . . ."

> This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.
>
> The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.
>
> At the present moment in world history every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

Truman's carefully enunciated hints hardly required interpretation. Those on the floor and in the galleries, accustomed to the calculated cloudiness in foreign policy communiqués, found the meaning palpably plain. Not a few State Department reporters, who had already been thoroughly briefed on the Soviet threat, found the President's phrasing extraordinarily blunt. They were genuinely surprised and shocked by his directness.

At this dramatic point, Truman moved directly into the credo. Halfway through, he received the loudest outburst of applause of the afternoon.

> I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.
>
> I believe we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.
>
> I believe that our help should be primarily through financial and economic aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

According to the pattern of presentation, the President then specifically placed Greece and Turkey in this wider context of coercion and, finally, asked for detailed US authority and assistance.

> It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. . . .
>
> Moreover the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedom and their

President Harry S. Truman addresses Congress on March 12, 1947.



independence while they repair the damages of war.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400,000,000, for the period ending June 30, 1948.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel.

Then came the wind-up. Characteristically, Truman neither changed his pace nor modified his pitch. "This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious." Here he was interrupted with a third and final sprinkling of applause. He continued:

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

That was it, The clock read 1:21. Truman closed the black folder. He had, in the span of 18 minutes, announced a sweeping adjustment in the United States post-war foreign policy.

The joint session had expected frank talk. It was nevertheless momentarily shocked into silence when it came. As the President turned to shake hands, first with Vandenberg, then with Martin, there was a split second of silence. Then the Chamber burst into its first prolonged applause. Even so, some observers detected a bewildered quality about the clapping. After a nod at Bess Truman in the gallery, the President stepped down from the podium. He appeared tired from the ordeal.

And Then . . .

It may have appeared to many observers as President Truman finished his address on March 12, 1947 that the Truman Doctrine would become a reality in the twinkling of an eye. Actually there followed many weeks of skirmishing in Congress and in the press.

One of the first outbursts of hostility came from the former Vice President, Henry Wallace who denounced Truman's proposal as "a reckless adventure." America, he said, was committing itself to "ruthless imperialism." Many press commentators also began to take pot shots at the President's proposal.

The attitude in Congress was one of perplexity. Many members shrank from the ordeal of decision. Many were concerned solely with domestic issues. They did not want the burden and responsibility of grappling with the complicated aspects of the Communist menace. Senators Taft and Bryd expressed grave doubts. So did Joe Martin. On the other hand vigorous support was accorded by two powerful men, Senator Vandenberg and Charles Eaton, the House Foreign Affairs Chairman. "The real issue," said Eaton, "is whether we are going to stand up and be counted for freedom in the world." Vandenberg sounded the *leitmotif* of all his subsequent remarks. "The President's message," he said, "faces the facts and so must Congress." Vandenberg was destined to play a leading role in the passage of the bill through Congress.

Members of Congress demanded more information. Questions multiplied till they totaled 400. These were eventually boiled down to 111 and sent to the State Department. The task of providing answers fell to John D. Jernegan.* His drafts were approved and sometimes edited by Loy Henderson. On March 28 Dean Acheson transmitted all the documentation to the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee.

Fuller exposition of the Truman Doctrine triggered a multitude of personal reactions on Capitol Hill. Two segments —the extreme isolationist right and the extreme internationalist left—spoke forth in common opposition. The great majority in Congress seemed to be dumfounded—bedeviled by bewilderment and apprehension. Many exploded at the nearness of the deadline for decision.

But the pressure was real. Even as they smouldered, Congressmen realized they were on the spot. The President had transformed the crumbling confusion of tiny, distant Greece into a national emergency. If it seemed preposterous to irate Congressmen, it was also unavoidable. Congress would have to say yes or no in short order.

The Opposition Scores

Politics, as has so often been said, is the art of the possible. But in the legislative arena, at least, it is more than that. It is, first of all, the art of the alternative. The more obvious and compelling the need for Congressional action, the more likely it is that a proposal will be met with an alternative designed to delay, dilute or destroy it.

So it was with President Truman's proposal.

Very swiftly the opponents found a plausible alternative. They found it in the United Nations. The President had barely touched on the United Nations in his speech but opponents on the right and the left now began to peck away at the oversight. The alternative took this form: Before the administration plunged into a reckless course of unilateral intervention, there should at least be an attempt at multilateral solution through the United Nations. This theme was thoroughly orchestrated during the following weeks.

In the end the alternative was quashed by Vanderberg, the master tinkerer of the Senate. His tinkering on this occasion took the form of a preamble, submitted jointly by Senators Vandenberg and Connally. One clause of this preamble made it quite clear that the United Nations was simply not equipped to carry out the scope of the aid to Greece and Turkey envisaged by the Truman Doctrine.

Hearings Begin

On March 20, 1947, Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, appeared in the Caucus Room of the old House Office Building to give his testimony on HR 2616, the Greek-Turkish aid bill before the House Affairs Committee.

Four days later the Acting Secretary appeared before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. His main concern in both committees was to impress the members with the gravity and urgency of the crisis.

After listening to 33 non-government witnesses, the Foreign Relations Committee on April 3, 1947 reported S 938, the Greek-Turkish Aid bill to the Senate. The vote was unanimous, 13 to 0. There were no abstentions.

In the House, the Foreign Affairs Committee on April 16, 1947 approved the bill. The vote was 12 to 0 but ten members of this committee were absent and one of these later filed a dissent.

Meanwhile, Senator Vandenberg on April 8 had opened the formal debate in the Senate.

Change of Mood

Opposition began to wane. Just after the formal debate opened, Senator Robert Taft announced his reluctant support

**Mr. Jernegan is now Ambassador in Algeria. For an explanation of certain backstage developments on the Truman Doctrine, see his article, "Postscript on the 1947 Greek-Turkish Program" which appeared in the* JOURNAL'S *October 1966 issue.*

of the measure. "To repudiate it now," he explained, "would destroy his (Truman's) prestige in the negotiations with the Russians." Soon Senator Styles Bridges said he, too, would vote for the bill. These were key converts. Senator James Eastland, famous for his flamboyant rhetoric, let fly this phrase: "This is the greatest crisis in the Christian era. Oriental Communism, directed from Moscow, seeks to destroy Christian civilization and culture."

On Tuesday, April 22, 1947, just a day short of two weeks after the opening of the debate and just two months after the British had dropped their bombshell came the culminating maneuvers, the climactic, emotional appeals, the capsule reviews of arguments for weary minds long since made up. In some strident moments it must have appeared to the packed galleries that the outcome was in doubt.

There were a few last-minute oratorical flareups and then on April 22 came the vote. The Greek-Turkish bill passed the Senate 67 to 23.

The Senate's lop-sided endorsement did something to box in the House. Its frustrations and resentments eventually spilled over in a crescendo of shouts and acid exchange, culminating in the inevitable, unavoidable vote on May 9, 1947. The count was 287 to 107.

On May 14, 1947, just two months after the President went before Congress with his extraordinary request, both Houses by booming voice vote approved the final conference form of the program to aid Greece and Turkey.

President Truman signed the bill on May 22, 1947.

Putting It Into Execution

It was one thing to adopt a policy, of course, and another thing to execute it. Shortly after the bill was signed Truman appointed Dwight P. Griswold, three-time Republican Governor of Nebraska, as chief of the mission to Greece. Within a month, a small group of key American civilians landed at Piraeus. These numbers grew until they were stabilized at some 100 military and just 150 civilians.

The aid agreement for Turkey was implemented on July 12, 1947. Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson was designated for the job of Chief of Mission. Witbin the Department of State George C. McGhee was formally appointed coordinator of the Greek-Turkish aid programs.

On August 23, 1947, Dwight Griswold reported from Athens an historic occasion for the Greek-Turkish aid program. He cabled General Marshall:

"First American relief ships loaded with flour arrived Piraeus this morning as cheering thousands gathered to watch the brief reception ceremony. Archbishop Damaskinos blessed first cargo from *SS Barbara Lykes* as it was unloaded . . . Maximos in speech delivered while first barge of flour was nearing dock praised United States as 'champion of freedom and democratic ideals.'"

The achievement of genuine policy success—the maintenance of the integrity and stability of Greece—was to require more than flour shipments and priestly benedictions. The task in the field proved stubbornly difficult, much more difficult than those planning the assistance program ever anticipated or imagined.

At first, Communist policy remained uncertain and ambiguous. While the Truman Doctrine was being debated, guerrilla activity was fairly quiescent. Top Communist leaders in Greece apparently gambled on seizing power from within. Their hope had rested on forming a coalition with tbe Liberal Party leader, Themistocles Sofoulis. But in mid-July their scheme was shattered. Sofoulis publicly denounced them. Almost immediately thereafter, just as Griswold arrived in Athens, large-scale guerrilla attacks were resumed in earnest. This military turn of events essentially "made the original American aid plan obsolete before it even started to come into operation." Flour shipments were beside the point. With the scale of military operations daily mounting, the American mission first postponed its economic rehabilitation schedule, then began to apply the funds for military purposes. The Communists had chosen war and the American mission found itself obliged to wage war also. Thereafter, war was almost the full order of business until 1949.

The State Department's first quarterly report to Congress on November 8, 1947, indirectly acknowledged a serious setback in field operations. "The chances for full success," it quietly conceded, had been hurt by "several adverse factors," chief of which was "continued guerrilla activity." The following January, the American mission finally announced that all funds originally intended for rehabilitation were being assigned for military needs. In a realistic sense, General James Van Fleet was prominent among Americans in Greece during the first two discouraging years. He headed the military mission. For the entire first year, while he struggled to improve the equipment and training of the demoralized Greek army, the offensive remained with the guerrillas. The army periodically announced its empty victories—terrain retaken—but "the numbers, morale, and equipment of the guerrillas steadily increased until they were operating even in the southernmost part of the Peloponnesus."

In retrospect, it was apparent that the turning point in the Greek civil war came on June 28, 1948. On that date the Cominform publicly denounced Tito for deviation from the true path to socialism. But it was some time before the full consequences of tbis split were fully felt in Greece. In fact, in the autumn of 1948 "full success" seemed so disturbingly elusive to Washington that George Kennan ordered a policy planning study on whether or not to abandon the Greek aid program entirely. The special task force set up to conduct the review recommended against American withdrawal. Shortly after, in early 1949, Tito finally closed down his frontiers, cutting off the principal source of guerrilla supply and the major haven for rest and retreat. This move immensely simplified the military task of the rebounding Greek army. It had only to seal off Albania's short frontier. By summer, it was apparent that guerrilla morale had cracked. Pitched battles decreased in number, time and intensity. In early September, the last of the guerrilla survivors broke through the army cordon and escaped into Albania for good. The war was finally over.

The two years had cost the United States $818.6 millions, aside from main roads and ports rebuilt during the fighting. Virtually all the economic rehabilitation planned in 1947 still remained to be done. In late 1949, serious reconstruction—the ostensible, if not the strategic objective of the Greek-Turkish aid bill—belatedly began in earnest. Meanwhile the United States had unquestionably salvaged the country for the West.

Attention had already turned to the wider problem of the European crisis: the need for swift economic rehabilitation. "It is now obvious," wrote Will Clayton, Undersecretary for Economic Affairs, "that we grossly underestimated tbe destruction to the European Economy by the war."

Dean Acheson in powerful phrases described America's forthcoming role. This looming chore, he said, was "in keeping with the policy announced by President Truman in his special message to Congress on March 12, 1947 on aid to Greece and Turkey."

The Truman Doctrine was evolving into the Marshall Plan. The Mediterranean crisis had widened the Administration's concern for the fate of all Europe. The Greek-Turkish program became the sturdy precedent for large-scale foreign assistance. It was the opening gun. It represented, as Truman extemporaneously observed, "the first step for peace."

In later days President Truman defined the Truman Doctrine in the broader sense as he had conceived it. "I don't like all the emphasis on names," he would lecture. "The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, Berlin, Korea, they were all part of the same policy to stop the Russians. It's as simple as that." ■

Buying a house you can live with, as well as in, without having to start taking your lunch to work in a little brown bag

S. I. NADLER

ALTHOUGH buying a house represents one of the largest investments any of us makes in a lifetime, most of us go about it in a manner best described as helter-shelter.

While you were reading the foregoing sentence, somewhere in the United States a house was bought. It happens every ten seconds, twenty-four hours a day, weekends emphatically included.

Statistics reveal several other interesting aspects of house buying in the United States. Consider, for example, that house which changed hands while you were reading the opening sentence. If it was new, chances are 50-50 that the buyer had looked at ten others before deciding, but five to two against his having visited the one he bought as many as five times before closing the deal. If it was an old house, an even money wager would cover the buyer's having looked at only five others, with the odds two to one against his having made more than two visits before buying. (Any house more than one year old, incidentally, is an "old" house, according to the tenets of the real estate—unreal estate?—world.)

As for seeking the advice of a professional appraiser or other expert before making a commitment, statistics show the odds to be two to one against the buyer's having done so with a new house, even longer in the case of an old one.

At this point, the reader is cautioned that this is not an "advice" article, nor is the writer an expert (in *anything*, if you get right down to it).

Rather than offer advice, this piece will suggest the kind of advice you ought to seek, as a prospective home buyer. For the few questions it may answer, it will highlight several others to which you should demand replies. And such expertise as the writer may seem to possess derives simply from having bought two houses (and sold one of them), plus having a wife who engages in real estate work when we are not serving abroad.

Decision

Let us assume that you are a Foreign Service officer who finds himself in Washington for a tour of three or four years. Your family, as usual, needs a place to live. Apartment or house? If house, rent or buy?

Should you try, in the Washington area, to apply the usual rules about this situation, you will wind up even more frustrated than you are when the promotion lists are published. As to why this should be so, one can only refer to the immortal words of Mr. James Durante: "Because dem's da conditions dat prevail."

You have probably heard that twenty-five per cent of your income, or about one week's salary per month, should cover your housing costs. Whether you rent or buy, that rule of thumb does not work in the region in and around the nation's capital. Unless you have a very green thumb. Money-green.

Then, if you decide to buy, somebody is certain to remind you of this standard guide: you should not spend more on a house than a sum equal to two-and-a-half times your annual income. A $16,000 yearly income should thus translate into a $40,000 house. And it can. But in the Washington area, property values—like so many other values—are different, and something (like two bedrooms or a third bathroom) is lost in the translation.

There are compensatory factors. An informative article on whether to buy or rent appeared in the November, 1964, BETTER HOMES & GARDENS. It demonstrated that it pays to buy only if you expect to stay in a house for three or four years, at least, fixing forty months as the point where growing equity in a house starts outbalancing ownership costs. Cautioning against buying a house which may later prove unsalable, the article added that such risk is lowest in an economically prospering area, where the housing market is stable. Three examples were cited, and heading the list was "the thriving Washington, D. C., area"!

It has not been the purpose of this section in any way to discourage the prospective home buyer. A man's home may be his castle, but you do have to keep sight of the fact that, if you cannot pay the water bill, you will find yourself with a dry moat.

Preparation

Now, let us assume you have decided to buy a house. You think you are ready to start looking for one. You are not.

Before poring over the classified advertisements in the newspaper, before calling real estate agents, and before starting to spend your weekends cruising in your car, seeking "OPEN" signs, you ought to have a fairly firm idea of:

- what sort of house you want;
- the kind of neighborhood in which you would like to live; and
- how much you can afford to pay.

This exercise is ultimately as rewarding as initially frustrating. Once you accept the fact that you cannot

afford the sort of house you want in the kind of neighborhood where you would like to live, it hurts a little less.

Obviously, you must compromise, and the place to start is with the last item—the price you can afford—because that is the inflexible one. Then, as you begin to lower your sights on kind of house and on neighborhood, bear in mind two considerations:

• Even though you may rent your house during a tour or two abroad, you will someday sell it. All real estate experts agree that the most important determinant of the sale price of any house is the neighborhood in which it is located.

• Investing an additional two, five, or ten thousand dollars in improving a house will not lift its resale value by the sum so invested. The area, the neighborhood, the block set a price on your house. The family seeking to purchase a palace will look in neighborhoods like Xanadu or Camelot, not Levittown or Irving Renewal's Instant Community. Come to think of it—as, eventually, you *will* come to think of it—would *you* buy a $40,000 home in a block of $30,000 houses?

In April, 1965, CHANGING TIMES published the views of a select group of appraisers on what home buyers do wrong. The magazine had undertaken the project in cooperation with the United Savings and Loan League. The panel agreed that seven types of mistake were made with sufficient frequency to rate the adjective "common." Two of the top four were *over-improvement* and *poor location*. If you are wondering, the other two of the top four were *insufficient living space* and *poor interior arrangement*, the latter a euphemism for "stupid floor plan."

People who have gone house-hunting without having engaged in this preparatory exercise of soul-searching while balancing a budget have been known to discover that they have somehow become the reluctant owners of a house they do not want, in a neighborhood they do not like, often at a price they cannot afford.

Name them Mr. and Mrs. Legion.

Color them livid.

Search

Having elected to live in a house, rather than an apartment, having decided to buy, not rent, and having compromised between what you want and what you can afford, you next have to find it.

Question: Should you accept the services of a real estate agent?

Answer: Yes, *but*.

• The half-million (that is right, half-million) real estate agents in the United States account for the sale of a goodly portion of the million new houses and for no less than three out of four of the two million old houses bought annually.

• An agent knows what is available (often including dwellings not advertised in the media) and, frequently, what is going to be on the market next week or next month.

Obviously, a qualified real estate agent can help you enormously. While he or she actually represents the seller, who pays the commission, there can be no sale (or commission) without a buyer. Your involvement with the agent should remain businesslike, and this is not always easy after somebody has driven you around and shown you houses nights and weekends. You owe the agent nothing beyond normal courtesy and consideration, which is another way of saying that you should not buy a house for the sole reason that you "have taken so much of the agent's time."

But sever connections with any agent who

• Keeps trying to show you a house in a price range higher than your announced maximum. (A usual approach is: "It doesn't hurt just to *look*. . . ." It *does* hurt. At best, you will become dissatisfied with any house you *can* afford. Worse, you may be conned into buying something you cannot afford. The way *this* generally starts is with the agent murmuring, probably to your wife, "Just two thousand dollars more for *so much more house* . . .")

• Tells you he or she cannot obtain answers to your questions about a house in which you are interested. (For example: What did the seller pay when he bought it? How much are the taxes? When were they last raised? What is the school situation? Is the house completely insulated? The answers, respectively, should not be: "a lot; you're getting a real bargain," "low," "way back," "great," and "sure, all houses are.")



As the search continues and the weeks slip by, keep a couple of other statistics in mind to maintain strength and perspective. People in the market for an old house spend an average of two months looking before buying. Those in the market for a new house spend an average of three months.

Timing can be as important as time. In the heat of summer, late afternoon is when you should inspect a house. In winter, if possible, do it after a snowfall and glance at the roof. If the snow seems to be melting quickly, you have evidence of poor insulation—and high heating costs. If the elements do not cooperate, pick a cold day and enter the house. An interior temperature of less than seventy degrees should raise your eyebrows, if not a few questions. Try, too, to visit any house in which you are interested on a day when the rain is coming down hard. Drainage is of critical importance, and you should know something about how the site sheds water.

It is quite possible that, on the first day of your search, you may walk into a house which meets all your requirements. It was also possible, once, that you might fall in love at sight with the first girl you dated, marry her, and live happily ever after. Quite possible. But hardly likely.

And so you will be tempted, as you seek but seem not to find. Tempted by a house with one bedroom less than you want. Or with one sagging floor more than anybody needs. Or by the agent's urging that "You ought to make an offer. This house is hot. Sure to sell this weekend." (If it does, your disappointment will hardly match his surprise. And there is always another.)

In any event, never buy out of a sense of panic.

If you must have a house in that much of a hurry, heed the following word of advice:

Rent.

Selection

Suddenly, it is apparent to you that, of all the houses you have seen, one appeals to your family incomparably more than any other. Others were found wanting; this one, it seems, just wanted finding. There is a general "This is it!" reaction.

Resist the irresistible impulse to reach for your pen. Take a deep

breath, instead. By now, you have faced more moments of truth than a fifty-year-old bull fighter. One more should not faze you. Ask yourself a few questions:

• Is the house really large enough?

Do not accept measurements at space value. In a 30-by-40-foot house, nearly 50 square feet of the apparent 1,200 square feet of living space is invested in the 8-inch thick outside walls.

Count the rooms yourself. The seller's "fourth bedroom" may be your wife's walk-in closet. Plumbing fixtures do not a bathroom make; a bathroom should be no smaller than five by seven feet (and if it *is* that small, make sure the door opens *out*). The kitchen, according to a Cornell University study, should provide a work area of at least 96 square feet. And a University of Illinois study turned up inadequate cabinet space, insufficient storage space, and absence of a work counter next to the range as the three most common kitchen flaws.

In addition to people, your house must accommodate the people's things. Make sure there is enough closet space for everybody. Better yet, have your wife make sure. It is the kind of problem you growl about, but she has to live with it. As in the case of money, there is more to life than closet space—until you do not have enough of it.

• Is the design to your liking?

This relates to function, not appearance. You intend to live in the house, presumably, and the living should be easy. Sleeping, living, and work areas, while related, should be separated. Room-to-room circulation should be good, without the living room having to be used as a mixing bowl for people traffic. Bathrooms ought not to be exposed. Everybody knows everybody goes to the bathroom, but there is no need to make it a matter of public record each time.

• Are the electric supply and water pressure adequate?

The assortment of mid-twentieth century appliances common to the average household requires an electric supply of 150 amperes and 240 volts. The wiring, further, should be capable of carrying the current. And there should be separate circuits; you ought to be able to count at least eight fuses or circuit breakers at the main switchboard.

With two or more bathrooms, a washing machine, a dishwasher, and similar items, inadequate water pressure is an invitation to a jarring breakdown of normal family routine. One test is quite simple. Go to the top floor, turn on the taps in the washbasin and the bathtub, and then flush the toilet. If there results a noticeable diminution in water pressure, there exists a problem you can do without.

While not comparable to kicking the tires of an automobile, tests like these still do not eliminate the need for expert advice. You cannot judge whether termites are present and active or whether there is unrepaired termite damage. Neither are you qualified to identify major construction defects. How do you know that the sunken living room started out that way?

On the other hand, as a buyer, you can expect *too* much.

You will not find it.

• New and old houses each have advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage of a house more than ten years old is that it offers more space. On the other hand, in a random sampling of ten-years-or-older houses it had inspected for potential purchasers, Home Consultants, Inc., discovered inadequate wiring in eight out of ten and termites or wood rot in nearly six out of ten.

• Comparing today's oranges with mother's apple pie can be dangerously misleading. Your memory is not failing. Houses *did* used to be bigger and *did* used to cost less. But the houses people bought fifty years ago were also emptier. They came without such now-standard equipment as central heating, automatic laundry, refrigerator, and so forth. As a matter of fact, as late as 1950, 92 per cent of the houses boasted only a single bathroom (some less); more than 70 per cent of today's houses have two or more. Less than half the homes of 1950 had a garage or even a carport, compared with better than 8 out of 10 which now do.

If you cannot help comparing the houses at which you are now looking with those of "the good old days," remember what was missing then.

Count your blessings.

And bathrooms.

Contract

To indicate your readiness to purchase a house, you sign a contract (or binder or offer to purchase or etc.). Although it is commonly called a contract in the Washington area, you would do well to think of it as a binder, because, once you sign, bound is what you are.

The contract indicates what sum you are offering to pay for the house and the terms under which you are willing to buy it. The advertised selling price is an "asking price," what the seller would like to get but seldom expects. It sets an upper limit on the bargaining, while your figure establishes a lower limit. Never offer the



asking price in your first go-round. You may be told that the asking price is "firm." It may well be. Find out the easy way: by offering less.

When your signed contract is presented to the seller, he may sign it, in which case you have yourself a house. He may reject it. Most likely, he will change the price to one lower than he asked but higher than you offered, or change some of your terms, or both, and then sign. In this instance, negotiations have begun.

Most realtors have standard, printed contracts, which their real estate agents use. They are convenient and time-saving. But the clauses specifying your terms must be typed in before you sign. On the other hand, a contract does not have to be anything more than a scrap of paper with an appropriate statement written on it. Nor need it be accompanied by cash, check, or any other deposit. Once both parties—seller and buyer—sign it, it becomes legally binding on both.

Ordinarily, a contract will be accompanied by a deposit, to be held in escrow by the realtor by whom the agent is employed, or the seller will not even consider your offer. Put yourself in the seller's position, and you will quickly understand why.

Aside from being completely certain that you understand *everything* in the contract, you should make doubly certain it contains several specific terms before you sign:

• There should be a statement that, if the seller does not act upon the offer within a specified period (e.g., twenty-four or forty-eight hours), the offer is automatically withdrawn.

• The sale is contingent upon your obtaining the financing you need to complete it, with the amount of that financing, the maximum interest, and the term of the loan spelled out.

• The sale is further contingent upon verification by a termite expert (hired by you) that the house is free of active termites or unrepaired termite damage. (Termites are to be found just about everywhere in the United States, and they are no respecters of brick and concrete. A termite needs a hole no larger than ½ of an inch to effect entry into a house; if nowhere else, he can generally find this where an underground pipe enters.)

• The sale is also contingent upon the absence of any major structural defect in the house, as determined by a professional appraiser or engineer.

• In addition to the date *of* the contract, there should be certain dates *in* it, such as the approximate date for closing the sale (when you receive the deed and become owner) and the date on which you will be able to move into the house (with, perhaps, an indication of the rent to be paid by the seller in the event he remains in the house after the date specified for your occupancy).

• Even seemingly obvious details about the transaction should be itemized: a legally acceptable description of the house, including lot number, location, and size (there are recorded cases of people who thought they were purchasing one house and later found out they had bought another); the full price; the size of the deposit; the amount of the down-payment; and just what you expect to come with the house (e.g., appliances, draperies, screens, storm windows, etc.).

• Also specified should be the maximum you will pay for *total* closing costs, including title insurance. (You are sure to have at least one acquaintance who can describe, from personal experience, the kind of shock one can receive when he permits the closing costs to come as a surprise during the ritual accompanying the closing.) There may be those who will tell you that maximum closing costs cannot be estimated. You can safely conclude that they are either ignorant of such matters or are lying.

Question: Should you consult a lawyer before signing the contract?

Answer: Yes, *but*.

As noted, the contract is a legally binding document. If you do not clearly understand any part of it or if you have doubts about the wording of the clauses which you have asked be added, by all means consult a lawyer before signing. *But* the lawyer should be one who knows real estate.

You would not expect the family general practitioner, qualified physician though he is, to perform a creditable job of brain surgery on you.

Would you?



Financing

Just as a home should suit *your* family's needs and wishes, so the financing of that home should be in accord with *your* family's financial needs, income, and preferred method of payment. It is, thus, generally inadvisable to accept a pre-packaged financing plan or to assume somebody else's financing.

Under a mortgage agreement, the lender advances to you the cash you need to purchase the house, while you pledge the house as security and agree to repay the loan, with interest, in periodic—usually monthly—installments over a fixed number of years, rarely more than thirty.

A variety of factors determine the size of the mortgage.

• The maximum is usually predetermined by a customary minimum down-payment, generally one-third for an old house, as little as one-twentieth for a new one.

• Also taken into account are the type of mortgage (conventional, FHA, or GI), your family's credit rating, and the procedures and practices of the lending institution itself.

• Second trusts will not be discussed here. If you need one to buy the house, you can conclude you should not be buying it.

Within the above limits, your personal money habits also affect the term of the mortgage. At 5½ per cent interest, for example, a $20,000 mortgage would accrue to $13,018.60 total interest charges over twenty years and $16,846.00 over twenty-five years, a difference of $3,827.40. Monthly payments on the former, however, come to $137.60, compared with $123.00 on the latter, a difference of $14.60 monthly. If you live from paycheck to paycheck, the lower monthly payments, despite the over-all difference in total, will probably—and rightly—appeal more to you.

There are, similarly, reasons why many will not wish to—and should not—make a larger down-payment than required, even though they may have the cash to do so, and even though a larger down-payment naturally means lower monthly payments and lower total interest. By paying more interest, you pick up a higher income tax deduction; and the difference between lower and higher down-payment can be invested (even in a savings account) to produce income.

After shopping for financing and selecting the most attractive arrangement, there is one provision you should insist be included and two you should try to have included:

• There should be a clause stating that you may pre-pay the full amount of the mortgage at any time before the full term expires, without penalty.

• If possible, you should have included a skip-payment clause, permitting you to miss one payment a year, with the mortgage term extended by one month and the passed interest added to what you owe.

• If obtainable, an open-end clause is comforting; it allows you to reopen, renew, or increase your mortgage by an amount equivalent to what you have already paid off.

There are many publications (the Government Printing Office can sell you one) containing tables on monthly payments over any given number of years on a wide range of amounts at various rates of interest. The following few figures, giving the monthly payment, including principal and interest, *per thousand dollars*, are included here just to give an idea of how interest rates and term of a mortgage can affect such payments:

	5¾ %	6%	6¼ %
15 years	$8.31	$8.44	$8.58
20 years	7.03	7.17	7.31
25 years	6.30	6.45	6.60

At this point, we pause to shatter an old myth. Folklore and old melodramas to the contrary, mortgages are not burned—ceremoniously or otherwise—when paid in full. They must not even be permitted to fade away. They have to be registered with the appropriate authorities.

Perhaps, the myth has persisted because so few home owners ever face the happy fact of a paid-up mortgage, except when one is paid off in the course of selling a house, in which case you do not have the mortgage over your head any longer, but you do not have the house over your head any longer, either.

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CRAIG EISENDRATH

The Outer Space Treaty

THE treaty on outer space exploration, completed at UN Headquarters on December 8, 1966, was in progress almost ten years. It attests to the doggedness of men in the State Department and other agencies who stuck to their tasks despite U-2, Congo and Vietnam to produce a peace treaty for an area where there have been no wars.

Work on the treaty began, principally in the State Department, some months before Sputnik I (October, 1957) and our little and late Explorer I (January, 1958). It was clear that international regulation would be required for the new region of outer space. Some planners thought boldly of comprehensive measures whereby all space shots would be inspected or all efforts in outer space would be conducted cooperatively. This approach, similar to the ill-fated Baruch Plan of 1946 for international control of atomic energy, was rejected as unrealistic in view of postwar experience with the Soviet Union.

The view prevailed in Washington that cooperation with the Soviets in effecting international regulation of outer space must proceed slowly, each modest new step building on the confidence engendered by the last.

By 1958, the State Department had produced certain minimal proposals for the regulation of outer space that might form the scenario for negotiations in the next few years. Two of these proposals—the return of astronauts and space vehicles coming down accidentally in foreign countries and liability for damage resulting from outer space exploration—are still awaiting completion in treaty form after three years of separate negotiation. In the present treaty, they are merely stated as general principles.

The treaty also contains other original US proposals, such as: outer space exploration shall be conducted in the interests of all countries; international law and the UN Charter extend into outer space and outer space is not subject to national appropriation. This last provision makes it impossible to lay claim to any portion of outer space, and hopefully ends any danger of colonies and colonial wars in space such as followed the exploration of the New World.

This interest in the international regulation of outer space was just part of the United States' program of cooperation in space. This program, involving tracking, communications, meteorology and scientific research, today includes over 60 countries. One of the first steps, taken in mid-1958, was to separate the major part of US space research from military auspices through the creation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). NASA meant that the United States could cooperate with others without fear of compromising its military programs, and others could cooperate with us without fear of compromising their neutrality. Moreover, we needed cooperation more than the Soviets did, particularly in tracking, due to the Soviets' larger territory and their perhaps initially better control of spacecraft landings. In any case, the United States already had military agreements, aid programs and arrangements for scientific cooperation with scores of countries. World-wide cooperation in outer space would not represent a major departure for the United States. It would for the Soviet Union which still conducts its space operations in relative isolation.

The UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was an American initiative. During the days of Ambassador Lodge in the UN, the Soviets refused meaningful participation, though in recent years they have been far more constructive. It is through the Committee that the negotiations were conducted which led to the present treaty.

While much of the treaty is contained in earlier UN resolutions, particularly those of 1963, a treaty represents an enormous increase in commitment over resolutions, being *legally* as well as *morally* binding. This is particularly true for the Soviets who have proved far more reluctant to violate treaties than UN resolutions.

The treaty contains three outstanding provisions which go beyond the initial planning of the State Department, and represent the treaty's most significant contribution to peace. One provision outlaws the orbiting of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and stationing them in outer space; another forbids military bases, weapons testing and military maneuvers on celestial bodies; and the third gives signatories the right to visit each others' facilities on the moon and other celestial bodies.

These provisions rest upon a judgment by American and apparently Soviet military planners that orbital weapons and bases in outer space have little conceivable military use. Earth-based missile systems are cheaper and more accurate than space-based ones. The treaty contains no provisions for inspection of space shots, and cannot prevent a country from committing a violation by putting a nuclear weapon into orbit. But the primary value of such a device would be as a terror weapon, and, to be effective, the violation would have to be revealed.

As early as 1960, the United States had placed a ban on orbiting vehicles carrying weapons of mass destruction in its disarmament proposals, and by September, 1962, Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric had declared that placing thermonuclear weapons in orbit was "not a rational military strategy for either side for the foreseeable future." It was not until a year later, however, that Gromyko took up the US proposal as a separate measure. In a matter of weeks, the General Assembly reached agreement on a resolution banning weapons of mass destruction in space.

The provisions in the outer space treaty providing for the peaceful use of celestial bodies and right of visit clearly come

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The Last Days of Shanghai: 1949

JOHN MOORS CABOT

THE Communist armies after the battle of Hsuchow advanced to the Yangtze. Two-thirds of the Americans in the Shanghai consular district—including most of the women and children—were evacuated under the plans drawn up by American officials. The financial reform program which the Nationalist Government had undertaken broke down, including its price controls, and the "gold yuan" started a dizzying plunge. The Admiral in command of our Western Pacific fleet, breaking the assurances he had given me an hour earlier, announced in December that he was sending marines to Shanghai to protect the American colony and that US naval vessels would be on hand to harbor American citizens during the anticipated take-over of Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek resigned, and retired with most of the Nationalists' movable assets to Taiwan, leaving an empty-handed Li Tsung-Jen to try to negotiate peace with the Communists. The latter was no more successful than others in his position had been. The Communists not only demanded complete surrender but also that Li denounce the United States for things it hadn't done. To his credit Li then refused, though recently, on defecting, Li yielded to the Communist will. The Nationalists began to put up pathetic fortifications, including a wooden stockade. to defend Shanghai.

It was obvious that the Communists had played along till spring to advance further. In April the British sent the frigate *Amethyst* up the Yangtze with supplies for the British Embassy in Nanking. The Communists on the river bank fired on her and disabled her. The British then sent successively a destroyer and a cruiser to the *Amethyst*'s rescue but both were driven back by almost point-blank Communist fire from the river bank.

At this point the very worried Admiral of our naval forces summoned me to his flagship and informed me that the Navy and Marines were going to pull out of Shanghai in forty-eight hours. I reminded him of what he had said in December but he reminded me of what the British had experienced on the Yangtze. He also told me he was going to turn over the Glen Line building (which we coveted for our offices) and the Navy Yard to us. Forty-eight hours later the Navy and Marines left. We in the Consulate General were left to face the music.

On April 20th the communists crossed the Yangtze. There was little resistance. Shanghai prepared for a siege. We in the Consulate General were frantic. We had to move into the Glen Line building, with our coding apparatus, cash, etc., through a city in turmoil. Moreover, the Navy Yard put a tremendous strain on us; it had been left by the Navy full of food, tools, machinery, trucks—and several score Sikh guards, who hadn't been given their agreed separation pay and were understandably irked. The Navy eventually rather sheepishly came back and got many things, but the Consulate General got a tremendous windfall of food, tools, generators, transmitters, etc. The administration staff, with such support as I could furnish from other officers worked round the clock to straighten out the mess. Everything except the Sikh pay was settled before the siege began.



Street Scene—Mainland China, 1945

by Paul Child

In the meantime, financial chaos reigned in Shanghai. The value of the gold yuan was dropping 50 percent a day. Interest rates rose to 100 percent a day. Though billions of new yuan were printed, there simply was not enough *value* in all of them to go around. Prices changed several times a day. Factories could not meet their payrolls. As a result, they had to give their workers factory products to sell, and the streets were lined with pathetic workers trying to sell stuff which no one wanted, particularly in these times. I recall attending a meeting of American and British businessmen, who were in despair as to what they could do.

The distant rumble of artillery began to reach the city in the night. The Communists first thrust to cut Shanghai from the Yangtze at Woosung. Repulsed there, they attacked along the perimeter of the city but could not break through till they crossed the Whangpoo and attacked from the direction of Pootung, where there were no fortifications. The fighting grew nearer, the rumble of artillery louder. Columns of smoke by day and of fire by night told of the Communist advance. Finally, the rattle of machine guns announced their arrival at the river bank opposite Shanghai.

We in the meantime had holed up in the Glen Line building where the Navy had conveniently left us a hospital with beds. We had generators, transmitters, food and all facilities. The telephones worked uninterruptedly throughout the take-over, so we could be constantly in touch with officers who remained in the Communist and Nationalist-held parts of the city. We could not stick our noses outside the building, but it was strong, and only light artillery was used in the city.

May 25th was the fateful day. (It was also the day, when, long before, I had planned to go on leave.) The febrile activity of the previous day gave way to an ominous quiet. At about 11 o'clock we saw the Communists advancing along the Bund. We also saw that the Nationalists had established a position in the concrete urinals of the little park across the street. The communists lost a couple of men and did not pursue their attack along the Bund. They cautiously came up the side street by our building (which we had heavily barricaded) and started plopping mortar shells into the Nationalist position. The Nationalists replied with rifle grenades. This went on for the entire afternoon and most of the next day. We watched, fascinated, from the roof of our building, which had a high stone parapet, but eventually retreated inside the building.

At one point we heard what we thought was the rattle of a machine gun on the Nationalist side of our building. Being on the protected side, we craned our heads out and discovered what we heard were bullets from a Nationalist position striking our building. Fortunately no one was hurt, although 35 bullets came in our windows, one drilling a hole in a chair which an officer had just left. At another point, just when the racket was becoming particularly outrageous outside, a telegram was handed me from our Ambassador in Nanking saying how glad he was that peace and quiet had been restored in Shanghai. I wired back that the quiet of Shanghai, like Mark Twain's death, was greatly exaggerated.

The Nationalist stand was only a holding operation while the Nationalist forces were evacuated from Woosung. By late afternoon on May 26th they were retreating from all their positions on Soochow Creek and by late morning the next day we heard that the vital electric light plant at the northern limits of the city had fallen undamaged into Communist hands. I returned through the drizzle and the quiet streets to my house.

The next day I attended a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce. To my astonishment practically everyone was jubilant. At last we were rid of the horrible Nationalists and a new dawn had appeared! The Board wanted to send a message to Washington conveying this sentiment. I was alone in my determined opposition to it, but I was lucky. The Board divided on how fulsome the message should be and eventually a decision was postponed. The message sent by another Chamber of Commerce was cited in the Korea hearings.

I should perhaps add that American missionaries (if I observed correctly) were far less deceived than American businessmen by the party line. They knew from direct experiences in the hinterland the difference between what the Communists said and what they did. It is a shame that after so many experiences there are still as many people in the world who continue to be bemused by Communist propaganda.



China's People *by Paul Child*

American businessmen quickly discovered their error. Workers incited by the Communists staged a series of shut-ins in which the foreigner was held in his office on some flimsy pretext until he submitted to the workers' demands. The American reaction to this was generally to withdraw. The British, trying to avoid the loss of their immense investments, poured in hundreds of thousands of pounds a month in an effort to keep their businesses going. They eventually fared worse than the Americans—they were not only squeezed out of all their assets, but like the Americans, had to pay ransom to secure the release of their nationals. They were also worse off because until the last minute they had talked of the "hysteria" of the American evacuation and they therefore had more nationals to ransom.

The Consulate General was not immune from labor troubles. The Navy Yard Sikh guards pressed their demands with ever increasing intensity. The Navy refused to admit any liability (which to my mind was clear under the contracts), and eventually the Sikhs blockaded the Glen Line building. Protests to the Communist authorities were not heeded, and the mob would not allow us to leave the building. I refused, however, to negotiate under duress. Eventually a heavy rain broke the blockade.

At this point I, who had been sick for nearly a year, was withdrawn, with the Ambassador, from China. Reaching Okinawa was a happy moment.

The rest of the story may be told briefly. The Sikh guards broke into the Glen Line building and held part of the staff prisoners. The Navy was forced to pay far more to settle than it could have settled for earlier. Upon my return to Washington I recommended (1) that we not leave any more officials in the path of the advancing Communists; (2) that we evacuate every American willing to leave the Communist-held part of China. Both recommendations were accepted. Our last officials were providentially withdrawn early in 1950. The Korean war broke out in June. The sun had set in the East. ■

CONQUEST OF INNER SPACE

HOWARD J. GROSSMAN

In his Inaugural Address, President Kennedy said:

"Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths . . ."

Thus, the stage was set for a national focus on oceanography.

Seventy per cent of the world is water, yet less is known about oceans and their mysteries than outer space. For centuries, the paradox of drought and flood has poured through the world. Yet, only today, is oceanography, the scientific study of the seas, being recognized at its true value. The darkness which once completely pervaded the ocean depths no longer is an overpowering shroud. Just one sign of the importance of oceanography is the array of universities and colleges offering undergraduate and advanced degrees in oceanography or related subjects. From the University of Hawaii to the University of Miami, there are at least 45 universities offering graduate or undergraduate credits and degrees in oceanography.

Physicists, biologists, chemists, engineers, geologists, and mathematicians may have different skills, but they all apply their knowledge to study of the seas. The oceans provide a laboratory in which to experiment, unlock, and marshal the facts which can transfer the secrets of the seas to the benefit of mankind.

The mysteries of the sea have been emblazoned in the legendary accounts of sea monsters and the original theories which had man falling off the ends of the earth and oceans into a dark abyss. Now the new mysteries are characterized by words of the present and future such as zooplankton, phytoplankton, and others which are making major contributions to the understanding of man within the context and excitement of his environment.

Scientists today are seeking the answers to many problems and questions which have puzzled them about the seas since time immemorial. Governmental agencies have proclaimed their concern by supporting and financing inquiries, research, and action programs designed to capture the secrets which will assist mankind. And the public has visions of using these investigations to end starvation, avoid the damages of storms, and to discover perhaps the very processes of life itself. The mystical qualities of the sea and its bountiful resources may hold the very key to civilization and the continuation of the world as we know it. While the United States is by no means the only nation in this field, it has begun to turn the corner in its attitudes and policies. That there is increasing awareness for what lies below us as well as above us is clear. The adventure and romance of the oceans have been a common theme in literature. But what was once adventure for adventure's sake has turned into an exploration of the vast water bodies of this planet in what may turn out to be a fight for survival. Food resources, for example, are potentially greater in the ocean than they are on land. Mineral resources in the oceans are readily accessible if they can be economically extracted. Magnesium and bromide are examples of such resources. Oil deposits are being tapped now and will continue to be so in the future. The sea could be a limitless and continuous source of energy. It can serve as the solution to the nation's current drought problems. The oceans can be disposal outlets for our wastes, at least within limits of pollution. The sea still is a major means of transportation. Knowledge of the seas, also, relates to defense requirements, as typified by the Polaris missile. In total, knowledge and use of the seas can change the course of mankind. Oceanography provides the basic information to increase the benefits of the seas, and, at the same time, avoid the harmful effects of such problems as floods. Controlling the elements themselves is a major goal of oceanography.

This inner space is, in some ways, vastly more important than the adventures of outer space. For example, the sea floor of the continental shelf, the rim of the land beneath the sea, is more accessible than the planets and has greater surface area than the entire surface of the moon, yet is relatively unexplored. Additionally, to help accomplish a giant scientific



The manned ocean buoy, FLIP (Floating Instrument Platform) of the Office of Naval Research, provides a stable platform for making oceanographic measurements. The unique cigar shaped vessel flips from the horizontal to the vertical and back by flooding and blowing ballast tanks. FLIP's 300-foot vertical draft provides ideal stability for making measurements in the sea.

achievement, four of the major oceanographic institutes of the United States have joined to undertake a large-scale invasion of the sea to drill through the entire sedimentary layer and find the answers to the earth's form and shape.

For a long time there was no national, long-range, coordinated plan for oceanography which would embrace many of the goals and projects previously mentioned. Today, there has been created the Interagency Committee on Oceanography of the Federal Council for Science and Technology. Created in 1959, the Committee has representatives from interested national agencies including the Department of Defense, Department of Commerce, Department of Interior, Department of the Treasury, National Science Foundation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Academy of Sciences, Bureau of the Budget, Office of Science and Technology, and the Department of the Navy. The Committee created a National Oceanographic Plan which is adjusted yearly. The federal budget for oceanography currently runs about $125 million annually, a significant increase from $24 million in 1958, but paling beside the billions being poured into the space program. The national goal in oceanography has been well stated; the funds, however, have not. The Interagency Committee on Oceanography has described the goal as follows:

> "To comprehend the world ocean, its boundaries, its properties, and its processes, and to exploit this comprehension in the public interest in enhancement of our security, our culture, international posture, and our economic growth."

One area where the Soviet Union appears to be ahead is in meeting the challenge of the conquest of the seas. The two great powers meet, along with three other major oceanographic nations (Japan, United Kingdom, and Canada) and 39 smaller members, in a United Nations sponsored agency—the International Oceanographic Commission. Several cooperative ventures have been held including the International Geophysical Year, and the Inter-Indian Ocean Expedition.

The importance of the oceans is underscored by the very fact that they were the birthplace of life itself. Today, they may hold the key to the future if the unparalleled population explosion that is to take place on this planet is accepted as a fact. They have an unknown potential for food and minerals, and, even now, supply the moisture in our atmosphere, provide life-giving rain, and temper our climate. Since oceans affect weather, ocean forecasting can save lives, money, and property. The Coast Guard International Ice Patrol is a by-product of oceanography. Forecasting the location of ice and icebergs is a major outgrowth of knowledge of the seas. Fish forecasting can affect the foodstuffs of the world. Desalinization, or the processing of sea water to fresh, drinking water, is a future result of oceanography which can affect the entire balance of power on the earth. Farming the sea, or aquaculture, will catch up with the latest agricultural methods used on land. Mining the sea will be a result of oceanography, perhaps through vacuum type cleaners, sweeping and sucking the minerals from the sea to the land.

The wealth of the oceans is not only of governmental interest. The International Oceanographic Foundation is a non-profit organization chartered in 1953 and is composed of scientists and laymen. They consider the oceans the last great frontier on earth. The Foundation's members not only enjoy the sea, but encourage and develop oceanographic exploration and scientific research. For example, major universities are penetrating the ocean barriers through research and through formal contracts with the federal government for uncovering ocean secrets.

The federal government has become so concerned with oceanography as it is applied to our environment as to form a new Environmental Science Services Administration which merges the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the Weather Bureau. The White House feels that the agency will "provide a single national focus for our efforts to describe and understand and predict the state of the oceans. . ." The recent

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The importance of living and working as a free agent in the ocean environment is increasing. No matter how automated and accurate an instrument is, it must be installed and maintained by divers. In addition, his ability to select and interpret makes the oceanographic/diver a reliable instrument for underwater investigation on his own.

NANCY DAMMANN

Know Your Audience

KNOW YOUR AUDIENCE is the cardinal tenet of most US communications experts.

Millions of dollars are spent each year trying to learn how the gullible American will react to various advertising gimmicks. Will men increase their consumption of a certain brand of beer if an all-American girl is used in its advertising? Or would a glamour girl model straight out of Hollywood prove more effective at whetting their thirsts?

Magazine publishers go to great lengths to discover which articles, features and stories their subscribers like best and why. Newspaper owners have spent thousands of dollars learning the economic and family status, educational level and favorite forms of recreation of their readers.

And, as everybody knows, the fate of television producers hinges on the weekly Nielsen ratings.

Yet, in producing propaganda and educational materials for overseas audiences, the United States needs to do a great deal more research than it has hitherto done.

Unfortunately, the reports of the few media surveys which have been made are not widely circulated and are seldom available outside of the countries in which they were made. Those that we have seen emphasize the number of exposed persons rather than their reactions.

Although there is little scientific data on the subject there have been numerous indications that the media techniques which work at home will not succeed in newly developing countries.

For example, there is the classic story concerning a Walt Disney malaria movie shown to a rural audience in Latin America. The film included several close-ups of an anopheles mosquito. Following the show the farmers were questioned by American malaria advisors as to what they had learned from the movie. They laughed and replied, "Oh, now we understand why you Americans are so worried about malaria for you have such big mosquitoes in your country."

This was a perfectly natural interpretation on the part of the rural audience since they had seen very few movies and did not understand the sophisticated enlargement technique.

There is a tendency on the part of many movie users to equate the size of the audience with the degree of success.

A recent movie on the White-McDivitt space flight has attracted a good deal of attention in northeastern towns of Thailand. However, a majority of the audiences have been so puzzled about the disposal of human waste during the flight that they learned little from the film. For they worried about this question to the extent of not following the film story. The final assumption on the part of many viewers was that the reason White took his walk around the space ship was to take care of this problem.

A common error on the part of many Americans has been to assume the same basic knowledge of world affairs on the part of their foreign audiences as in the United States.

Following President Kennedy's death numerous Americans stationed in Thailand were impressed by the rapidity with which rural villagers learned of the assassination. The fact that villagers knew about President Kennedy's death was believed to mean that they also knew what country he came from. This was far from true. When questioned by a Thai research team it was learned that many villagers thought President Kennedy had been mayor of Bangkok. They knew that he had been a very important man. Therefore, since Bangkok is the capital and leading city of Thailand they assumed that he had been mayor of that important city.

It was because of a growing awareness that many of its educational materials might not be having the desired effect among village audiences that AID's US Operations Mission (USOM) in Thailand began in 1964 a small media research program. For USOM has been, almost since its inception in 1950, producing a variety of educational materials designed to encourage villagers to adopt new agriculture and health practices. But nobody really knew how effective these pamphlets, movies and posters had been.

Accordingly, three contracts were let with Bangkok research organizations for studies in rural Northeast Thailand on reading comprehension, village channels of communication and visual perception.* In addition, members of USOM's communications media division staff made two minor pilot evaluation studies of specific publications.

The interview samples were small. The findings certainly cannot be considered final. However, the studies do provide useful clues to rural Thai reactions to various media and media techniques.

The research seemed to indicate that there is little purpose in distributing written materials to the majority of villagers, although it might prove useful to give simple pamphlets to teachers, storekeepers and other rural leaders.

According to the 1960 census Thailand has one of the highest literacy rates (70.8 per cent) in Southeast Asia. (Under the census procedures anybody who had been to school or could read and write his name was considered literate.)

However, when tested, 59 per cent of the sample could not comprehend the simplest written materials. (The vocabulary used in the test materials included only words found in grade 1-4 readers.)

The explanation for the low level of reading comprehension appears to be two-fold. All Thai children are required to attend at least four years of school. However, until this year, most northeast village schools had no text books. Children learned to read by rote repetition of words and phrases the teacher had placed on the blackboard. As a result many youngsters had trouble learning to read and have had to repeat the first grade two and three times.

**Coordination Center For Southeast Asian Studies; Asia Services Co., Ltd., and Business Research Ltd.*

Secondly, once a child has finished school he has little opportunity to read. Very few newspapers, books or other written materials reach the village so he soon loses his reading skills. Those villagers who do remember how to read often find it exceedingly difficult.

For example, when one village chief with five years of schooling was tested it took him 30 minutes to read five simple sentences. In order to understand the text he had to read each word out loud. He was able to answer questions concerning the material but complained that reading was too much work and that he was too busy a man to bother.

Unfortunately, there are indications that the few villagers, such as teachers and storekeepers, who can read, consider themselves an elite and discuss the contents of the newspapers and books they see only among themselves.

Since most villagers cannot or will not read, a logical suggestion might be to substitute the radio for publications. However, although there are an increasing number of cheap transistor radios in Thai northeast villages their impact has been relatively minor. For the villager has the same ability as the American adolescent. He closes his ears to everything he is not interested in.

Recently, for example, the author was sitting in the home of an elderly farmer residing near the Laotian border. The radio was turned up high to a Bangkok newscast. Nobody paid any attention. After 15 minutes the author asked what the news was. Nobody could answer. For, the head of the family explained, "We never listen to that program, it's just somebody talking from Bangkok. We turned on the radio to make certain we wouldn't miss the *mohlam*" (a humorous soap opera type program). The *mohlam,* it developed, immediately followed the news.

It would be wrong, however, to say that the radio is useless. Radio surveys indicate that teachers, headmen and other village leaders do listen to commentaries and news broadcasts. The fact that news concerning the deaths of President Kennedy and Prime Minister Sarit was known throughout the northeast almost immediately can doubtless be attributed to the radio.

There was one point upon which all three contract research groups agreed, namely, the villager cannot understand abstractions. When he discusses government he does not talk about the constitution or parliament. He mentions a person —the governor, district officer or village headman. Abstractions related to democracy and freedom have little meaning to him. When criticizing the government he doesn't complain about his lack of a vote. He complains that the police have not protected his village from bandits or that the government agriculture worker has failed to provide insecticides to kill rice pests.

The research teams found numerous illustrations of the typical villager's failure to understand abstractions in his reactions to various media and media techniques.

For example, the essay used in the reading comprehension tests, which proved most difficult to understand dealt with an abstract idea. This was despite the fact that this particular essay contained a lower vocabulary than other essays used in the survey.

Posters attempting to illustrate abstract ideas meant nothing.

One such poster pictured two villages separated by a wide river. The village in the foreground was poor and underdeveloped whereas the village in the background boasted modern buildings and looked almost as prosperous as Bangkok. A raft, upon which a group of villagers were rowing with commendable team work, was heading from the poor to the rich village. Apparently the poster was supposed to illustrate that by working together, as were the rowers, rural farmers could change their poor villages to up-and-coming towns.

But when questioned as to the meaning of the poster the respondents thought that the people on the raft were going on a picnic or taking a trip to Bangkok.

A second poster showed a handsome government village worker surrounded by worshipful farmers. The caption read, "Cooperate with your village worker." Unfortunately, the village worker had his hand on his chest. So, when asked the meaning of the poster, a majority of the interviewees replied, "The poster shows a man with a stomach ache."

Various symbols tested by the researchers proved equally meaningless. The skull and cross-bones commonly used to warn of danger meant some form of ghost to most persons questioned as did the AID hand-shaking shield. For, as the villagers explained about the AID shield, the hands were disembodied, i.e., cut off at the wrists and therefore the symbol must mean a ghost.

The researchers devoted a good deal of time to studying which type of illustration is most effective among village audiences. They concluded that in order to be pleasing and comprehensible to villagers pictures must be realistic, related to their experience and done in true to life colors.

The most popular poster tested had been produced to support the village health and sanitation project. It showed a farm compound being cleaned by the owners. The family were dressed in typical northeast Thai attire and the house was similar to those found throughout the area. A typical comment concerning the poster was, "That house looks like my house. The clothes are the same as I wear."

Close-ups showing only the chest and head of the principal figure proved confusing. What is he standing on, the interviewees wondered.

The survey teams found many villagers rather sensitive in their reactions towards government posters. One illustration was criticized because a government worker was pictured as good looking and well dressed, whereas the villagers were

(*Continued on page* 47)

Service Glimpses











Lahore. State, AID, USIS and private industry are represented in the Lahore American Women's Club presentation of scholarship checks for Pakistan college girls. Left to right, Mrs. Ralph Boyce, USIS, Mrs. Richard Deyo, AID, Mrs. Thomas Prince, State, and Mrs. Walter Holt, President, Tipton and Kalmbach. Principal P. Mangat Rai of Kinnaird College accepts the contribution.

Bai Hawe, Somali Republic. Ambassador Raymond L. Thurston is thanked by Haji Ahmed Mohamed, head of the village, for a donation to the village relief fund. District Commissioner Warsame Dore Farah, center, president of the village self-help committee, holds the donation.

The Hague. The Club du Jeudi, social organization for diplomats in The Hague, challenged the personnel of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry to a game of soccer. The Club's team with players from 11 different embassies won the game 1-0. FSO Hawthorne Mills makes a dent in the trophy, a bottle of Dutch gin.

Munich. The American Consulate Women's Group held a book fair which contributed $153.50 to AFSA's Scholarship Fund. At the Book Fair, Mrs. Gordon Jones, chairman, and Mrs. Paul Aylward, Jr., make a sale to Foreign Service juniors.

LaPaz. Leonard Marks, Director of USIA, Edward Fogler, PAO, Bolivia and members of the USIS Bolivia staff meet at the world's highest airport. Mr. Marks, accompanied by Kermit Brown, USIA Assistant Director for Latin America, recently completed a tour of several Latin American posts.

EDITORIALS

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE: TWENTY YEARS LATER

OUR deep involvement in Vietnam, springing from our willingness to support free peoples threatened by armed minorities, brings to mind an earlier commitment of twenty years ago to defend the liberties of the Greek people when these were imperiled. Faced with the withdrawal of British support which had sustained the country in the immediate post-war period, Greece entered into a particularly critical period. An armed insurrection had broken out within her borders, her economy was badly deteriorated from many years of war, and bellicose neighbors on three sides were now open in their support of the Communist insurgents. Elsewhere in this issue of the JOURNAL, the American response to the critical Greek situation, beginning with President Truman's historic speech to the Congress of March 12, 1947 and ending with Congressional enactment of an assistance program to Greece and Turkey, is examined.

Vietnam today and Greece of twenty years ago, while by no means affording a precise parallel, are markedly similar in many respects—war-torn country, serious economic dislocation, armed minority seeking to topple the central government, incursion of armed units from without. The American response to both situations as well contained similar elements—support for the internal economy as well as military assistance, increasing efforts to broaden the popular base of the government.

And finally, we saw in the assistance program to Greece the first cornerstone to the edifice which became the European Recovery Program; today, perhaps, our commitment in Vietnam, in its economic aspects, might even tend to provide the springboard for an expanded development effort in Southeast Asia similar in purpose to the European recovery program. ■

FOR PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENT?

THE Board of the Foreign Service Association is considering the proposal made by William Cobb,, whose letter appears in this issue, that the Association should make arrangements with a professional executive placement service to assist members of the Association contemplating retirement.

The Department of State has an active Retired Officers Program, which is responsive to requests for assistance from retired officers or those about to be retired. Any persons seeking counsel from that Program should get directly in touch with Mr. Eric Kocher, O/ROP.

The role of the Association could be one of simply supporting the Retired Officers program or it could be extended well beyond that limited role into the areas suggested by Mr. Cobb. The Board would welcome advice from the membership as to the desirability of entering into some relationship with a reputable private concern for assisting members to find useful and remunerative employment outside the Government. Letters on this issue should be addressed to the Chairman of the Board of the Association. ■

MEMO TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD, JUNE, 2067

(NOTE: Among the criticisms sometimes leveled at the FSJ is one to the effect that we do not anticipate problems affecting the foreign service officer and take a strong stand before those problems reach a controversial or critical stage. We admit that, from time to time, such may be the case, for our crystal ball is not less cloudy than others. We do try. Hence, this memorandum to the Editorial Board which will be meeting a century from now to discuss future issues of the FSJ and the editorials to be contained therein. To the members of that board, we offer the following openings for editorials we think will have to be written.)

1. "We feel that the Congress is mistaken in thinking it is really achieving economies with the new ruling that foreign service personnel going to posts on planets closer than Jupiter must travel Rocket Economy Class. When one considers . . ."

2. "Once again, we believe it our duty to warn personnel planning retirement against buying moon property on the basis of mail order advertising. A sad case has recently come to our attention. While one would assume that a former foreign service officer would know that the Sea of Tranquillity has no water . . ."

3. "A continuing problem is discussed in one of the letters to the editor on page 3 for subscribers to the television-facsimile-miniprint edition) of this issue. It is written by our Consul General at Moon #2 of Saturn. The FSJ has long insisted that the *diem* in *per diem* should not be considered in local terms, but should be taken to mean a period of 24 hours, regardless of . . ."

4. "The case of Leon 473-67-R49 Smith is still pending, and the FSJ urges that a decision be made immediately, one way or the other. There will be many Leon 473-67-R49 Smiths in the years to come, in a manner of speaking. In traveling to six of his posts, he moved at the speed of light, with the obvious result that he did not age. Nevertheless, our earth calendar does show passage of a total of thirty years, and the FSJ thinks he is entitled to retirement, under the rules which read . . ."

5. "Cross-galactal cultural differences demand that the foreign service officer exercise unrelenting care in his choice of words when speaking to the inhabitants of other planets or stars. Without mentioning names, for example, there is at least one planet where our representative should never use terms like "greenback" and "greenhorn." And there is a star where "two-faced" should emphatically not be used as a term of opprobrium. Also . . . ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

WHAT a pity to approach every cheerful piece of news in a chary mood! But chary we must be as we print the news that the President, in a message to Congress, has proposed a 4.5 per cent increase in the salaries of all civilian government employees (including Foreign Service personnel) to take effect October 1.

This proposal will be considered late in April by the House Pay Subcommittee. In sending his message to Congress the President promised to support additional pay rises in 1968 and 1969. The 1967 recommendation will benefit 5.3 million employees of the government and will cost $1.4 billions (about half would go to military personnel).

There is an excellent chance that Congress will pass the President's recommendation. It would be wise, nevertheless, to resist all temptations until the revised check is in hand. This is the season of temptations. A tourist bureau indicates that you will never be happy until you sign up for a trip to the Galapagos Islands. Doodleflicker's in this morning's advertisement recommends tearing up your entire wretched lawn and letting Doodleflicker's supply fresh sod. Other leading thinkers on happiness urge mink stoles, new opera recordings, outdoor swimming pools—temptations everywhere. Resist, resist, resist! Until the pay rise actually jingles in your pocket.

Le Temps des Cerises

Washington's intemperate climate produced a few proper spring days—temperatures around 70°. This caused a leading local thinker to muse nostalgically on the days of long ago when the first of spring brought out doses of sulphur and molasses, pot likker, sassafras tea and rhubarb.

The next day, however, she changed her tune. Memories of a 70° past were blotted out when the thermometer incontinently rose to 89°—an oppressive foretaste of summer. This, of course, stirred the dogwood, azaleas and peonies into premature activity. The hyacinths, narcissuses and daffodils seemed visibly to grow an inch during the torrid day.

The early heat wave coincided with the festival of the Japanese cherry blossoms. This is one of the principal American manias. Perhaps one shouldn't bear down on it too hard since all history is spotted with festival manias. A good example is the Delphinia which, in ancient Athens, took place on the 6th or 7th of April. This always began as a decorous religious rite but by nightfall turned into carousals, revels and orgies. Drunkenness and lasciviousness.

In modern history things have quietened down considerably. Still, every country feels a tingle of pagan days. The Germans, for instance, come apart when they hear about a May Wine Festival in Oberetwas. The French become *décousus* over the *muguet,* the lily-of-the-valley, *porte bonheur,* it brings good luck. This festival falls on May 1 and since that season is usually chill and rainy, the flowers are green and spindly. Nevertheless, wheelbarrows are on every corner and every Frenchman must buy a sprig or two for himself and his neighbors. In England spring is unpredictable. When the first warm day of the season arrives Londoners get completely out of control. They tear off to Kew to look at the flowers or they rush to the Serpentine and row around in small boats. Others loll on the grass in Hyde Park (some of the doings resemble scenes in far-out Swedish movies).

The Italians, at least in Rome and southward, are less interested in spring. Their favorite festival is New Year's Eve. From balconies they toss bathtubs, old bicycles, crockery—anything they find dispensable. The din with its obbligato of pistol shots makes everyone realize a New Year is at hand.

So the Americans with their Cherry Blossom Festival—everyone to his own taste, said the cow as she kissed the grindstone—the Americans are not so strange. They come to Washington from every state in the Union. The number of tourists on one day ran over a million. On the whole they are quiet and well-behaved. Now and then a father will stop to clout Buster who is sucking at a soft drink bottle and wears a mesmerized expression as if he had been chewing betel nuts all day: or perhaps the clout is administered to Sissie whose ice cream cone is dripping down her dress. The reason for the clouts is not always clear.

The tourists all come in native costume. The women favor stretch pants, miniskirts, paper dresses, round earrings as big as saucers, rectangular earrings as big as snowshovels. The men favor levis, shorts or any kind of slacks with printed shirts showing pineapples or teal ducks. These hang outside the trousers almost to the knees.

One young woman from Joplin, Missouri, deserved a prize. From the waist up she was dressed like a cardinal: skull cap, red moiré tunic and a flowing red cape. A gold chain around her neck supported a pectoral cross. And how do you think she bottomed this off? With skin-tight white knitted trousers.

Despite their seemly behavior the tourists are not well viewed by the Washingtonians. The locals don't mind it at all when the tourists' queue at the White House seems a mile long or when they envelop the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial. Hard feelings develop when the buses and shops are cluttered and when queues in front of restaurants run a block long four abreast. One man asked, with some asperity "When do these go home?" The thinker beside him, who had studied the situation through many a long year, answered placidly, "They never go home. They stay here!"

Crammed With Useful Information

The State Department has published an extremely valuable book. It is called "New Directions" and it deals with the problems of retirement. In 50 pages you get compact information on incomes in retirement, on launching new careers, on associations such as the Foreign Service Association and DACOR, ways of exploiting leisure, etc., etc.

It would be wise to read the book a decade before retirement looms ahead of you. It would permit wise planning.

This may be slightly irrelevant but the book is issued in a super attractive format.

Great and Unknown

During his time in America Arnold Schoenberg wrote: "There is a great man living in this country. . . a composer. He has solved the problem of how to preserve oneself and learn. He responds to negligence with contempt. He is not forced to accept praise and blame. His name is Ives."

Few Americans had ever heard of Charles Ives. He was born in Danbury, Connecticut in 1874 and he earned a living by being an insurance executive. In his leisure he composed radical, avant-garde music that anticipated the doings of Stravinsky and Schoenberg. Few people got a chance to hear Ives's music and most of those few found it wildly cacophonic. Its patterns seemed topsy-turvy, helter-skelter. Its musical idiom ran from a prodigal use of the 12-tone scale to traditional, and often banal, folk-tunes. Any Ives work is likely to churn up patriotic airs, parodies, rag-time, jaunty quotations from hymns. Now and then he wrote a mere skeleton and left it, in Handel's manner, to the performers to follow their own whims. Despite all this, most of Ives's compositions possess a bold, original tensile unity.

It was only after Ives's death in 1954 that people began to perceive that he was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of American composers. The city of Danbury recently paid homage to his memory by moving his family house to a park. Something will probably be done also to preserve his summer house in Redding, Connecticut. It is a typical piece of Victorian New England, a dark-stained shingle house sitting on a ridge with an apple orchard in front and the inevitable huge red barn. The interior is a clutter of Victorian furniture and bric-a-brac, a massive grand piano and books, books, books, everywhere. Ives didn't permit the revolutionary ideas in his music to invade his notions of interior decoration.

The phonograph deserves much credit for making Ives known to a world public. The catalogue now lists a good cross-section of his music. This all leads up to the fact that one of the most successful Ives recordings has just been issued by Columbia. The orchestra is the New York Philharmonic and the conductor is Leonard Bernstein. On one side we hear the Third Symphony and on the other three typical short pieces, "Central Park in the Dark," "Decoration Day" and "The Unanswered Question." Bernstein's handling of all this is superb. He doesn't treat Ives as strange unfamiliar merchandise but as standard works that fit into a contemporary framework.

What a pity Ives could not have had the experience of hearing Bernstein bring his music to life! This is the core of Ives's tragedy. He rarely got a chance to hear his music played by an orchestra and all great composers thrive and develop by hearing their works in live performances.

Dark Confusions

Overhead at an African embassy reception:

"I get all confused with these African countries. There's Nigeria with all those peanuts and Liberia with all that rubber. Which is which?"

The Overall Picture

Dr. Johnson commended an acquaintance with these words, "He is a very clubable man." A prominent contemporary thinker provided a variant. "I think," he said, "I'm overclubbed." This thinker, deep in meditation, was sitting in one of his clubs as he said it. He rattled off the names of seventeen high class institutions in seven cities and announced his firm intention to resign from five of them. Will he then be overclubbed or underclubbed or just right?

"I'm overbought." *This* thinker invested heavily in Virginia real estate. He now wishes he had put the money into those things that fetch in dividends.

The Moline, Illinois, area, according to a Church Council, is overchurched. "There are about twenty churches too many in the area." The Council thinks that five hundred parishioners for each House of God is just about right.

"My son is overschooled." The sad thinker who uttered this lament has a son in his early thirties who simply cannot be pried loose from academic life. In his twenties he acquired a B.A. and an M.A. and then began to wallow in graduate schools, shifting from Chinese to biology to German philosophy. "How long, how long," moans the father, "can he keep this up?" The answer is, doubtless, indefinitely. It fits into a confirmed trend in modern American life: youth leaves us before we know it.

Another deep thinker in response to a "How are you" at a cocktail party, said forthrightly, "I think I am overproblemed."

Award

Grace Rainier works at the glove counter in a department store.

When a customer asked, "What kind of fur are these gloves lined with?" Grace replied, "It's that new French fur—lapin."

For her grip on pellistics, Grace gets the May Award.

Peaks on Parnassus

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

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood clean from my hand? No, this my hand will rather the multitudinous seas incarnadine.

SHAKESPEARE: Macbeth

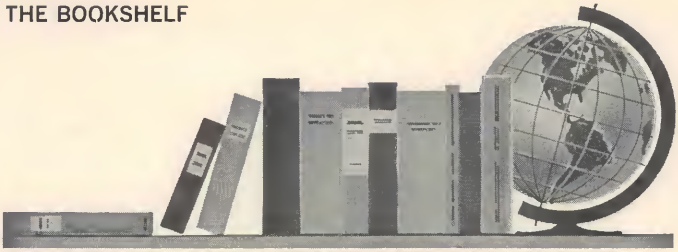
Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Oh, you young vice consuls are all alike!"

THE BOOKSHELF



The Development of Joseph C. Grew

As the title would suggest, this does not purport to be a biography of Grew but a "study of the whole concept and apparatus of professional diplomacy in the United States." Nevertheless, as the monumental collection of Grew papers now at Harvard is the prime source material, this work assumes more the color of a biography than of a study of the development of American professional diplomacy and of Grew's contribution thereto.

The account of Grew's service, after appointment to the Diplomatic Service in 1906, at various European posts, is at best an illuminating footnote to the "Gilded Age" so brilliantly described by Mrs. Tuchman in "The Proud Tower"—"an edifice of grandeur and passion, of riches and beauty and dark cellars." In October 1922 he was appointed delegate to the Lausanne Conference, called to settle post-war accounts with Turkey. Although the treaty he negotiated with Turkey failed of confirmation by the Senate, the consideration and tact with which he dealt with the Turks stood him in good stead when, in 1927, he was appointed ambassador to that country after a rather dreary assignment as Under Secretary of State. He had first been overshadowed by the towering intellect of Charles E. Hughes and then was denied the confidence of Frank B. Kellogg. It became his responsibility to carry out the amalgamation of the Diplomatic and Consular Services as required by the Foreign Service Act of 1924. He made a dreadful hash of an uncongenial task: those who had been in the diplomatic ranks were conspicuously favored in promotions, and appointments to head of mission were exclusively reserved for old diplomatic colleagues. Congress became quite angry and Grew was kicked upstairs to Turkey.

In 1932 Grew was transferred to Tokyo. Japanese aggression against China having raised grave issues between the United States and Japan, Tokyo was then a post which might well wreck a promising career; nevertheless Grew sought it. For years he searched with unflagging energy and optimism, but without success of course, for common ground between the United States, standing firm on the sanctity of treaties and Japanese expansionism. Matters came to a head with the economic blockade of Japan laid down in July 1941 by the United States and the Western Allies. Grew by this time had begun to realize that Japanese expansionism was a manifestation of a social revolution spearheaded by the Army with its bit in its teeth—an Army the majority of whose officers were sons of peasants. The revolution was in essence a revolt against the maldistribution of wealth, which was to be corrected by exploiting the natural resources of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" to establish a Japanese version of National Socialism. For its part Washington, invincibly confident that the economic blockade would inevitably bring Japan to its knees, cherished the delusion that the initiative for war lay exclusively in its own hands: so that Grew's almost daily warnings to the Department that the two countries were on a collision course, if not discounted or ignored, were, literally, a source of merriment!

Grew's career ended with his most important achievement—the decision set forth in the Potsdam Declaration to allow the Japanese to choose their own form of government. The author, bewildered by documents of dubious paternity, denies the credit to Grew, but the present reviewer can testify that it was Acting Secretary of State Grew, and no one else, who initiated the policy and, in the teeth of a war-inflamed public opinion and the opposition of powerful persons in the Administration, succeeded in gaining its adoption by President Truman.

The reader will search the book in vain for a precise definition of American diplomatic tradition—of how it differs from that of other democratic peoples, and he is left to make his own evaluation of Grew's contribution to that tradition. Nevertheless there emerges from its pages the clear image of a great gentlemen and a dedicated and distinguished public servant.

—EUGENE H. DOOMAN

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR JOSEPH C. GREW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC TRADITION, *by Waldo H. Heinrichs, junior. Little, Brown & Co. $10.95.*

Journalistic Fire-power: Precision Targeting or Area Interdiction

A VERY junior Foreign Service officer friend, depressed at the triviality of a task he had been given to do, confided to me the other day that perhaps he should have become a newspaperman. That way, he thought, he could have had something to do with making foreign policy, without waiting until he was fifty years old and an FSO-2. A natural enough mistake, perhaps. For certainly all of us have seen how frightened of the press even a quite senior career government official can sometimes be. The remotest possibility that a journalist someday, somewhere might write something critical of him—even this will often suffice to make an official refrain from doing things he would otherwise take in hand, or undertake tasks he would otherwise leave untouched.

James Reston's learned and wise little book takes up some of these problems. In his view, though, the power of the press is smaller than its reputation:

> The credit of the American newspapers with the American people for accuracy and good judgment is not high. Everybody knows how often the American voters reject the advice of newspapers in local, state and national elections: one word from us and they do as they please. And especially in the field of foreign policy, a majority of the people will usually take the government's judgment over that of the newspapers.

The answer, it may be, is that Mr. Reston and the junior FSO are both right. A discriminating and talented young journalist, with access to the readership of the right newspapers, can indeed generally accomplish more than his counterpart in the lower ranks of the government hierarchy. But most newspapermen will not be so well-placed to put forward their points of view. Nor do most newspapers have the influential and informed readerships they would need if they are to have a useful impact on foreign policy formulation.

Mr. Reston's own well-documented conclusion is that the people in the news business could remedy some of this if they paid rather more attention to thoughtful explanation and analysis, instead of running around noisily from crisis to crisis, like firemen. This, he thinks, would make them more of an ally of the government official than a competitor.

It might indeed. But also it might not. For it is not in the nature of things that government officials, any more than journalists or publishers, will always be receptive to thoughtful explanations—particularly when the explanations may point to some long over-due need to eat crow, or otherwise climb down gracelessly from exposed, untenable (but long cherished) policy positions.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

THE ARTILLERY OF THE PRESS: *Its Influence on American Foreign Policy, by James Reston. Harper & Row, $3.95.*

Three by the Fourth Estate

AS ARE all his "Inside" books, John Gunther's "Inside South America" is big. It offers 533 pages of facts and near-facts (plus an occasional non-fact) about the ten countries Gunther visited in his six-month 1965-66 processional. A foreword takes up another six pages, while there are nine of "Acknowledgements and Bibliography" (in which State and USIS field folk are courteously if fleetingly mentioned), 20 of "Source Lists and Amplifications," and 44 of index. In all, 610.

Like the other "Inside" books again, this is journalism between hard covers. Gunther does not most of the time pretend that he is writing definitive history or authoritative political analysis. He is most of the time content to set out the myriad details he and his wife Jane have gathered in vast reading and just less vast interviewing and let the customer choose his own meal from the smorgasborg.

"Inside South America" thus has the virtues and the defects of journalism. An important virtue: It is surprisingly up-to-date: Gunther manages to make references, albeit passingly, to events the average newspaper reader will think of as having happened only yesterday (e.g., the June, 1965, military takeover in Argentina). Among its defects, naturally, are factual and typographical errors (e.g., the South American military forces' "civic action" programs are not simply "vocational training," although this may be an important by-product; the Chileans call themselves *chilenos,* not *chileños*). Moreover, the writing, especially in the second half of the book, is sometimes slovenly — which is perhaps the price an author must pay if he deals with ephemeral matters and so must rush into print. A good hard top-to-bottom job of editing at the last would have benefited the book no end. But there was doubtless no time.

We may deal gently with the passages in which Gunther ceases to be reporter and becomes pundit: as TIME has charitably observed, our "tour guide . . . knows all the sights and sounds but moves too briskly to explain them thoroughly." He admits that it is "difficult to generalize" about South America (and the book admirably emphasizes the infinite variety of the ten countries); but he nevertheless does generalize; and some of his generalizations are susceptible of so many exceptions as to invalidate them. Again, his political judgments are at best shallow, at worst dubious. He consistently accepts the clichés of the left-leaning intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals he so assiduously sought out; and, since their credo requires them to be anti-US, to blame all their troubles on Uncle Sam (and none on themselves), Gunther winds up in like posture: save for an occasional AID and Peace Corps activity, he has nothing good to say about US doings in South America.

In sum: If you know little or nothing about South America, this is an eminently readable introduction to it. If you know something, but not very much, it will still be useful. But if you know a lot, it is likely to irritate you in places . . .

This is a good place to take brief note of a brace of other journalists' books that have loitered too long amidst the clutter of my Buenos Aires desk:

"Conversations with Walter Lippmann," the largely unedited transcription of the distinguished columnist's annual (1960-65) CBS-television dialogues with five of the network's top commentators (from Howard K. Smith to Eric Sevareid), serves to demonstrate once again the breadth and the depth of the dean of our political sages. Wisdom and tolerance shine from every page. Events have demonstrated that he can be wrong; but reason does not always guide events, as it does Lippmann.

Those newspapermen and Congressmen so excessively concerned about "management of the news" might read with profit Lippman's comments (pp. 146-7) about this "silly controversy": "All the news," he says, "gets managed by the White House, by the Defense Department, by the managing editor, by the correspondent, by the columnist, by everybody."

"All Things Considered" is a selection from the writings of the witty New York TIMES columnist Russell Baker. Much periodical humor is evanescent, because it is topical, pegged to the news. Baker's stands up to time better than most, since he has a knack for singling out what is enduringly laughable about the American scene and pointing it up in wry, polished prose. A few more like Baker, and we might have a new age of satire.

—JOHN P. MCKNIGHT

INSIDE SOUTH AMERICA, *By John Gunther. Harper & Row, $7.95.*
CONVERSATIONS WITH WALTER LIPPMANN, *transcribed by CBS, with introduction by Edward Weeks. Little, Brown, $4.95.*
ALL THINGS CONSIDERED, *by Russell Baker. Lippincott, $4.50.*

War: Its Future Shape

IT is the thesis of Ambassador McClintock in this highly stimulating and informative book that limited wars are likely to be the pattern of conflict for the rest of this century and perhaps beyond, simply because the *pax ballistica* has made general war unrewarding. If this should be an optimistic assessment, most of us will not be around to tax Mr. McClintock with it. . . .

Meanwbile, "The Meaning of Limited War" is a practical primer of actual limited war situations, valuable both to the general reader and to tbe student of politico-military affairs. It does not slur over the doctrinal difficulties. It boldly proclaims, for instance, that "sanctuary" is an essential element in limited war situations.

Ambassador McClintock offers case studies of six categories: (1) *Limited Strategic War,* with examples of Greece and Korea. (2) *Wars for Independence,* with the example of Israel. (3) *Civil War with Outside Intervention:* Lebanon. (4) *Wars for Simple Acquisition of Territory:* China/India in 1962. (5) *Wars Fought for Limited Political and Strategic Objectives:* Suez. (6) *"Wars of National Liberation":* Vietnam I and II.

One might quibble about some of the categorizations, but the case studies do not depend upon definitions for their general validity and usefulness. Each case study is, in fact, a gem of concise and instructive writing on the interaction of military and political factors. Based on an unusual background of personal experience and systematic thinking about the problems of limited war, Ambassador

McClintock draws lessons from each of the situations he describes.

Among the hard-learned lessons is the need for overall civilian control through the Country Team in the field, with latitude for the Ambassador to provide on-the-spot poltical guidance to military moves, and with political judgment controlling strategy. Few people in the Foreign Service—or anywhere else—are better qualified to explain this need on the basis of personal experience.

Even those who are familiar with all the instances discussed in "The Meaning of Limited War" will profit from reading this excellent book. It helps to be reminded, for instance, of the violent resistance of Syngman Rhee to the Korean armistice and the long-drawn out negotiations which resulted in a cessation of hostilities only when the military equation had been solved. There is deep significance also in the reminder that the Greek civil war did not end at the conference table.

At the time of the Korean war, eight United States Senators declared in a minority report that "a policy of victory must be announced to the American people to restore unity and confidence. It is too much to expect that our people will accept a limited war. Our strategy must be devised to bring about decisive victory." General MacArthur at that time complained that limited war "introduces into the military sphere a political control such as I have never known in my life or have ever studied. . . ."

Here is a first-rate opportunity to study the need for political control, and to learn why there is a "subsitute for victory" in wars that we are apt to be involved in during the remainder of this century. With deep insight, broad information and a good dash of his famous wit, Ambassador McClintock has written a book that should be required reading for every Foreign Service officer.

—M.F.H.

THE MEANING OF LIMITED WAR, *by Robert McClintock. Houghton Mifflin, $5.00*

IBM and Beatitude

ONE purpose of analytic biography, to judge from this study of Chambers and Hiss, is to illuminate the world of the might have been. Psychiatrist Zeligs, prospecting in the "long chain of clinical evidence" presented by counsel for Hiss, ends up rejecting Chambers' reliability and credibility as a witness. Going even further, Zeligs supports the theory which the jury did not accept that Hiss's typewriter was forged in the thirties—at a time when, to quote Professor Herbert Packer, "Chambers still had at his beck and call the services of the underground Communist operatives, skilled in all the black arts." Why, we may ask, would Chambers foresightedly have accomplished a forgery of Hiss's typewriter twelve years or more before the trials and well before his break with Communism?

The answer given by Zeligs lies at the heart of his analysis of Chambers, the paranoid. Fantastically suspicious and on guard, Chambers kept several aces in the hole to be used against people who turned out to be enemies, a frequent occurrence in his life. When Hiss rejected Chambers in 1936, refusing him a loan, it would have been "consistent with both the design and motive of other known acts of forgery he committed" for Chambers already to have accomplished the forgery, and revengefully, paranoiacally, to cherish his day of reckoning.

The portrait drawn of Chambers is careful and absorbing and not less so of Hiss. Zeligs, impliedly testing the credibility of Hiss, draws a portrait of a man who would have found deceit and falsehood highly repugnant, perhaps impossible. In the showing, the human quality of Hiss suffers. " 'Alger,' says Hiss's stepson, 'is a combination of a beatitude and an IBM machine.' "

This book, skillfully applying the knowledge of modern psychoanalysis, holds the interest throughout. The title, and Zeligs' handling of the theme of fratricide, should be regarded as a bow to classicism. It does not disturb the analysis.

—ALEXANDER LIPSMAN

FRIENDSHIP AND FRATRICIDE, *by Meyer A. Zeligs, M.D. Viking, $8.95.*

Historical Perspectives

THIS is one of a series of brief volumes being brought out under the general title, "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective."

The earlier history of the four nations is well covered by Dr. Cady, being essentially a summation of the relevant portions of his basic work "Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development," which of course covered a broader geographic area.

He stresses very usefully the common heritage of Indian Cultural influence, transmitted largely through the Mon people and incorporating most importantly Theravada Buddhism and the concept of divine Kingship. It is this common cultural background which is the basis for treating these four countries in a single volume.

The element in this heritage which is given by far the greatest stress is the tradition of divine Kingship, which has shaped the political thinking of the people of all four countries. He correctly cites the very great importance of the monarchical principle today in Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. In the latter case, not only the King himself is important, but each of the three political factions—conservative, neutral and even Communist—is headed by a prince.

The point is given the most force in connection with Burma, where the princely tradition has been broken by the Western impact and where the gravest difficulties are being met in the attempt to develop a workable substitute for it. He is unquestionably right in his assertion that this tradition militates against popular acceptance of Western principles of popular sovereignty and representative government. The strength of his own view is indicated by this appraisal of the reasons for former Prime Minister Nu's failure in Burma: "Nu qualified as a ruler-patron of Buddhism, but as a mere *elected* official he lacked both Kingly status and governing authority."

Cady's treatment of contemporary affairs is less useful than the historical sections of this work. While his personal belief that "neutralization" of the area is the best hope for peace comes through clearly, he does not focus adequate attention on the fact that up to the present pressures on the area from Communist China and the DRV have made such a solution impracticable. There are aspects of his treatment of the post-World War II era which indicate that his attention has not been directed at that period as closely as on earlier ones. For example, he has former Prime Minister Pibun Songkram of Thailand staging "two rounds of elections in 1957, the last of which went against him," whereas in fact Pibun had been forced to flee the country after the first election and was not even present during the second. The primary usefulness of the book is in its chapters on the earlier history of the area.

—LAURENCE G. PICKERING

THAILAND, BURMA, LAOS AND CAMBODIA, *by John F. Cady. Prentice-Hall, $4.95.*

"This Business" of Espionage: Sweden's Benedict Arnold

THE intriguing espionage career of Sweden's Benedict Arnold, Colonel Stig Wennerström, who spied for the Soviet Union for 15 years,

is explored in this 150 page book by Thomas Whiteside. A more contemporary analogy than Arnold, however, is the case of Colonel Oleg Penkovsky who performed similar, but according to the author much more valuable, services for the West.

The opening portion of this book provides a sketch of Wennerström's early career and explores the motivations that led to Wennerström's unhappy involvement with Soviet espionage. Even though Mr. Whiteside does not write with the touch and perceptivity of Rebecca West, he clearly delineates the two major factors underlying Wennerström's defection: frustration in his military career and a near pathological attraction to "this business" of espionage. The latter factor led Wennerström to set himself up as what can best be described as an entrepreneur or independent broker of espionage, under the cover of his official position in Sweden.

The second part of the book recounts in some detail Wennerström's career as a Soviet agent. The author has examined the published portions of the Wennerström trial and followed this up with interviews with Swedish officials. This well done review of the affair provides an interesting account of Wennerström's machinations and ultimate exposure by a Swedish house servant who became suspicious of the photographic equipment Wennerström kept in his house. The account mercifully avoids any mention of the names of Wennerström's numerous contacts in Free World countries. However, the reader remains somewhat puzzled as to the precise nature of the sentence imposed upon Wennerström, since on p. 105 the author tells us the court sentenced him to life at hard labor whereas on p. 149 he is reported to be serving a life sentence in solitary confinement, devoting considerable time to reading spy thrillers.

The final portion of the book provides an analysis of Wennerström's activities in "this business." Based on his conversation with unnamed Western intelligence experts, Mr. Whiteside concludes that except for providing the Soviets the details of two US missile systems (Bomarc and Falcon), the damage done by Wennerström to the United States was relatively minor, although his extensive disclosure to the Soviets about Swedish military matters has necessitated a major revamping of Sweden's defense system.

The commentator on espionage stories, however, finds himself in a position similar to a navigator in polar waters; he must always reckon with the 90 percent of the iceberg which remains submerged. For those who like their 007 stories flavored with fact, however, "An Agent in Place" provides interesting diversion for an evening.

—KARL E. SOMMERLATTE

AN AGENT IN PLACE, *by Thomas Whiteside. Viking Press, $3.95.*

One Not To Miss

WHEN he is not writing ferociously high-brow novels ("The Alexandria Quartet"), superb travel books ("Bitter Lemons"), poetry and plays, Lawrence Durrell keeps his hand in with a series of wildly funny books on diplomatic life as it is lived in Durrell's imagination. The cast of characters drawn from the diplomatic services of the world have a Bertie Woosterish air about them. Except, that is, for the one American character to appear, an FSO who goes off to Egypt on leave with a copy of "The Alexandria Quartet" under his arm, and comes back with the pleased report that life in Alexandria is just as unbuttoned as Durrell said it was. Don't miss this one!

—WILLIAM M. KERRIGAN

SAUVE QUI PEUT, *by Lawrence Durrell. Dutton, $3.50.*

Hammarskjold: UN Seer

IT is extraordinary in these times to read a really revealing book about the inner man, particularly when the outer man was the Secretary General of the UN. Not only did Dag Hammarskjold occupy the post of Secretary General but he was an active builder of the United Nations and an interpreter of its Charter. He regarded the UN Charter, or Constitution, as a document which must grow by constructive interpretation so that the UN might also grow to meet the problems involved in building enduring peace.

In the field of interpretation, perhaps the greatest step taken by Hammarskjold was the expansion of the power and the authority of the Secretary General based on his concept of the responsibility of the United Nations as an organization, whether under a Security Council or a General Assembly "Uniting for Peace" resolution, to initiate effective peacekeeping measures.

The book is based on a study of Hammarskjold's controversial diary, the best seller "Markings," and on an intense study of his friendships and career. The author, Henry P. Van Dusen, former President of the Union Theological Seminary, convincingly presents Hammarskjold's entries in his diary as a reflection of his political and diplomatic experience. More im-

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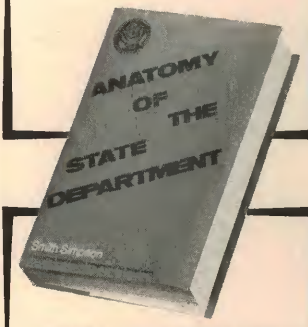
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portant, whether we agree or not, we are privileged to see revealed the dialogue within an intelligent, well-read, active man's mind. Juxtaposing inner reflection, indeed inner turmoil, against outer action permits us clearly to see the decision making process proceeding in an orderly effective manner despite (or perhaps because of) the inner debate.

Whether he could have reached the conclusions and the decisions he did by other routes is not important. What is important is that Hammarskjold *did* reach them by a difficult and sometimes tortuous introspective route. This the reviewer found an encouraging revelation, as must all who are trained in the pragmatic reasoning process to see both sides of a problem. Doubt is not necessarily a sign of indecision or weakness, merely the recognition of the non-absolute nature of approaches to, and solutions of, problems. In Hammarskjold we see a man of action and decision with a mind quite capable of recognizing doubt without letting it lead to stagnation and indecision.

It is a fascinating and rewarding book about a controversial figure. No criticisms of Hammarskjold are glossed over; the more common ones are effectively dismissed. The reviewer finished the book with a determination to read "Markings" itself which Van Dusen describes as the widest sold and least read book of its year.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD, *The Statesman and His Faith, by Henry P. Van Dusen. Harper & Row, $4.95.*

Scandinavian Source Book

BACK in 1622, the university at Uppsala, Sweden, established a chair for the purpose of providing instruction in "knowledge of the state." It included such subjects as economics, statistics and human geography. By the end of the nineteenth century, these subjects were given independent status in the curriculum and political science emerged as a separate discipline. Within the past few years, many changes have taken place in this subject and "Scandinavian Political Studies" illustrates these. It is the first yearbook published in English of the vast amount of recent political science research done in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Professor Pertti Pesonen, of Tampere University, Finland, who has studied and taught in the United States, is the chief editor of this compendium of political development, research, methodology and bibliography. The leading contributors are analysts who display considerable knowledge of modern research technique but occasionally write jargon difficult to understand. Better editing would have proved helpful. Despite these reservations, advanced students of political science and reporters of the Scandinavian political scene should find this volume useful and informative.

—FRANK J. LEWAND

SCANDINAVIAN POLITICAL STUDIES, *edited by Pertti Pesonen. Columbia University Press, $7.00.*

Different Talents Are Needed

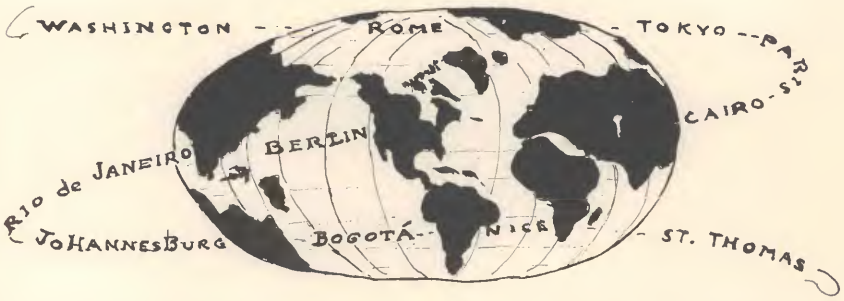
"It takes qualities of one kind to face an electorate and win elective office in the US today. It takes qualities of another kind to govern."

These opening sentences of a recent book called "The Things That Are Caesar's," by Professor Milton Katz, Henry L. Stimson Professor of Law at Harvard, state the thesis of his penetrating study of the difference between the qualities needed to gain power and those required of a good governor.

Professor Katz evokes examples

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from history to sustain his argument. Sulla could seize power but not govern, remaining in office only through stern military rule. Caesar, by contrast, was able not only to gain power but also to govern. Napoleon was intelligent enough to choose men of talent to administer his far-flung territories. In America, politicians who can charm the electorate are not always the best type to appoint to executive positions.

Professor Katz uses the recent experience of the Congo to illustrate the difference between qualities needed to gain power and to govern. He could have used the experience of Indonesia under Sukarno with even more telling effect.

Foreign Service officers will be particularly interested in Professor Katz's study of the development of career professionals in government. Few are aware, I suspect, that the Germans (or Prussians) developed a career civil service 200 years ago—long before the British. In fact, nineteenth-century liberals of Germany regarded civil servants as bulwarks of the crown and felt the wings of career officials must be severely clipped before democracy could prevail. In the US, on the other hand, liberals were fighting to *create* a civil service, to overcome the excesses of the Jacksonian spoils system.

Which leads to Professor Katz's very sound conclusion that although the percentage of career men holding significant positions in both the domestic and foreign services in the US is not yet high enough, any career system needs some injection of new blood, and a mix of career officials and "political appointees" (i.e., anyone outside the career service) is desirable. A reciprocal flow between government and private life is also useful.

Professor Katz points out that when the civil service movement began in the US after the Civil War, the goal was merely to get career men into positions held by political appointees. It was thought that entry into the civil (and later foreign) service by competitive examination and promotion by merit was enough to ensure capable men in government. Professor Katz served on the Herter Committee on Personnel in the Foreign Service, which emphasized that we must not only recruit good men in government but must do a much better job of training those brought in if we are to staff the US Government adequately today and tomorrow.

Members of the Foreign Service Institute please take note.

—George V. Allen

The Things That Are Caesar's, *by Milton Katz. Knopf, $4.95.*



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OUTER SPACE TREATY

(*Continued from page* 27)

from the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 which contains similar provisions. The Antarctic Treaty itself resulted in large part from the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957-58. It was under this international scientific program that the first satellites were launched, and cooperation in space initiated. The bonds between scientists and their relative disregard for national boundaries have furthered political efforts toward international regulation of outer space.

While the treaty creates a demilitarized zone in outer space, it leaves unsettled the question of the legality of military observation from outer space. In stating that the moon and other celestial bodies shall be used "for peaceful purposes," the treaty does not clarify the issue. The Soviets had charged that after the United States cancelled its U-2 flights over the Soviet Union, it had initiated a program of international espionage with observation satellites. These, the Soviets had claimed, were neither peaceful nor legal. The United States could not but disagree, maintaining that observation from outer space was as legal and peaceful as from beyond the three mile limit on the seas. If Soviet trawlers were snooping, why couldn't US satellites do the same, although spokesmen refused to confirm or deny espionage? And then, in 1963, the Soviets dropped their attack. Certainly the possibility could not be excluded that they were themselves conducting a program of military observation from space, and several Soviet officials, including Khrushchev, dropped hints to this effect. But the issue remains open whether observation of military facilities from outer space is peaceful or not, or whether such observation from a celestial body implies the existence of a military base within the meaning of the treaty. Should the United States conduct such operations, we might see a repetition of the angry polemics of the early 60s.

The treaty is open to signature by all states, with instruments of accession to be deposited with the Governments of the USSR, United Kingdom and United States. At one time, the United States would have preferred a provision excluding unrecognized regimes, such as Communist China. The theory used to be that unrecognized regimes gained respectability by adhering to treaties to which we were signatory. Another problem was that if instruments were to be deposited with the United Nations (the usual procedure), how could the UN Secretary General decide which were and which were not states? The United States still contends, for example, that Communist China is not a state. But the need for international agreements could not wait on the niceties of diplomatic recognition, and, in any case, our China policy has been softening. The ground was broken for the present treaty by the Limited Atomic Test Ban of 1963 which is open to all states and has three depositaries. Presumably, if the Chinese Communists ever choose to adhere to either treaty, they will do so in Moscow.

President Johnson recently declared that the outer space treaty was "the most important arms control development" since the Test Ban. This was a safe statement as there virtually hasn't been any. One wonders why progress could not have been made on a comprehensive nuclear test ban and why a nonproliferation treaty still eludes us.

The present applicability of the outer space treaty as an arms control measure is little enough. It leaves open the question of observation from space; atomic testing in outer space is already prohibited by the Test Ban; orbiting weapons and military bases on celestial bodies are not presently practical. But the treaty's potential significance is indeed vast, for the earth may prove too small a stage for possible spectacular wars of the future. The outer space treaty would help limit our scope to the hard, dirty business of destroying ourselves here. Whether we shall avoid that is another question. ■

CONQUEST OF INNER SPACE

(*Continued from page* 31)

drought shortages in the Northeast, extending over four years, and the saline water studies and plants under design and in existence, underscore this concept. The federal government has proclaimed its research interests not only for domestic reasons but for defense as well. On April 10, 1963, the U.S.S. *Thresher,* with 129 men on board, was lost at sea. With current rescue equipment, even if she could have been reached above her collapse depth, she could not have been saved. The *Thresher* incident reawakened concern for improving rescue systems and hopefully will be a means for spurring research on submergence systems for fuller investigation of the seas. The bathyscaphe, *Trieste,* which can reach a 36,000 foot depth still has problems at shorter depths and must be improved.

The National Oceanographic Data Center is a central repository where data can be made readily available to scientists and researchers. Established in 1960, the Center functions as a means for finally recognizing oceanography as a discipline worthy of centralized effort and intensive study. Located in Washington, the Center provides a forum for information research, and direct study of oceanographic analysis.

The thrust of oceanography on the world has caused the United States to face the problem of equalizing the conquest of the oceans to that of outer space. In many respects, what must be done is to create a "sea age" to accompany the recent air age and space age. One step in this direction is the most extensive scientific tests yet of man's ability to live and work in the ocean depths. In the summer of 1965, two diving teams occupied an underwater residence known as Sealab II, to a depth of 250 feet. The teams lived 15-30 days in this way. These aquanauts are the forerunners of powerful and new efforts in preparing the way for the subjugation of the oceans for the benefit of mankind. Astronaut Scott Carpenter, interestingly enough, is, also, the aquanaut participating in the Sealab experiments.

One of the most fantastic pieces of equipment for oceanographic research is FLIP-Floating Instrument Platform, tested in September, 1963. This 335-foot craft can actually stand upright! This permits little movement even in heavy seas, thus allowing the use of sensitive oceanographic measurements. Together with such products as hovercrafts which skim above water and many others, the attack on the seas increases daily. For example, the Naval Oceanographic Office, the Office of Naval Research, and other Defense Department agencies must use and control the seas for anti-submarine warfare. Research into the sights and sounds of the oceans will permit the technological advances to increase the nation's defense capabilities.

The major problem, however, in making all this come true, has been the erratic response to oceanographic needs. In periods of crisis, funding for research and development has been accelerated. In other years, there has been little interest in oceanographic programs. If oceanography is to prosper as a practical science, and if man is to conquer the seas, there must be a continuing climate in which the public and government recognize oceanography in a vigorous tone. A series of legislative bills over the years have been submitted to Congress to reorganize and centralize oceanography activities. All would establish some type of central, permanent council or commission on oceanography to coordinate all oceanographic matters. Finally, in 1966, the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act was signed by President Johnson. Among other items, the legislation established a Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. Thus, a vast, new image of the importance of this inner space should emerge, and this nation and the world may yet see a sea age. ■

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BUYING A HOUSE (*from page* 26)

Closing

Finally, the day comes to close the deal on the house. You are confronted with a collection of expenses, to be paid by you, known as "closing costs." They may total as little as $200.00. They may add up to more than $1,000.00. These expenses are over and above the agreed-upon price of the house.

Among these expenses may be:

- Mortgage service charges (or mortgage broker's fee, or mortgage commitment fee), covering such incidentals as cost of obtaining a mortgage to begin with, notary fees, and processing.
- Search and title insurance, the former necessary to prove you really are the owner, free and clear, the latter in case there has been some error in establishing the former.
- Charges related to transfer of ownership.

There may be other expenses thrown in under the heading of closing costs, although they do not technically belong there, but there is not much you can do about it. But if your contract contained a clause specifying maximum closing costs, you need not worry.

Then, it is over, and you are a home owner, indeed. And with deed.

Epilogue

You have been living in your house for three months or so. You have learned how to deal with the unreconstructed apartment dweller who, when you tell him that there is more to owning a home than mowing the grass in the summer, replies, yes, shoveling snow in the winter.

You have passed through a few crises, like when the thermostat and heating unit seemed not to be on speaking terms for a day, and you know how to handle them (or, more likely, who should be called to handle them). You have entertained business associates. Your children have had their friends in (and out and in and out and in again).

One evening, it dawns upon you that your house has started to take on a personality, not of its own, but of your family. It is a startling experience, but pleasant.

Then, you think (briefly) about the planning, deciding, searching, disappointments, technicalities, legalities, and all the rest that preceded the purchase of the home.

Question: Was it worth it?

Answer: Yes. (No *but's*)

NOTE: There are many sources of additional and more detailed information on the subject of buying a house. One of the best, because you can get specific answers to your specific questions, is the qualified real estate agent. In selecting one, your best procedure is to rely upon the recommendation of a friend or acquaintance. The three Washington daily newspapers have excellent real estate sections, in which at least once a week and usually more often you may find informative articles on all aspects of home ownership. "Consumers All," the Yearbook of Agriculture 1965, devotes the first 80 pages to Housing, *and this section tells you all you will ever want to know about the subject. The Government Printing Office sells it for $2.75, clothbound. Another publisher has just issued, at $1.00, a paperback version under the title "Uncle Sam's Household Hints." An exceptionally useful paperback is "Building or Buying the High-Quality House at Lowest Cost," by A. M. Watkins, published as a Dolphin Books edition by Doubleday and Company, selling at $0.95. At the same price, you can also obtain an equally useful treatment of the subject, "How to Buy the Right House at the Right Price," by Robert W. Murray, Jr., published by Collier Books. Many periodicals, finally, carry articles from time to time, which the prospective home buyer will find useful.* CHANGING TIMES *may be the best of these.*

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KNOW YOUR AUDIENCE

(*Continued from page* 33)

shown as old, toothless and dirty. "Why are we made to look so dirty and backward," the villagers asked.

Farm women censured a second poster concerning a community development project. They objected because there were no women in the picture. "We work just as hard as the men, why shouldn't we be in the picture?"

One of the studies included a few questions concerning the northeasterners' reactions to various colors.

During much of the year northeast Thailand is a typical tropical lush land. Green is predominant which may be the reason that many of the villagers questioned named it as their least favorite color. Red was by far the most popular. The orange of the Buddhist robe had definite religious connotations. Black meant old age and death and white symbolized purity. Blue was considered a cold color and aroused no particular feeling.

There were indications, however, that the northeastern Thais' feelings towards particular colors are not firmly fixed. For example, the inhabitants of a small village located near Laos expressed a dislike for the normally popular red. Upon investigation it was learned that a team of Buddhist priests had recently visited the village preaching the dangers of Communism. As part of their lecture they had exhibited a Communist flag, pointing out that these flags are always red and that red symbolizes Communism. Following this lecture the villagers considered red a "bad" color.

One of the rather depressing, from a communicator's point of view, findings of all three research teams was that most semi-literate villagers do not seem to be visually minded.

Posters were placed in prominent locations such as near the village wat (temple). Observers then monitored the posters for two or three days and reported that very few persons ever bothered to glance at them. A week or two after the posters had been put on display the villagers were questioned about their content. Very few of the interviewees had even noticed the posters. Nobody could answer the questions.

All of which leaves one wondering what medium can be used to get an educational message to semi-literate villagers.

Perhaps movies are the answer. Unfortunately, no good educational movies had been produced in Thailand at the time of the research and it seemed pointless to test foreign movies. For from informal observation it already appeared obvious that movies which do not relate to their personal experience mean little to the typical villager. To take one small example, a malaria movie made in India proved worthless because the audience was so fascinated by the strange saris worn by the actors they failed to follow the story.

Radio, if programed in such a manner that villager attention is attracted, might prove very valuable. In fact, judging by informal reports, a new USIS-assisted radio station in the northeast has been quite successful largely because many of its programs concern local villages and village projects.

For that matter it is possible that posters and pamphlets could prove useful if designed and utilized to fit the audience.

Regrettably the results of our small pilot research program were largely negative. We learned that villagers find it difficult to read, tend not to be visually minded and cannot understand abstractions. What we failed to learn is what media techniques the villagers really like. Budget officers willing, this will be the objective of next year's research.

In the pre-research days, advertising in the United States was a hit and miss affair. Much of it failed despite the fact that the ads were written for Americans by Americans. Why should we expect to succeed in countries about which we know relatively little until we take the time to study our audiences? ■

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What's In 14,000 Names?

by HENRY GEORGE

What has two HORNS, one EYE, ten different PRICES and SHIVERS? Give up? THE BIOGRAPHIC REGISTER, July 1966 version. A flip through its 600 pages— from AANDAHL to ZWOLONEK—reveals a whole special world unto itself.

What a weird LAND we discover: a MAINLAND with a LITTLEFIELD and a LITTLEWOOD, two MEADOWS, LAKES (3), WATERS (7), BROOKS (14) and one special BROOK; one POND, a POOL but only two BRIDGES (and there have been five FLOODS), a BEACH and a CAVE; 15 HILLS, a DALE but only one PEAK.

From the MOUNT in the middle you can see PARIS, OXFORD, LONDON, all of ENGLAND and FRANCE in fact, the RHINE, RHODES (4), SPAIN, HOLLAND, HOUSTON, the HUDSON, JORDAN, BERLIN, CAPRI, CLEVELAND and even JAVA. All this and only three MILES. You'll find two HOUSES with only three WALLS, GATES and 23 HALLS located among three STREETS in five BLOCKS, 13 LANES, two ALLEYS; three CAMPS with one TRAIL and of course MOREFIELD, MOREHOUSE and MORELAND.

The landscape is a profusion of growth. Within nine PARKS, 19 WOODS, a GROVE and an ORCHARD there are PINES, BIRCH, ASH, OAKS, SPRUCE, six BUSHES, IVY, a VINE, MOSS and HOLLY (2). One PLANT and BRANCH with ten ROSES in a GARLAND and only one THORN. There are also NETTLES and REEDS (22) scattered among several ROOTS, a ROCK and eleven STONES.

All the seasons are represented: SPRING, SUMMERS (4), FALL and WINTERS (6) as well as the directions: NORTH (3), SOUTH (2), EAST and WEST (4). There are fourteen DAYS in the calendar but only a FRIDAY with one NOON and three WEEKS. The only climate is FROST and SNOW (4). A MOON sets in the WESTERN sky. THEN (1), there's always FAIRWEATHER.

This world of BIOGRAPHIC REGISTER has only five POSTS and is inhabited by a ROMAN, a DANE, a MOOR, some FRENCH, GERMAN, ENGLISH, IRISH, an ISRAELSON and even VIETS. The PERSONS (4) themselves are a strange composition: one BONE, BLOOD and GUT, a BEARD and double CHINS, one HAND and two FINGERS. Families are BORN and BREED but consist only of DAUGHTERS, BROTHERS, three CHILDS and a CHILD, 16 WARDS, one PAPA and one SPOUSE.

You can imagine that they have a rather special diet: BACON, CURRY, HAM, LOWDERMILK and some of their meals include BRAND names (2): a PEA, six varieties of RICES, a WAFFLE and one TURNIPSEED. HAY and WHEAT grow in their FIELD. There are some BERRYS (5) and BLOOMS (3), CHERRYS (2) and a PEACH. DRINKWATER is a favorite but you also can order BOURBON, WINE, CHAMPAGNE, SHERRY and one unidentified BREW. Some are SOBER, others TEETER and there's one SOUSE and one LUSH (in name only, of course).

Ruling over all these COUNTRYMAN is a COUNCIL with two LAWS. And what a potpourri of LEADERS (2): 23 KINGS with one CROWNE and one JESTER to share; ten KNIGHTS, five LORDS, four PRINCES, a DUKE and an EARL, four BARONS (three RANSOMS), a MARQUIS, a CHANCELLOR and one PEER. There is also a PRESIDENT (three BOSWELLS for 72 JOHNSONS) one CAESAR, a SULTAN, one COMMANDER and one SERGEANT.

Some are famous: a CHURCHILL, CHARLES DICKENS, a DEAN RUSK and a MARX; TOM SAWYER, MARIAN ANDERSON, JACK BENI, DAVIE CROCKETT, several CASTROs and—brace yourself—LIZ TAYLOR and R. BURTON. Politically, the count goes:

JOHNSONS—72
KENNEDYS—15
NIXONS—4 ■

Further Comment on the Argyris Report

More Research Needed

In examining the Argyris article in the JOURNAL's January issue, I find that in this summary, as in the initial basic report on the same subject prepared last year, Dr. Argyris did not refer to the type of organizational ineffectiveness he had in mind. A precise identification of problems and examples would have helped place the question he raises in clear focus. Since none of the Airlie House sessions were composed of structured groups nor were they concerned with specific focal points for analysis, I am still puzzled as to what organizational analysis he found, and how. I am troubled by conclusions drawn from a sampling of 52 officers out of some 10,000 employees in the Washington end of the Department's operations. The session I attended was described as experimental and the objective was quite ill-defined.

In sociological terms, the Foreign Service, not to speak of the Department as a whole, is composed of many sub-cultures depending on age, ethnic and regional background, education, career experience, etc. It seems to me that unless Argyris relates the sampling to the overall picture and supports conclusions by hard quantitative analysis for the Department as a whole and how it differs or not from other large government and private organizations, the preliminary findings prove too vague and over simplified to be of much value in figuring out what makes the Department tick.

One of the problems I found in the sessions, as I do also with the general report, is the descriptive terminology. During the sessions I found that the trainer used terms which to me as a layman meant one thing and to him as a professional psychologist meant another. This fact is stressed because I assume for my purpose conventional lay meanings for the "A" and "B" categories. Although Argyris has included a caveat pointing up the overlapping nature of the traits listed for the groups concerned, the category comes through in too contrasting a projection. Obviously he was dealing in a broad gray area, but language is missing necessary to pinpoint where in the continuum the various categories are placed.

Based on my subjective feel for the Department's organization, its officers, and my week's experience at Airlie House, I would argue in general for reverse emphasis on the Argyris conclusions. Is it possible that Argyris and his trainers have confused the cautious self-control and good manners of our officers—important qualities in dealing with a foreign environment—with passivity?

I particularly believe that Foreign Service officers by and large, when in positions of supervisory responsibility, help the growth of people and encourage willingness to take responsibility to a far greater extent than comes through the references. The report also does not take into account the fact that responsibility and decision-making is closely related to the degree that delegation is made from above. If this were not the case, there would have been no Robert Murphys, George Allens, Loy Hendersons, Ray Hares, and many other distinguised diplomats who, as young men, were probably no different in their attitudes and capabilities than many of their peers.

The JOURNAL summary lost me on the impact of the majority on the living system. I have attended hundreds of meetings in complicated tac-



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tical situations in the Department and I cannot reconcile the Argyris observations with my own experiences. While admittedly there is a considerable amount of poker playing, figuratively speaking, the instances mentioned do not reflect accurately what actually goes on. All I need to say is that I have seen brawls in conference rooms which shook the chandeliers. Certainly the behavior of colleagues in the Airlie group in actual conference work appears quite different from that in the T-Group sessions where there was no axe to grind or policy issue to push.

I question also the Argyris hypothesis that the Department as a living system is dominated by low interpersonal openness, lack of levelling and trust, reluctance to confront, etc. Unquestionably in the minds of many participants there was an awareness of the penchant of academicians to publish results of whatever experiences they have with the Department. The subsequent Argyris publications confirmed this judgment. Since the objectives of the sessions were very vague and the relation of the training exercise to organizational life was completely undefined, I am sure that the trainers were looked upon with suspicion as to the purity of their motives.

In my group the trainer admitted he had had no time to learn anything about the Department and its people, and for the first two or three days he kept calling us "foreign officers." His confusion as to the identity of the group seemed quite evident. I suspected as a result a serious communications problem between some of us and the trainer.

There is no doubt that we should all be concerned with the continuous improvement of our organization and that we should examine with an open mind modern business management techniques. However, in industry, for example, there are two measurable variables—production and the handling of people—which go hand in hand. In our profession there are three variables—ideas, dealing with fellow Americans, and in alien cultural environments with foreigners. The meshing of all three is probably beyond measurement in policy and organizational terms except over the span of perhaps a generation.

I suggest that in seeking improvement by learning from industry, that considerable research precede experiments that are costly and of questionable priority. In my view, equating problems of management in industry with ours is not necessarily a valid proposition, although undoubtedly there are lessons to be drawn from common experiences.

In the final analysis, it is up to us in the Department to work out solutions to whatever shortcomings we may have. But we should draw on outside expertise only to the extent that research and careful thought has demonstrated clearly where a partnership will prove beneficial.

I add that in connection with the initial draft of an earlier report prepared by Professor Argyris on which the JOURNAL article is based, I raised my objections in a letter to Professor Argyris and neither in his reply nor in a pleasant but short meeting did he dispose satisfactorily of my contentions.

JAMES N. CORTADA
Dean, School of Professional Studies, FSI
Washington

Provocative and Annoying

AFTER reading Chris Argyris' article in the January JOURNAL and his paper which was published by the Department, I should like to com-

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LETTERS to the EDITOR

mend him for a most annoying and provocative study. A great deal of what he describes is familiar. His chapter on "Success and Failure" is a particularly clever piece of analysis.

My main disagreement with him is reflected in his title, "Some Causes of Organization Ineffectiveness within the Department of State." Dr. Argyris evidently prefers people who lean toward Type B (aggressive) behavior He suggests that the State Department would be better off with more people of this sort. He asserts this, but he does not demonstrate it—at least to my satisfaction.

It seems to me that the range of styles within the Foreign Service does not work too badly within the Department and abroad. If Foreign Service officers only talked to each other and to foreigners, I would not be inclined to take Dr. Argyris' criticisms too seriously. (I realize that many political appointees to the Department must find us puzzling, at least at first. I have the impression, however, that if they are exposed to us long enough they get used to our style and usually go away as friends and even admirers.)

An important task of the State Department, however—and the one with which it is still dealing with least effectively—is to provide leadership to the other agencies concerned with our national security. While Dr. Argyris referred to this function, he dealt almost exclusively with what goes on within the "system"—thus failing to buttress his case with what I consider his best evidence.

While the style which prevails within the Foreign Service may be shared by other professions, it is not shared by all. One of the things which struck me immediately after being assigned to the Joint Staff is the more open way in which military officers deal with each other, particularly with their peers and subordinates. Partly as a result of this experience, I would agree with Dr. Argyris that there are distinct advantages in dealing more openly with other people, particularly when this is what they are used to.

To be more specific, it has become clear to me that military officers would like to receive more leadership from the Department. This does not mean that the military want to be dictated to. In particular, they find it difficult to accept directions on how to carry out their instructions. Most of them do look, however, to the Department to provide clear-cut policy guidance and leadership in resolving interagency disputes—and they do not always get it.

In brief, I agree with Dr. Argyris that our style is not entirely adequate to the demands placed upon us. While I thought some of his recommendations a bit fuzzy, they should be discussed, and I for one hope that my colleagues do not confirm his view of us by failing to express their feelings about what he says.

JOHN C. AUSLAND
Washington

Public Member's View

DR. CHRIS ARGYRIS' interpretation of the major findings of his data (JOURNAL, January 1967) have been read—and reread—with keen interest.

Within the past two years I have had an informative and arduous experience, serving as a Public Member on Selection Boards and on a Foreign Service Inspection team. These assignments involved months of intensive evaluation of individual performance records and embassy operations abroad. My background experience includes some forty years in business, domestic and foreign, with over three years of war-time, overseas duty as an officer in the Armed Services.

By close reading I was gratified to see that Dr. Argyris feels that the State Department is not about to collapse "thanks to the excellence of its people." I certainly share that impression.

As a skeptical reader I found no comfort when Dr. Argyris suggested that such a reader "might wonder if the data are not distorted because the Foreign Service officers tried to give us those data which they thought would fit within the biases of the faculty." Why the biases?

The three basic "norms" reported by Dr. Argyris seem to me to boil down to the following paraphrased condensation: Among Foreign Service officers there is a tendency to withdraw and to distrust active confrontation, or openly competitive behavior, in the presence of interpersonal difficulties when the issues can be threatening to people, especially superiors and peers.

In my experience such behavior is characteristic of some members of all types of human organizations including the business, military, professional, academic and social varieties. In making this generalization let me stress the limited cross-section which comes to mind. This, however, would seem to conform to the broad interpretations which Dr. Argyris developed from observations, of a small group of individuals. Even less persuasive to me was the presentation of two comparative graphs (Top Executives in Industry vs. Top Foreign Service Officers) reflecting the "amount learned" in one week. Be it noted that at the end of that very short interval the total amount learned by both groups appears to be identical.

If the Foreign Service officers were found to be somewhat more "difficult to unfreeze" this may be due partly to an occupational instinct developed in the face of intricacies which historically mark the field of international diplomacy. Perhaps this professionally deliberate thaw was further retarded by the congealing influence of criticism—much of it undeserved—which lately has been leveled at the Foreign Service.

From my observations the Foreign Service Officers Corps is composed, with a few exceptions, of highly intelligent, competent, dedicated, and publicly motivated individuals who would reflect great credit in any competitive career, either business or professional. I cannot speak for other Public Members but I am confident that the strong majority of them would agree with my assessment.

R. W. MCCLENAHAN
Yarmouth Port, Mass

Comment on February Issue

JUST a note to congratulate the JOURNAL Editorial Board, as well as the JOURNAL staff, on your February issue. It was first class and your job on the VOA was, I felt, particularly good.

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON
Tokyo

IT is I who should congratulate you for the excellent treatment given the Voice in the February issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL. We all think that you people did a splendid job on us, and we are ordering extra reprints of various things in the magazine, to become part of our basic press and visitor's package here at the Voice. I thought the editorial was particularly effective.

While we don't talk about "togetherness" here at the VOA, we do talk about "building bridges to uptown"—and I think we've been fairly successful at that during the past year. Thank you again for an excellent job.

JOHN CHANCELLOR
Washington

Memory of ABSIE

THERE is a little-known but none the less interesting chapter in the 25-year saga of the Voice of America that Robert Pirsein's comprehensive account in your February issue overlooked. As part of the allied build-up in the British Isles before opening a second front against the axis powers on the continent, the Voice augmented its short wave signals to Europe by setting up a medium wave broadcasting station and staff in London. It was called "ABSIE" (American Broadcasting Station In Europe). After a series of frustrating delays, it finally went on the air in several languages beamed to Western Europe on April 30, 1944.

Our boss at that time was Robert Saudek, and the entire staff was about as hardy a brand of psychological warriors as ever used a microphone. We were located in an old building that had a glass roof, in the Soho district. Despite the fact that this was not much protection against the almost nightly Luftwaffe raids and the around-the-clock incursions later on by the German buzz-bombs and then the V-2 rockets, we never missed a broadcast deadline. In addition to the daily programs of news and features to help undermine the morale of our enemies and keep hopes alive in the occupied areas, our function was also to beam coded messages across the English Channel to our friends in the underground.

The Voice's ABSIE finally went off the air on July 4, 1945, playing its opening theme "Yankee Doodle" with customary flourish—its World War II task completed.

ROBERT C. HICKOK

Washington

Uses of Electric Power

ON second thought, what the State Department needs is a Research and Development (R&D) program. Without one, how can we ever solve the operational problems which face us?

Take the matter of protests, one of the principal instruments of diplomacy. In these days, when the number of sharp protests between governments is increasing steadily, think of the man hours devoted to sharpening protests.

I suggest as the first project for our R&D program the development of an electric protest sharpener.

JOHN C. AUSLAND

Washington, D. C.

For Professional Placement

OFFICERS of the class of '47, whose not particularly distinguished careers were analyzed in the most recent issue of the JOURNAL, like officers in other classes are now carefully looking at the new maximum time-in-class regulations with a view to determining what effect the changes will have on one's own career prospects in the next few years. A number of us will be adversely affected, but in spite of this, I am convinced that I voice the sentiments of most when I say that the decision appears to be a necessary one, given the present bug-like structure of the Service, and it is quite obviously in the overall interest of the Foreign Service that it be implemented. I trust the Association will not seek to obstruct it, but will instead focus on the many other constructive steps that should accompany this one.

It is in this connection that I venture to suggest that the Association examine the possibility of assisting its members by securing for them professional placement assistance. While the Department does its best to help officers leaving the Service there is need for more professional help than is now available. The assistance which the facilities of a recognized executive placement service could provide might be of significant benefit to members affected by the new regulations and further strengthen the Association by demonstrationg its intention to be of maximum service to all. Perhaps arrangements could be made for a contract with a prominent firm to provide guidance and recommendations tailored to the job market existing at this time for a specified number of retiring officers. It might be patterned along the lines of the school consultative service which the association now provides. It is not possible to estimate how many officers would avail themselves of such an opportunity but I think the problem deserves further study and would hope that this suggestion would be carefully explored.

WILLIAM B. COBB, JR.

Washington

Another Voice Is Raised

PERHAPS if enough of us raise our voices in the fashion of Mr. Peter B. Swiers in the November issue, the restriction on the shipment of foreign cars may be reconsidered.

Mr. Swiers has covered most of the objections to the American car abroad, but not all. There are the narrow streets and lack of parking space for behemoths at many posts and narrow garages and driveways. The Foreign Service has been cautioned not to be conspicuous in the choice of car for personal use abroad. What Detroit dinosaur is not conspicuous?

Then there is the matter of esthetics and mechanics—if American television is a cultural wasteland then the Detroit auto industry is an artistic and mechanical junkyard. I refer, of course, to the hideous bodies which should be metal sculptures and the inevitable multiple trips to the agency mechanics during the first few months of use.

The only satisfactory American cars that I have ever owned were the Studebaker Champion (extinct) and the Rambler American.

I too recommend with Mr. Swiers that the Association take an interest in this subject.

WAYNE W. TAYLOR

Guatemala

Art in the JOURNAL

IN the October, 1966, issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL on pages 54 and 55, Mr. Malcom Orchard offers comments concerning the painting by Mrs. Nancy Eastman which appeared on page two of the June issue. While Mr. Orchard's broad knowledge of rice cultivation is interesting, it seems to me that his sharp criticism is the type that tends to inhibit well-meaning and generous contributions by your readers. Even if Mrs. Eastman had entitled the painting "Picking Flowers on the Moon," it would not make it any less the lovely painting that it is.

KENNETH N. ROGERS

Luanda



THIS painting (above) was taken from the JOURNAL photograph of President John F. Kennedy (December, 1963). It was done by a Cypriote artist, Nicos A. Antoniades, P.O.B. 607, Limassol, Cyprus, and he has lent the original to the American Club in connection with the JFK Memorial Theater here.

T.G.B.

Cyprus

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