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Foreign Service Journal



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

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

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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AFSA's New Officer



L. Dean Brown was born in New York on August 21, 1920. He is married and has one son who is a senior at the University of North Carolina. Mr. Brown attended Wesleyan University with an A.B. in 1942. He was in the US Army 1942-46 as a Signal Corps sergeant and infantry lieutenant, serving in Europe. He was appointed to the Foreign Service on June 14, 1946.

Since then he has served at Leopoldville, St. John, Ottawa, Paris, and Rabat and is now on his third Department tour. In the service he has been a consular, economic and political officer. Most recently he was DCM in Rabat. This assignment followed a year at the Imperial Defence College, London. He was the officer-in-charge of French-Iberian affairs in the Department in 1958-61 and Deputy Director of the Office of West European Affairs in 1961. Since 1965 he has been the Country Director for Central Africa, Malagasy Republic and Mauritius in the Bureau of African Affairs. He is a member of the Institute of Iberian Studies and the Institute of Ruanda-Urundi Studies.

He was promoted to FSO-1 in 1965.

. . . and Board Member



Lannon Walker, recently elected to the AFSA Board, has served five years in North Africa. He opened the FSI Western Arabic Language School in Tangier and then became one of the first students. Armed with Arabic and French, he moved to Rabat for a tour and from there was assigned to our consulate in Constantine, Algeria as principal officer. Mr. Walker is now working in the Executive Secretariat of the Department.

Mr. Walker is 31 years old, has been married for 13 years and has two children. His wife, Arlette, was his secretary during the tour in Constantine. Before he joined the Foreign Service, he was in the Air Force for five years. He is a graduate of Georgetown University.

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

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

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

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

© American Foreign Service Association, 1967. The Foreign Service Journal is published monthly, by the American Foreign Service Association, 815 - 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

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

Ambassadorial Nominations

ANDREW V. CORRY, *to Ceylon and the Maldive Islands*
ROBERT H. MCBRIDE, *to Democratic Republic of the Congo*

Marriages

KLEINER—SERVICE. Karol Christine Kleiner was married to FSO Robert E. Service, on May 6, in Washington. Mr. Service is the son of FSO-retired and Mrs. John S. Service.

Births

ENGELBRECHT. A son, William Henry, born to Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. Engelbrecht, Jr., on April 12, in Falls Church, Virginia.

MICHAUD. A son, Jon Christophe, born to Mr. and Mrs. Michael A. G. Michaud, on May 10, in Washington.

Deaths

BLANCHARD. Lee B. Blanchard, FSO, died on May 15, in Vienna, Austria. Mr. Blanchard entered on duty with the Department in 1944 and joined the Foreign Service in 1951. He served at Paris, The Hague, Vienna and Cairo.

DARNELL. Frederick W. Darnell, who retired as Chief of Performance Evaluation, State Department, in 1964, died on April 23, in Washington. Mr. Darnell held the post from its establishment in 1946 until his retirement. He received the Meritorious Honor Award in recognition of his 42 years of government service in March, 1964.

FROST. Arthur C. Frost, retired consul general, died on May 11, in Menlo Park, California. Mr. Frost entered the Foreign Service in 1915 and served at Genoa, Algiers, Barranquilla, Guatemala, Habana, Tampico, Prague, Calcutta, Zurich, Liechtenstein, Barcelona and Toronto. He retired on December 31, 1947. Mr. Frost was a member of the American Consular Association in 1918 when it became the American Foreign Service Association.

GILLIKIN. Alton Leigh Gillikin, FSO-retired, died on May 6. in Arlington. Mr. Gillikin joined the State Department in 1945, transferred to the Foreign Service in 1955 and served at Naples and Ottawa, and as consul general at Halifax before retiring in 1964.

SWARNER. Muriel J. Swarner, personnel officer, AID, died on March 5, in Monrovia. Miss Swarner had served with AID and predecessor agencies since 1950 and had been assigned to Indonesia, Egypt, Japan, Afghanistan and Nepal.

TUCK. S. Pinkney Tuck, retired ambassador, died on April 22, in Paris. Ambassador Tuck entered the Foreign Service in 1913 and served at Alexandria, Constantinople, Cairo, Vladivostok, Geneva, Istanbul, Budapest, Prague, Paris, Brussels, Buenos Aires and Vichy. When the Nazis took over Vichy in 1942, Mr. Tuck was interned at Lourdes. He was appointed minister to Egypt and accredited as the first American Ambassador in 1946. In 1948 he was appointed administrator of the Suez Canal, the first American to hold the post.

WOODRUFF. Nathan H. Woodruff, science attache, died on May 7, in Buenos Aires. Mr. Woodruff was appointed to this post in 1965.

PHOTOGRAPHS & ILLLUSTRATIONS FOR JUNE

Janet Fitch Sewall, cover, "Village Docks between Dacca and Barisol on Buriganga river, East Pakistan."

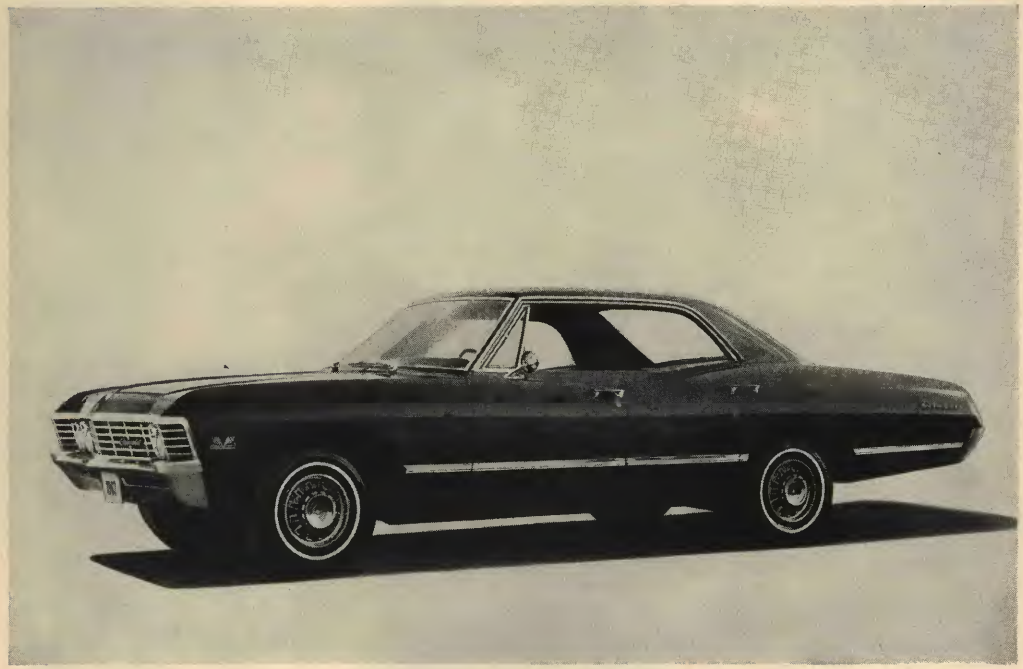
Richard F. Wolford, photographs, pages 31 and 32.

S. I. Nadler, "Life and Love in the Foreign Service," page 35.

Janet Pitts, Peace Corps Volunteer, cartoon, page 43.

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AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN has had one of the most dazzling careers in the whole history of American government. Among his posts have been Ambassador to Russia and to Great Britain, Secretary of Commerce, Governor of New York, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. And now at the age of 75 he is leading a strenuous career as Ambassador at Large. His article in this issue has been named "Tuning Up the Memory" because it recalls some almost forgotten details of the Marshall Plan.

MILTON KATZ is currently the Henry L. Stimson Professor of Law and the Director, International Legal Studies, at Harvard Law School. In 1950-51 he served as US Special Representative in Europe, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Concurrently he served as the US Member and Chairman of the Financial and Economic Committee under NATO and as the US Representative on the Economic Commission for Europe. In 1961-62, Mr. Katz served as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel under the chairmanship of the late Christian A. Herter. His most recent publication is "The Things That Are Caesar's" (Knopf, 1966).

PAUL G. HOFFMAN, who served as Administrator of ECA from 1948-50, as a member of the US Delegation to the UN, 1956-57 and since 1956 has served as managing director of the UN Special Fund, holds other chairmanships, presidencies and directorates too numerous to list. Mr. Hoffman is the author of "Seven Roads to Safety," "Peace Can Be Won" and "World Without Want."

JANET FITCH SEWALL, wife of John K. Sewall, AID, made the original sketch for our cover painting on a cardboard lunch box with a leaky pen. The next day she finished the painting in a mildewed, bug-infested, mud-walled shelter with some 200 admirers crowding about her. Mrs. Sewall's paintings were exhibited at the International Inn in March and have been exhibited in five countries in addition to other US showings. The third of five generations in China, Mrs. Sewall was born in Hangchow and counts shooting rapids on the Yangtze on bamboo rafts among her activities. Mrs. Sewall is doing illustrations for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC and for books at the present time.

CARL CHARLICK, author of "Diplomacy in Dalmatia," has served many years with the government, both overseas and stateside. A veteran of World War II, he studied in Switzerland and after extended duty in Germany completed his master's degree at George Washington University. He has been a teacher, librarian, historical writer and frequent contributor to the JOURNAL.

JEAN KENNEDY (Wolford) contributed the light, narrative account of the reception given by Ambassador and Mrs. Elbert G. Mathews to introduce a collection of paintings and prints sent by the Museum of Modern Art. Mrs. Wolford and her husband, Richard F., are both artists and JOURNAL contributors.

TED OLSON who researched and wrote "The Embassy as Art Gallery" is one of the JOURNAL's most valued contributors. He sometimes bypasses our columns for those of the SATURDAY REVIEW, THE NEW YORKER and other large circulation magazines, however.



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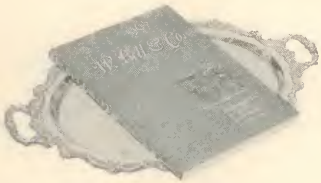
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Cook's Tour

by HELEN K. BEHRENS

CHINESE SOUP INTERNATIONAL

Thanks to all those who have sent me recipes. Some of them have been from rather roundabout sources, but the history of the **donor** of *Soupe Chinoise*, given to me by Shelley Getchell, is ridiculous! Shelley, you may remember from a previous column, was served her own recipe as a Vietnamese specialty once. Well, again in Saigon, she learned that the soup sold by street vendors, hot from a charcoal fire, was the same Chinese soup for which she had a recipe—now hold it—obtained in Paris from a White Russian friend Shelley had known in the Central African Republic who had been brought up in Ethiopia and was married to a Frenchman who had spent most of *his* life in China and is now a diplomat in Australia! Call it *Chinoise* if you will—with such a genealogy, it could be almost anything; and almost anything can go into it, so it's an ideal recipe to keep in the front of your files for that post where all the old familiar ingredients are scarce. Here's how Shelley's White Russian friend makes it:

2 quarts of chicken stock (for 8 servings)
two twists of freshly ground black pepper
¼ teaspoon cayenne pepper
one pinch of hot chile or pimento
1 large onion, thinly sliced
8-10 strips of tender beef, sliced ⅛" thick and finger length
1 cup Chinese noodles or thin vermicelli
4 Chinese mushrooms (the dried, brown ones similar to French *cèpes*) which have been soaked in water to cover until soft—20-30 minutes—then cut into strips; discard the small, tough stem
¼ cup dried shrimp which have been soaked a few minutes (optional)
3 leaves of lettuce or escarolle, sliced into thin strips
1 tablespoon vegetable oil

Gently fry the onion slices in the vegetable oil until they become transparent; add the beef and sear quickly. Remove from fire. Heat the broth, season it with the peppers, and add the noodles, mushrooms, and shrimp. Simmer gently five minutes, then add the onions, beef, and lettuce. Serve at once.

An excellent Chinese stock can be made from chicken wings and backs, several scallions, a small piece of crushed, fresh ginger, a pinch of monosodium glutamate, and salt to taste. Cover the meat with cold water, bring to a boil, skim, and simmer for one hour. Strain.

A light beef stock can also be used, but it should not be as strong as bouillon. Some of the other ingredients which can be used alternately in this soup without losing its Chinese flavor are spinach leaves, thin strips of bamboo shoot, slivers of scallions, sliced Chinese cabbage or Swiss chard, and, of course, wun tuns.

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NY Times Foreign Service Scholarships

THE NEW YORK TIMES Foundation and the Association will inaugurate a new program of Foreign Service Scholarships beginning this year. Over a period of four years the new program will replace the NY TIMES scholarship program established in 1959 under which three new scholarships were available annually to the children of career FSOs for study at one of three colleges—Columbia, Barnard, and Harvard-Radcliffe. A total of six such scholarships were granted or outstanding during the 1966-67 academic year. The Foundation has now revised the former program so as to greatly enlarge the number of Foreign Service dependents who will be eligible to compete each year. It has also raised the maximum possible stipend from $2000 to $3000 per year to enable New York TIMES Scholars to attend the college of their choice.

Under the revised program, New York TIMES Scholarships can be used for undergraduate study at *any* accredited college in the United States, and application will be made to the AFSA Committee on Education rather than to the colleges. Another major change is a broadening of the definition of "career Foreign Service officers" whose children are eligible to encompass career FSOs, FSCRs of USIA, and FSSOs who have served at least ten consecutive years overseas and at home. The children of active, retired, or deceased officers in these categories will be eligible to compete.

The Education Committee will award the first Scholarship under the revised criteria from among the candidates who have applied for AFSA scholarship aid for 1967-68. One additional award will be made by the Committee each year through 1970 when the total number of awards per year including renewals will stabilize at four. Present holders of NY TIMES Scholarships will not be affected by the change. They will continue to apply each year to their respective colleges for renewal until completion of their undergraduate study. As was the case previously, the award will also provide expenses for one round trip annually from the United States to the Foreign Service parent's post of overseas assignment providing the cost is not reimbursable by the Government.

The NY TIMES awards will be made for one year, but they will be renewable if the holder reapplies, maintains a good academic average and continues to need financial assistance. Applications will be made to the Committee on Education by March 1 each year, with accompanying financial data from the Foreign Service parent. The actual amount of the award will be governed by the tuition and other costs of the school as well as the financial need of the successful applicant. It therefore could be less than the $3000 maximum.

The most generous in the AFSA portfolio of education grants, the NY TIMES Foundation scholarships were established at the initiative of the former publisher of the NY TIMES, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, who was impressed with the special problems facing career Foreign Service officers in financing the college education of their children, especially those arising from unusual expense of transfers, home leaves and representational requirements.

Through this current year, and since the program began in 1959, 21 Foreign Service children have won NY TIMES scholarships.

In addition to these grants, Foreign Service parents and children are reminded that the AFSA scholarship program provides a large number of smaller awards. Details about these are published in the October issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, and are available upon request from the AFSA Executive Secretary.

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25 YEARS AGO

JUNE, 1942 IN THE JOURNAL

by HENRY B. DAY

Wilbur J. Carr

The Honorable Wilbur J. Carr died on June 26, 1942, in Baltimore. Born in 1870, he entered the Department in 1892, became Chief of the Consular Bureau in 1902, Assistant Secretary of State in 1924, and Minister to Czechoslovakia in 1937. The statement of the Secretary of State included these words:

> The debt which the Department of State and the Foreign Service owe to his years of devoted and unstinted service can never be repaid. That we have been able to meet the heavy burden of the present war is in large measure due to his planning and his foresight.

Exchanges of Persons

George Atcheson, Jr., was the State Department's representative on the second exchange voyage of the *Drottningholm* which sailed from New York for Lisbon on June 3, 1942, with a passenger list of 964 Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Bulgarians, and Rumanians. On its next westward voyage, the ship sailed from Lisbon June 22 and sighted Ambrosc Light June 30. Among the US and Latin American nationals aboard who had missed the first trip out of Lisbon in May were several American officials, including Vice Consul Ernest V. Polutnik from Budapest, Edith Bland from Berlin, and Mabel Custer who long commanded the files in Naples. On July 15 the *Drottningholm* left New York with a final load of about 800 Axis nationals and closed one chapter of the exchanges. The Germans had withdrawn safe conduct between New York and Lisbon and the ship went back to its home port of Göteborg.

After a delay of two weeks the *Gripsholm* sailed out of New York harbor June 18, 1942. The delay was because the list of Americans in China to be exchanged had not arrived and because the Japanese had refused to allow the safe conduct to take effect before June 16. The passengers were Japanese and Thais: 495 officials and 602 others. The ship stopped at Rio de Janeiro for water and to pick up 403 more Japanese from Brazil and Paraguay, then headed for Lourenço Marques where the Americans released from the Far East were waiting. Raymond D. Muir was the State Department's representative on board. Monsieur Joseph Straessle was the representative of Switzerland and Señor Don Luis de Silva, Marquès de Zahara, the representative of Spain, the governments which had charge, respectively, of US and Japanese interests.

These Things Happen

Twenty-five years ago a ranking inspector wrote a supervisory consular officer urging steps to transfer a bachelor Vice Consul from an isolated post where he had already served 18 months, where there was not enough work, and where conditions could easily drive a normal man to drink or despair. The officer had been doing a good job, had not complained and had not tried to wangle a transfer. The letter was endorsed without comment to FP and somehow found its way into the files. The Vice Consul remained at the post for two long years more.

In the Department

A reorganization of the Division of Foreign Service Administration went into effect June 1, 1942. The position of Harry



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A. Havens, designated Senior Assistant Chief, was reclassified to CAF-14 at $6,500. With this promotion, Harry Havens began his 35th year in the Department.

On June 2, 1942, there was a dry run of measures to take after an air raid. The First Aid Squad went down corridors of Old State attending to prostrate volunteers pretending they were wounded.

The list of commodities allocated to the American Republics for the third quarter of 1942 included aconite, ascorbic acid, belladonna leaves and root, dibutylphthalate, ergot, procaine, and red squill.

Christian Ravndal, writing of the Foreign Service's new duties, noted that at the end of June the Foreign Service numbered 3,632 men and women: career, non-career and auxiliary officers, clerks, and messengers.

Howard K. Travers became Chief of the Visa Division June 29, 1942.

Frederick B. Lyon was made Executive Assistant to Assistant Secretary Adolph A. Berle and Assistant Chief of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation.

Charles W. Yost was designated Assistant Chief of the Division of Special Research.

Second Book

Friends of Paul Paddock would have been glad to hear earlier of the second book he and his brother have finished, scheduled as of this writing to appear about May 5. The title is "Famine—1975," which recalls the title of the first: "Hungry Nations." It analyzes political consequences of famines caused by agriculture stagnating while populations explode. After the work on it was done, Zeke traveled around Europe, chartered a boat and cruised in the Aegean, moved on to the Bahamas, then back to Europe again. This in six months. His home is in Princeton.



Marselis C. Parsons and Miss Elinor Crow were married on June 6. 1942, at Christ Church in Rye, New York. Forgetting past frowns on travel of dependents to Portugal, Mrs. Shipley allowed Elinor a passport so she could accompany Pardy back to Lisbon. After retiring not long ago, the Parsons settled on a farm in a beautiful setting on the Connecticut River at Lyme, New Hampshire. He has been serving as Special Assistant at Dartmouth for the Canadian Year Program. Twice he has run for the State Legislature as a Democrat and twice just failed to squeak through. Son Marselis Parsons III graduated from Lafayette in June 1966 and has begun work in the news department of WCAX-TV, Burlington, Vermont. He had previously gained experience with a smaller TV station in West Lebanon, New Hampshire. Son Stephen is at Taft School with one more year to go.



A son, Eugene, Jr., was born on June 19, 1942, to Mr. and Mrs. Eugene M. Hinkle at Toledo, Ohio. Eugene was then just back from internment at Bad Nauheim with the Berlin group and getting ready to go to Habana as Second Secretary. Eugene, Jr., graduated from the University of Southern California in 1965 and is now in his second year of Law School there. On February 24, 1967, he married Gay Moore, a senior at the university. Gene retired in 1954 and joined the Wall Street firm of Laidlaw and Company. Since 1961 he has been occupied with real estate and the pleasures of country life in Princeton, New Jersey.



A son, William James, was born to Mr. and Mrs. William H. Christensen on June 10, 1942, in Barbados. After going to schools in Martinique, Marseille, Dublin, Luxembourg, St. John's, and D. C., he went on to Ohio State University and graduated with a B.A. after majoring in

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international economics. He joined the Peace Corps. He studied Spanish at New Mexico University, spent a summer on field work for the Athabaska Tar Sands Development in northern Alberta and is now with an oil company and living in Calgary. He plans later to study at Stanford for an M.A. and learn computer applications. He's a scratch golfer. His father retired in December 1964 and joined the Great Lakes Gas Transmission Company, jointly owned by Americans and Canadians. The company hopes to construct a 1,000-mile 36-inch-diameter pipeline through northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Mrs. Christensen continues her volunteer work with retarded children. They live in Toronto.

Troubadour

The Honorable Wendell Blancké joined the Foreign Service in May 1942 in Buenos Aires as an Auxiliary Officer. A spin-off was his topical songs and rhymes and illuminated gothic scrolls provoked by friend and foe. He has kindly reconstructed from memory and edited one of the first, which appears below and which he blames on those who drafted instructions to recheck certain consignees originally listed as "unsatisfactory," people who repeatedly turned out not to be there at all. It has been down graded from Top Sacred:

OPEN SECRET

The Honorable The Secretary, Depstate, D.C., Sir:
I have the honor to report, though wrath I may incur,
That busy-work instruction, CIRC, of 27/4
Is getting, confidentially, to be a bloody bore.

The Embassy was charged, and this with minimal delay,
With checking on the status of one Don Pepito Ché.
I don't know how to break it to you, Sir, but *en verdad*
This status is non-natus—*inexistibilidad.*

Despite the high priority your bureaucrats assigned him,
No EMBOFF, Attaché, or cop or private eye can find him;
In view, then, of the evidence that Ché does not exist,
We earnestly entreat he be deleted from the list.

Th'unsatisfactory consignees are getting more refractory,
Their disembodied state's what makes them so unsatisfactory.
What I should like to know about these birds without a birthplace
Is, who's the pup who dreamed them up for listing in the first place?

OPEN SECRET

To be degraded at monotonous intervals

AS IT WAS SIXTY YEARS AGO

The Secretary of State . . . has found Congress more or less hostile ever since Congress first sat. The Secretary of State exists only to recognize the existence of a world which Congress would rather ignore; of obligations which Congress repudiates whenever it can; of bargains which Congress distrusts and tries to turn to its advantage or to reject. Since the first day the Senate existed, it has always intrigued against the Secretary of State whenever the Secretary has been obliged to extend his functions beyond the appointment of Consuls in Senator's service.—THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS









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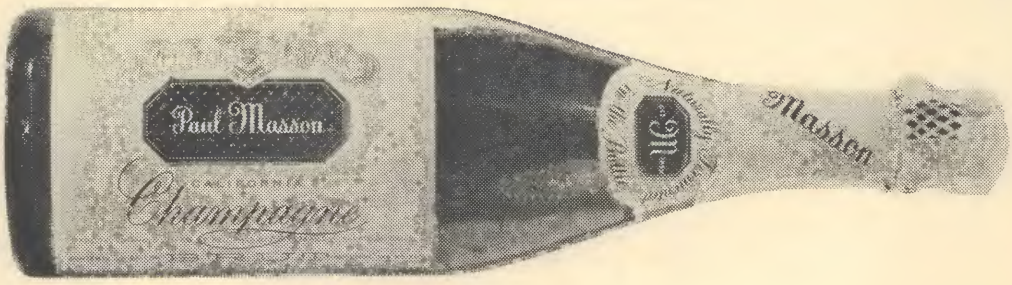
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Here you have in three articles, totaling only 7300 words, one of the most complete examinations of the Marshall Plan ever undertaken. The authors of the three articles are all outstanding men on the international scene. W. Averell Harriman points out some almost forgotten details of the original negotiations. He expresses the hope that the lessons in self-help and material aid the nations learned in putting the Marshall Plan into execution will be applied in later days to similar problems. Paul G. Hoffman writes on the impulses behind the Marshall Plan; he draws a parallel between "those days" and the problems of 1967. Finally Milton Katz, in a solidly carpentered article, provides precise details on the origins of the plan, the stratification of the program and the results. The Editors recommend that Mr. Katz's article be classified as a work of reference, and stowed away for quick access. It will always remain a standard treatise on the Marshall Plan.



Peace Building— Its Price and its Profits

President Truman chose an administrator [Paul G. Hoffman] whose talent and standing corresponded to the twin needs for public support and efficient administration.

PAUL G. HOFFMAN

For most career Foreign Service officers peace-building is not simply a profession, it is a passion. Unfortunately, the same cannot always be said for those parliamentary bodies which must vote the appropriations needed to support peace-building activities. Parliaments, in fact, too often treat peace-building like a step-child. Too often, they are willing to vote many billions for bullets but balk at allocating a few millions for the productive work of strengthening peace.

There have, however, been notable exceptions. Most significant among them was the action taken by the United States Congress twenty years ago when this country invited both its allies and its former enemies in history's greatest war to join that unique and magnificent partnership, known as the Marshall Plan, which was designed to rehabilitate a vast continental area—and thus, hopefully, to eradicate from it the seeds of future conflict.

America's willingness to underwrite European economic recovery was, without question, one of the most truly generous impulses that has ever motivated any nation anywhere at any time. But as with the early Quaker missionaries—of whom it has been said that they went out into the world to do good and wound up by doing very well—the United States derived enormous benefits from the bread it figuratively cast upon the international waters. For Marshall Plan expenditures of less than 13 billion dollars over a four-year period, this country received returns which included a massive increase in exports, the creation of many thousands of new jobs due to this export expansion, the savings of many billions of dollars in arms expenditures and—most important—the revitalization of a part of the world crucially important to its own national interests.

It's hard to remember the suspicion with which this great bargain was viewed when the Marshall Plan was first proposed, or how nearly the entire enterprise came to being killed in its infancy by unthinking hostilities, unwarranted fears and ungenerous shortsightedness. But, as a look at old newspaper files will quickly remind us, the Marshall Plan was bitterly attacked as "pouring money down ratholes" or "operation give-away," while its proponents were accused of trying to make an "Uncle Sap" out of Uncle Sam.

Today, the United States, its former partners in the Marshall Plan and—in fact—all other advanced industrialized countries, including those of Eastern Europe, are being offered an even bigger bargain: the chance to form an effective partnership for world-wide economic and social progress with the earth's hundred and more low-income nations. The potential profits in terms of expanded prosperity and a more secure peace could dwarf those won through the European Recovery Program. Yet the danger that this bargain will be rejected out of apathy, indifference, and discouragement over the relatively slow progress toward self-sufficiency made by the developing countries thus far is perhaps even greater than was the case with the Marshall Plan. For the whole broadscale effort of development assistance to the world's poorer nations—an effort that is generally, but I think quite misleadingly, called "foreign aid"—has never received the full support it merits and is now showing signs of a further slippage in both popular and governmental backing. Under these circumstances, the study of the Marshall Plan's brief but brilliantly successful history is much more than an academic exercise.

There are, of course, very major differences between economic recovery and economic development. Europe in 1947—though badly battered and bruised by World War II—had a great variety of assets *immediately* useful for economic and social reconstruction. It had extensive transport and communications services. It had a highly literate population with a large store of technical knowledge and skills. It had a corps of industrial leaders equipped to make economic decisions, a network of financing institutions, and a seller's market hungry for industrial goods. Under such conditions, any investment made in recovery was very rapidly fruitful.

In most of today's developing countries, the facilities,

institutions and skills that Europe already possessed have yet to be created. Developing countries must begin by building, very often from scratch, roads, railways, seaports, dams, irrigation works, hospitals, schools, colleges and polytechnics. Whether their economies are oriented to free enterprise or to government control, they must develop entrepreneurial and managerial cadres. They must create both public and private administrative machinery for which not even the blueprints may exist. In short, development is much more than a repair job; it is building from the ground up.

But, though the problems of economic development are quantitatively greater and qualitatively different from those of economic recovery, there are certain basic and similar principles which govern the solution of both. To be specific, three concepts embedded in the Marshall Plan, and largely responsible for its success, should be closely studied for their applicability to the larger challenges of today.

The first of these concepts was clearly articulated by General Marshall himself in his famous address at Harvard University which sketched the broad outlines of the European Recovery Program. "Our policy," he said, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." This was a new kind of war for which General Marshall sounded the call to arms. And it is exactly the same kind of war which the nations of the world must fight as allies today—this time on an intercontinental scale. For if war is *not* waged with adequate vigor and perseverance on the poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease and despair which now afflict more than half the earth's total population, the almost certain result will be widespread economic and political chaos from whose effects no nation—however prosperous and powerful—is likely to be spared.

The second major concept on which the Marshall Plan was based was epitomized in the opening sentence of the Harriman Report on the European Recovery Program. That sentence read: "Only Europeans can save Europe." This went to the heart of the matter in 1947 and, in spirit, it is equally on target today. For the low-income countries themselves must provide the bulk of the material and financial resources required to speed their own progress, and their peoples must provide most of the necessary leadership, energy, initiative and day-to-day effort. External assistance is, of course, essential for countries that are trying to move ahead several centuries in a single generation. But such assistance can only be a catalytic agent and never the main driving force.

The third great concept of the Marshall Plan had to do with its end goal, which was nothing less than the creation of a "new" Europe. Speaking before the OEEC in Paris in July of 1948, I noted that "while . . . it is in the deepest interest of the United States that Europe should again become a living, workable and independent economic and political organization . . . this goal cannot be set in the frame of an old picture or traced on an old design. It cannot be brought about by old ways of doing business or through old concepts of how a nation's interests are best served. New patterns of intra-European trade and exchange must be found and new directions in the use of Europe's resources. These are made necessary not alone by the drastic consequences of two wars, but also by tides of change that run longer and deeper."

Here again there is a valid parallel between the Marshall Plan days and our own, for our world is caught up not simply in a tide of change but in a veritable tidal wave. As the building of a new Europe was imperative twenty years ago, so today's imperatives dictate the building of a new kind of *global* community. Among much else, there must be a rapid and radical expansion of the whole world's economy to meet rapidly growing world-wide needs for more goods, more services and more markets. There must be a radical improvement in the world's political climate in order to reduce and eventually eliminate those major international tensions which threaten global peace and security. But neither of these great economic and political goals is realistically attainable so long as more than one and a half billion of the world's people are producing far less than they need and living—thanks to modern transport and communications—almost literally on the doorsteps of their far wealthier and more fortunate neighbors.

Thus, both the rich and the poor countries must rapidly learn new ways of doing business with each other, and must more rapidly adapt themselves to new concepts of how a nation's interests are best served. For the wealthy industrialized countries, this involves discarding as outmoded and untrue the idea that the provision of development assistance is either a "charity" or an effective device for winning friends and influencing people. It also requires a flexible, pragmatic approach to providing development assistance based on the recognition that what works well in highly sophisticated industrialized societies is not necessarily a universal law of nature. The low-income nations, for their part, must work harder to disillusion those large numbers of their people who still believe that the achievement of national independence automatically brings the good life. In these countries, too, there is the need for more economic realism—particularly as concerns the encouragement of external capital and of internal investment and savings. Fortunately, on both sides of the fence, there has been some really hopeful progress in these matters as both have come to learn the essential prerequisites of the development businesses and to master its demanding techniques.

But if there is much profit to be gained from studying the three basic concepts which animated and guided the Marshall Plan, there is perhaps an even more important lesson to be learned from a serious *misconception* under which even the program's most enthusiastic supporters labored at the outset. Sir Oliver Franks (now Lord Franks) in the first survey of Europe's needs made after General Marshall's Harvard address, estimated—in conjunction with his distinguished colleagues—that it would take more than 25 billion dollars worth of assistance from the United States to restore European agricultural and industrial production to pre-war levels. They also predicted that it would take four years to complete the Marshall aid program. The Harriman Committee, reviewing the Franks report, concluded that the job could be done for 17 billion dollars but concurred in the estimate of a four-year time span.

As we all know, both of these evaluations considerably overshot the mark. Actually, after only two-and-a-half years, by which time Marshall Plan costs had been less than ten billion dollars, Europe's agricultural production was 20 per cent ahead of the 1938 level, while industrial production was 40 per cent ahead.

The knowledgeable and experienced men who overestimated the European Recovery Program's time and costs did so basically because they underestimated the importance of one critical factor—*morale*. In 1946 and early 1947, the morale of great masses of Europe's people was at a very low ebb. Victors and vanquished alike were suffering the after-effects of six years of unremitting struggle. They were physically tired, emotionally drained, desperately anxious about the future and largely hopeless about effectively influencing it. But when the Marshall Plan began to operate—bringing outside aid but insisting that the peoples and governments of Europe both could and must carry most of the load themselves—hope returned, and with it the strength and determination to work as never before. The result was not only the economic miracle of the early 1950's, but more genuine progress toward political stability and political rapprochement than Europe had experienced for centuries.

No one can precisely measure how much the Marshall Plan's psychological blood transfusion contributed toward

Europe's recovery of economic health. Surely, however, it was a decisive factor. And just as surely, the upsurge in Europe's morale occurred because, for the first time, all members of the Atlantic Community worked together as partners to achieve goals that accorded with each nation's highest national interests.

It is the same partnership approach, coupled with the same kind of unswerving focus on mutually important aims, which is so absolutely essential today if the problems of global development are to be solved and its promises realized. All the natural, human, and technological resources needed to wipe poverty from the face of the earth are available. But only if the richer and the poorer nations work together as full and equal partners in the business of development can these resources be effectively applied. Herein, I think, lies the great and hopeful lesson of the Marshall Plan for our times. ■



Self-Help and Mutual Aid

Averell Harriman brought to the post [first United States Special Representative in Europe], in addition to his wisdom and experience, the symbolism, unmistakable to European eyes, represented by President Truman's choice of a member of his own Cabinet for the purpose.

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN

WESTERN EUROPE is now more prosperous and dynamic than ever, with higher standards of living, increasing productivity, and continuing economic growth. These achievements were made possible by the great cooperative undertaking for economic recovery known as the Marshall Plan.

It was barely 20 years ago that Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed this plan to a war-stricken Europe. The devastation and dislocations of the war had left the economic life of Western Europe in stagnation.

One is apt to forget that General Marshall's proposal for European recovery was made not just to Western Europe but to Europe as a whole, including the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. He stated, "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

However, the Soviet Union pulled out of the preliminary talks in Paris and refused to cooperate. Furthermore, the Soviets compelled Poland and Czechoslovakia to reverse their stated intention to participate. Moscow's refusal was a signal of Stalin's intention to intensify the cold war. Stalin's hostile actions aroused the demand for mutual security measures and led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty two years later.

Never in history have nations worked so closely in peacetime to achieve common objectives as did the 18 European participants in the Marshall Plan. Self-help and mutual aid were the guiding principles. The United States participated with material and technical assistance and used its influence to encourage the integration of Europe and the increase of productivity.

A regional body, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, was established, well-staffed by capable and dedicated representatives from the member countries. It agreed on the division of the aid available from the United States. It set the standards for self help and established procedures for mutual action. Trade barriers were broken down. Joint action for development was undertaken. Mechanisms such as the European Payments Union were formed to promote trade and common economic progress.

The United States had one objective: the recovery and permanent strengthening of Western Europe. European unity, based first on economic integration and, hopefully, later on political ties, seemed at the time clearly the only way to achieve that objective. The United States Government, the President and the Congress were in full agreement.

The extraordinary success of the Marshall Plan was due in large part to the spirit of cooperation that developed among the European countries. Though there is much left to be done, important progress has been made towards economic integration. The economic growth that started during the Marshall Plan has continued at a rapid pace throughout the past 20 years. Thus Western Europe is more vital and vigorous than ever and ready to play an important role in the new problems that have unfolded.

Of prime importance now is social and economic progress in the developing nations. The problems of each country may be different, but all have one thing in common—the need for capital and technical assistance for development.

It is my hope that in the 20 years ahead the lessons in self-help and mutual aid of the Marshall Plan can be applied to these pressing world problems through various regional and world-wide international organizations, as well as through bilateral programs. As an outgrowth of the Marshall Plan, a committee already exists in Paris for cooperation among the industrial countries for the purpose of aiding the developing nations. Together with the Western European countries, the United States, Canada and Japan are now members. Thus the industrial countries have made progress in coordinating increased assistance, but more needs to be done. Let us hope that at this time the Soviet Union, too, will agree to cooperate in, rather than turn aside from, these international undertakings vital to human progress. ■

THE MARSHALL PLAN

After Twenty Years

The many-sided Presidential, Congressional and citizen activities made the Marshall Plan the President's, the Congress's and the people's own.

MILTON KATZ

Conspectus

IN THE beginning was the speech by Secretary of State George C. Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, 1947. But there were bits and pieces of beginnings before that and also bits and pieces after. They coalesced into the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, enacted on April 3, 1948. The Act, its administration in Washington and abroad, and the European cooperative institutions that paralleled and supported the American administration bore several names, but were most widely known then and are still best known today as the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan in its original substance and spirit ended in the autumn of 1951. Much of its organization and formal relationships with European organizations, a few of its senior personnel and more of its intermediate and junior personnel were absorbed into a complex of foreign aid activities that differed from it in style, frame of reference and emphasis as well as geographic scope. Legally, the Marshall Plan expired on January 1, 1952, to be reborn into the Mutual Security Agency that combined responsibility for economic aid, largely recast as "defense support" and administered within the Agency itself, military aid administered by the Department of Defense, and technical assistance to developing areas administered in the Technical Cooperation Administration under the Department of State.

The Marshall Plan has meant many things to different men, depending on the angle of vision. Four main views can be identified. They overlap, differing essentially in emphasis. Some saw the Plan primarily as a rescue and reconstruction operation for a Europe torn by World War II and threatened by Communism. To others, it appeared to be chiefly a brief and brilliant phase in a process of foreign aid that began with American participation in UNRRA in November, 1943; continued through the American loan of $3,750,000,000 to the United Kingdom in 1946, the Greek-Turkish aid act of May 22, 1947, and the joint resolution for relief to devastated areas of May 31, 1947; ramified out to the new states of Asia and Africa and the developing states of Latin America after the announcement of the Point IV program in 1949; and runs its course today through the Agency for International Development. A third group has stressed the Marshall Plan's function as the seed bed for the European Payments Union, for other measures to free trade and harmonize national economic policies within Europe, and indirectly for the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Common Market. In a fourth aspect, the Marshall Plan was regarded primarily as a program to enable Europe definitively to balance its international accounts and increase its real income so as to raise consumption and provide enough internal savings to expand European investment without special external aid. In fact, the Marshall Plan fitted all the descriptions. By the criteria of the first and the second, it succeeded to a degree seldom realized in affairs of state and with an acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic that has stood the test of time. In the perspective of the years, I believe it also stands as a distinguished accomplishment under the criteria of the third. In the fourth aspect, the verdict must be taken as of 1952 to be meaningful. In the sixteen years since the end of the Marshall Plan, the situation of Europe in respect of its international accounts, real income, consumption, savings and investment has been radically transformed by an intricate succession of internal and external events. As of 1952, the verdict in retrospect can be no better than that the case was not proven. As I now see it, the Marshall Plan at best could have accomplished no more in this dimension by 1952 than to spark a vital initial stimulus in a long and complex course of unfinished business. Too much was involved: internal institutional patterns and the folkways of peoples; deep-rooted habits of management and labor; the relations of Western Europe to Eastern Europe and Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as the United States. I believe the spark was there. Beginnings were made in identifying the lines of direction along which to apply an energizing thrust, and here and there thrusts were applied to good effect. The beginnings were not lost, but they were caught up in political and economic movements derived largely from other sources and primarily oriented toward other purposes, after the outbreak of the Korean War and the adoption of American and European programs of rearmament that attended and followed the war.

In this essay, I want to look at the Marshall Plan in yet another way. I'll try to identify certain factors in its success that lay within the political and legislative process that gave it birth, within the pattern of diplomacy that attended its genesis and its administration, and within the way in which it was organized and administered. Although these factors were critical to the success of the Marshall Plan, I believe they have not been generally understood. Even when understood, they have been allowed to recede into the back of the mind and have too often been overlooked when they could have been applied in later efforts.

The Political Process Within the United States

I take Dean Acheson's speech of May 8, 1947 in Cleveland, Mississippi as a pre-beginning that antedated the great beginning in Secretary Marshall's Harvard address. The then Under Secretary of State's statement offers as good a point of departure as any for examining the political process. Acheson spoke before the Delta Council not only for himself but as an officially designated substitute for President Truman. He examined "what the people of the world need if they are to eat enough to maintain their physical strength and at the same time carry on essential measures of reconstruction and become self-supporting." Immense as had been the supply of American commodities and services to the world since the end of World War II, it had fallen far short of the requirement. It had been given in haste to meet this or that crisis. A comprehensive assessment of resources and requirements was necessary, on which the United States could base an enlarged program with points of application carefully selected. Acheson stressed the importance of an increase in American exports; the elimination of trade barriers; the concentration of American emergency aid at points where it would be most

effective "in building world political and economic stability, in promoting human freedom and democratic institutions"; further efforts to restore the basic structure of economic life in Germany and Japan; and adequate Congressional delegation to the Executive Branch of powers over the sale, transportation and export of commodities needed for the security of the free world.

A little less than a month later, Secretary Marshall narrowed and sharpened the focus from the world to Europe. He kept the need and the potential contribution of Europe in perspective in relation to the world. It was "apparent to all intelligent people" that the "world situation [was] very serious." Marshall then turned to the role of public opinion in the conduct of foreign policy, and the difficulty of conducting foreign policy in relation to democratic public opinion. He pointed out "that the problem is one of such enormous perplexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisement of the situation. Furthermore, people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long suffering peoples. and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world." He concentrated on Europe as the critical area, and insisted on viewing Europe as a whole. While "the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads [had been] correctly estimated," it was imperative to understand that "this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy . . . The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies, and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization, or by simple destruction . . . The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete . . ." The division of labor between farm and city had broken down. "Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all."

The remedy lay "in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole . . . It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace . . . [The purpose of the United States] should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist." American assistance "must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop . . . [and] should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative."

Marshall offered the cooperation of the United States to any "government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery." He would deny American help to any "government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries." He warned that "governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States."

Sensitive alike to the need for external action and the need for internal understanding and support, President Truman exhibited the relationship between the mastery of politics and the mastery of high policy at its best. Voices were not lacking to compound the difficulty of "the man in the street" in reaching "a clear appraisement of the situation." PRAVDA, on June 15, 1947, blasted "President Truman's plan for political pressure with dollars" and his "program of interference in the internal affairs of other states." On the same day, ex-President Herbert Hoover published a letter that he had sent to Senator Styles Bridges, the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, in which he rang a warning bell. Hoover called on Americans to remember that the United States could not reconstruct the world alone. In the preceding two years, the United States had spent $29,000,000,000, including $13,000,000,000 in relief. In addition, the United States had already committed itself to $6,000,000,000 of expenditure in the coming year. Russian obstruction had intensified the cost to the United States. Stressing the need for limitation and coordination, Hoover also insisted that the United States should exact as a return for its sacrifices strategic materials from abroad to be stockpiled for the American national defense. A week later, President Truman appointed a committee of specialists within the government under the chairmanship of the Secretary of the Interior to survey American resources on a comprehensive basis. Simultaneously, he directed the Council of Economic Advisers, created a year before by the Employment Act of 1946, to examine "the impact on our economy of aid to other countries." He also appointed a 19-member advisory committee consisting of financial, business and farm leaders, popularly known as the Harriman Committee, to take counsel among themselves and among the groups in the population with whom they were identified and to advise him "on the limits within which the United States may safely and wisely plan to extend such assistance."

Mindful of the occasion and stirred by the President's vigor, the House of Representatives moved into an assessment of its own. In July, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs published a preliminary study of the "Needs, Limits and Sources of American Aid to Foreign Countries." On the initiative of the late Christian A. Herter, then a member of Congress, the House established a Select Committee on Foreign Aid, consisting of 19 members, including representation from each of the major standing committees concerned with one or another of the many phases of the problem. The committee carried its inquiries across the Atlantic. Organized into a subcommittee for Great Britain, a subcommittee for France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, a subcommittee for Germany and Austria, a subcommittee for Italy, Greece and Trieste and a general subcommittee on European agriculture, it systematically gathered data. Under the leadership of its chairman, Congressman Charles A. Eaton, and particularly its vice chairman, Mr. Herter, and with the help of a professional staff, it published a searching study of the problems and prospects in all of their ramifications. In the Senate, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Arthur H. Vandenberg, commissioned a study by the Brookings Institution of the various proposals for an administrative structure that had been put forward in relation to the prospective program.

In October and November, 1947, the Presidential Committee on National Resources and Foreign Aid, the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Harriman Committee filed their reports. The House Select Committee on Foreign Aid, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs met and began hearings. The reports of the Presidential committees and the reports and hearings of the congressional committees were widely published. So also was the report of a sixteen-nation Committee for European Economic Cooperation, completed on September 22, 1947, in a process of which the significance will be examined separately below.

The activity in the Executive Branch and in the Congress

was paralleled by an immense and far-flung process of public discussion throughout the fall, winter and following spring. Citizens' organizations sprang up to carry the word and argue the case in cities and hamlets. They were assisted, stimulated or irritated by a flow of speeches from the Executive leadership, the Congressional leadership and the opposition.

The many-sided Presidential, Congressional and citizen activities made the Marshall Plan the President's, the Congress's and the people's own. When enacted on April 3, 1948, the Plan became national policy in a full and realistic sense. I pause to dwell upon the point. Career foreign affairs personnel, academic students of foreign affairs, and specialists on foreign affairs in the news media often speak of a Presidential order, a pronouncement of a Secretary of State, or even of an internal document (of the National Security Council, a Secretary of State, and Under Secretary of State of an Assistant Secretary of State) as "national policy." Interdepartmental dissension concerning such a pronouncement, Congressional disaffection, or public outcry tend to be regarded as interferences with "national policy" rather than as detractions from the assumed authentic quality of the pronouncement as "national policy." For some purposes and in some situations, such a view of "national policy" may be factual. In other situations and for other purposes, it is merely formal. The Marshall Plan became national policy in a very different sense. It emerged with the understanding and support of the Department of State; other departments of the Executive Branch, represented in the inter-departmental committees; the President in both a personal and an official sense; the Congress; civic and community leadership; organized farm, labor and industry groups; and the general public. It was incorporated and published in a statute, available for all to see. The process of explanation, challenge, and eventual favorable decision was renewed each year in connection with the annual requests for new appropriations.

President Truman chose an Administrator whose talent and standing corresponded to the twin needs for public support and efficient administration. None understood better than Paul G. Hoffman that the enterprise could not fly on one wing. He poured his imagination and energy in equal measure into the quality of administration and the cultivation of public understanding.

The sustained government-wide and public support, active rather than merely acquiescent, made it possible to design and carry out measures, and maintain a quality and consistency in policy and administration that, in my view, would otherwise have been impossible.

The Pattern of Diplomacy

In his Harvard address on June 5, 1947, Secretary Marshall spoke not only to the American people but also to the leadership and people of Europe. He did not proffer an American formulation of a European problem nor an American diagnosis. He did not propose an American remedy, buttressed by an offer of American resources to put the remedy into effect. He did not summon American get-up-and-go to stimulate, prod, push or galvanize an assumedly inert Europe into action.

Marshall presented American anxiety over an American problem derived from a problem of Europe. He stressed "the consequences to the economy of the United States . . . apparent to all" from the "demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned" caused by the "destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads . . . [and] . . . the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy." It was "logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do" to help restore "normal economic health in the world" in order to assure "political stability and . . peace." The anxiety of the United States could only be relieved if Europe could meet its problem. In order for Europe to get started "on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take. . . . It would be neither fitting or efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so."

Barely a week later, in an address in Ottawa on June 11, 1947, President Truman, proclaiming his support of Marshall's message, re-emphasized that the initiative lay with Europe.

It was for the Europeans to analyze their problems and assess their requirements. It was for them to outline a remedial program and to commit their talent, time, energy and material resources to it. Since a shortfall in their resources could be anticipated, it was for them to calculate the size and nature of the deficiency. If the Europeans wished American help, they could lay their calculations alongside corresponding American estimates, and determine how any differences might be reconciled. The United States had already recognized the involvement of American interests in European welfare. In consequence, if American help was desired, and if the help needed was of a kind that America could supply, America would undertake to supply it so far as it lay reasonably within America's power to do so. That was the message.

Among the leaders of Europe, Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin of Britain first publicly responded, hailing the proposal as an appropriate attempt to create a healthy world through cooperation between Europe and the Western Hemisphere. The next day, on June 14, the Foreign Minister of France, Georges Bidault, invited Bevin to Paris to discuss the occasion. The discussions led to a series of conferences, culminating in a meeting of representatives of sixteen nations in Paris on July 12, 1947. Styling themselves a Committee of European Cooperation, they examined European needs in order to formulate European recommendations. Their deliberations were supplemented by discussions on a professional level with American experts.

On September 22, 1947, the sixteen participating European nations issued their "general report of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation." They had estimated "their prospective requirements and resources during the period 1948-51 . . . to formulate an economic recovery program." They had assembled the necessary data through questionnaires, the answers to which were prepared on the basis of agreed assumptions geared to the common purpose of orderly recovery. On the basis of their calculations, they had elaborated a program. In adopting the program, they had committed themselves individually and collectively by a series of pledges. They "pledge[d] themselves to join together, and invited other European countries to join with them, in working" toward a European recovery program. Each country not only made its pledge "with respect to its own national programme, but . . . also [took] into account similar pledges made by the other participating countries." They went on to specify their commitments. Each country "undertakes to use all its efforts—

> "(i) to develop its production to reach the targets, . . . ;
>
> "(ii) to make the fullest and most effective use of its existing productive capacity and all available manpower;
>
> "(iii) to modernize its equipment and transport, so that labour becomes more productive, conditions of work are improved, and standards of living of all peoples of Europe are raised;

"(iv) to apply all necessary measures [for] . . . internal financial monetary . . . stability while maintaining . . . a high level of employment;

"(v) . . . to reduce the tariffs and other barriers to the expansion of trade both between themselves and with the rest of the world, . . .

"(vi) to remove progressively the obstacles to the free movement of persons within Europe;

"(vii) to organize together the means by which common resources can be developed in partnership."

The pledges were taken expressly into account as the basis for the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948. In the "Findings and Declaration of Policy" (sec. 102(a)), it was declared to be the policy of the United States "to encourage these countries through a joint organization to exert sustained common efforts as set forth in the report of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation, signed at Paris on September 22, 1947." Section 115(b) of the Act was even more explicit. It stated that the "provision of assistance" under the Act "results from the multilateral pledges of the participating countries to use all their efforts to accomplish a joint recovery program based upon self-help and mutual cooperation as embodied in the report of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation signed at Paris on September 22, 1947, and is contingent upon continuous effort of the participating countries to accomplish a joint recovery program through multilateral undertakings and the establishment of a continuing organization for this purpose."

The "sixteen" met again in Paris on March 15, 1948. Their general purpose was to carry forward the resolves proclaimed in their Report. Their particular purpose was to set up an organization through which they could jointly "ensure, to the full extent possible by joint action," the realization of the parallel and common objectives to which each had pledged itself. Cocking an eye to the anticipated emergence of a new democratic Germany as a part of free Europe, they invited the "Commanders-in-Chief of the French, United Kingdom and United States Zones of Occupation of Germany to participate in the work." On April 16, 1948, they signed and proclaimed the Convention of European Economic Cooperation. The Convention created an Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), with a Council, an Executive Committee and a Secretary General and a secretariat.

An expanded conception of European initiative had emerged. It underscored self-help. It encompassed mutual aid among the European nations. It crystallized the obligations of self-help and mutual aid into explicit commitments of men, materials and governmental leadership. It supplemented national governmental administration with a common intergovernmental instrumentality.

When the administration of the Marshall Plan began toward the end of April, 1948, its American officers and their European counterparts could build upon a broad and solid stratum of agreed purposes and policies. The policies and purposes had been defined through months of discussion. They had been made even more meaningful by a painstaking interchange culminating in agreed estimates of resources and requirements and agreed calculations concerning the relevant data. They had been buttressed by the individual, collective and reciprocal pledges of the participating states.

The original Truman-Marshall invocation of a European initiative had set the tone. The tone was maintained in the pattern of diplomacy and administration that prevailed throughout the three year life of the Marshall Plan. The consensus on objectives and basic policies, and the original distribution of responsibility—initial responsibility assigned to the Europeans, and responsibility for support assigned to the United States—were continually renewed. Self-help and mutual aid directed toward the objectives of the Marshall Plan became British policy, French policy, Italian policy, common European policy, as fully as support for European self-help under the Marshall Plan became American policy. It is hard to imagine a more powerful lubricant against the friction endemic in complex international relationships.

The Pattern of Administration

There were long disputes in 1947-48 about how to organize the agency to administer the Marshall Plan. After adequate ventilation of rival views, a decision was reached to establish the Economic Cooperation Administration in Washington as a separate agency under an administrator reporting directly to the President. The decision reflected the scale, complexity and novelty of the enterprise. It responded to a belief that widespread public interest and a continuing need for public support required a form of organization that would give the enterprise maximum public visibility. It vindicated a view that the concentration of Presidential, Congressional and public attention upon the effort called for an administrator with direct access to the President and the Congress. It gave effect to a judgment concerning the kind of men needed to do the job and the kind of organization needed to attract the men. It also reflected a largely inarticulate but widespread feeling that the changing nature of foreign affairs and the changing role of the United States required experimentation with the forms of organization to conduct foreign affairs. Doubt concerning the capacity of the Department of State to cope with such an undertaking also played a part, along with fears lest the enterprise might divert the Secretary of State from his primary concerns and inject him into domestic industrial, agricultural and financial problems.

The Administrator's powers were plenary, "under the control of the President." He was expressly accorded cabinet status by the terms of the statute. He determined the requirements of participating countries for assistance, formulated programs of American assistance, approved specific projects, provided as he thought best for the efficient execution of programs, and could terminate assistance whenever it was "no longer consistent with the national interest of the United States." The Administrator could appoint personnel within the United States or abroad; and on his recommendation, the Secretary of State was authorized to assign, transfer or promote persons to any class in the Foreign Service Reserve or Staff. What if the Secretary of State should believe "any action . . . or failure to act" of the Administrator "inconsistent with the foreign policy objectives of the United States"? The Secretary could voice his concern to the Administrator. If they could not adjust their differences through consultations, "the matter [would be] referred to the President."

The Administrator could delegate part of his powers. His freedom to do so was not left to inference. The statute explicitly authorized him to "delegate authority to perform any of such functions to his subordinates, acting under his direction and under rules and regulations promulgated by him." Paul Hoffman used his authority to delegate wisely and well, especially in relation to the Office of the United States Special Representative in Europe and the chiefs of the ECA special missions in each of the participating countries overseas. He maximized their latitude for effective action while holding to a minimum the risks of cross-purposes, crossed lines, or jumped traces.

In 1948, I considered it a wise move to constitute the Administration as it was. In retrospect, I find it wise still, with renewed conviction. In so saying, I do not intend to challenge the present organization of AID as a distinctive entity within the Department of State. That is another story. I do believe that in the circumstances of 1948-51, the establishment of the Administration as a separate agency in Washington and overseas, with its special characteristics, proved indispensable

to the success achieved by the Marshall Plan.

I stress three aspects of the organization: first, the autonomy and flexible authority of the Administrator under the control of the President; second, the capacity of the Administrator to represent the enterprise directly to the Congress and to the American people, within the scope of his primary accountability to the President; and third, the organization of the operations overseas. In the main, I think the first aspect has been reasonably well understood. The significance of the second appears to me to have been less generally appreciated. I've tried to sketch its implications earlier in this essay, under the rubric, "The Political Process Within the United States." The third has been perhaps the least understood. This is not surprising, for it is in the field overseas, and in the relationship of the field to the Washington headquarters, that the Marshall Plan organization exhibited its most novel and distinctive features.

The novelty and distinctiveness came to focus in the powers and duties of the United States Special Representative in Europe, in his relations with the Chiefs of the ECA Special Missions, and in his relations with the Administrator. The United States Special Representative in Europe was appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. By statutory stipulation, he had the rank of ambassador. He was "the representative of the Administrator, and . . . also the chief representative of the United States Government" to the OEEC. He was required to "discharge in Europe such additional responsibilities as may be assigned to him with the approval of the President." He could "also be designated as the United States representative on the Economic Commission for Europe." (In fact, both incumbents of the office were so designated.) It was his duty to "keep the Administrator, the Secretary of State, the chiefs of the United States diplomatic missions, and tbe chiefs of the [ECA] special missions . . . currently informed concerning his activities." He was to "consult with the chiefs of all such missions," who were directed to "give him such cooperation as he may require . . ." If a chief of a diplomatic mission objected to the conduct of a chief of an ECA special mission, the former's initial recourse under the statute was to "advise the chief of the [ECA] special mission and the United States Special Representative in Europe." While the chiefs of the several ECA special missions were to receive their instructions from the Administrator and report to the Administrator, they were made expressly subject to coordination by the Special Representative.

The undertaking was as fortunate in the personality of the first United States Special Representative in Europe as in the personality of the Administrator. Averell Harriman brought to the post, in addition to his wisdom and experience, the symbolism, unmistakable to European eyes, represented by President Truman's choice of a member of his own cabinet for the purpose. Apart from the personalities, the key lay in a concept, and the fitness of the concept to the occasion.

The concept was that of a civilian counterpart, suitably adjusted, to the familiar military arrangement of a theater command. It was hammered out jointly by Washington and Paris (the site of the Office of the Special Representative) in long interchanges through the early months. The line of command ran from the Administrator to the United States Special Representative in Europe. By the Administrator, I mean tbe Administrator himself, not his Washington headquarters; and by the Special Representative, I mean the Special Representative himself, not his Paris headquarters. The understanding was explicit. It was made real by steady reiteration and unremitting application on both sides of the Atlantic.

Instructions to the various divisions and branches in the Paris headquarters ran only from the Special Representative and his Deputy. The divisions and branches in Paris were, of course, in constant communication with their counterparts in the headquarters in Washington. By cable, letter, telephone and transatlantic visit, they compared data, exchanged views, reported, recommended, argued, persuaded, cajoled. But the Washington divisions and branches gave no orders to Paris divisions and branches. If a Washington division chief wanted to challenge an action taken in Paris, his sole recourse was to the Administrator. If the Administrator was so disposed, he would take it up with the Special Representative. The relationships were reflected in established cable procedures. Appropriate indicators sharply distinguished personal messages of the Administrator or the Special Representative from the general run of messages sent by Washington or Paris headqarters in their names.

Comparable lines were maintained between the Office of the US Special Representative and the ECA special missions. Communications from the divisions and branches of the Office of the Special Representative to the corresponding branches and divisions in the ECA special missions were staff communications only. Instructions ran only from the Special Representative himself to the chief of the ECA special mission. The potential confusion in lines of authority among the Administrator, the Special Representative, and the chiefs of the ECA missions was resolved by a skillful use of the Administrator's authority to delegate his powers. The normal chain of command ran from the Administrator through the Special Representative to the chiefs of missions. The Administrator reserved always his authority for direct instruction to the chiefs of missions, and preserved their right of direct reference to him in any appropriate case, with notice to the Special Representative.

The theater command analogy was fortified not only by cable procedures but by procedures relating to personnel, compensation and travel. If the significance of these dull administrative details might escape the general reader, it won't elude the readers of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. By appropriate delegation from the Administrator and within broad limits defined by his regulations, the United States Special Representative in Europe could hire or fire executive and professional personnel in Europe; raise or lower salaries; assign or reassign personnel within Europe; and cut travel orders or orders to move personal effects.

I turn back from the pattern and mechanics of organization to their meaning for policy and diplomacy. At home, the Marshall Plan involved operations throughout the Executive Branch, relations with Congress, and steady communication with the American people. It involved comparable operations in each of the sixteen European capitals, and in the headquarters of the Occupied Zones of Germany. It embraced operations within the OEEC in three sectors: the Secretariat, the delegations at the official level established by the participating countries in Paris, and the Council of Ministers. The constant need for coordination reached recurrent peaks in negotiations for the division of aid among the participating countries, for the liberalization of trade, or for the arrangement of systems of intra-European payments. It was the theater command structure on the American side, supported by the flexible authority of the Administrator in Washington, and meshed with the OEEC structure on the European side, that held the far-flung parts together and harmonized their movements.

The Europeans appreciated the structure and what it meant. In July, 1951, the Chairman of the Ministerial Council of the OEEC, Dirk U. Stikker, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, took an occasion to point the moral. He asked his colleagues to consider the functions of the United States Special Representative in Europe, "especially in the last year, when world conditions have changed so violently . . . First of all, the Special Representative . . . takes an active part in the policy making of the United States . . ." In addition, he is "the head of the huge European organization of ECA" witb "large

(*Continued on page* 47)



Mrs. Nancy Kefauver and Mrs. Dean Rusk discuss "Kansas Snow" by William D. Paul, Jr. The painting was among the collection of 28 works on loan from Georgia artists, through Gudmund Vigtel, Director, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, and member of the National Committee of the Art in Embassies Program. "Kansas Snow" is now in the US Embassy, Karachi.

The Embassy as Art Gallery

TED OLSON

A FEW old-timers, particularly those in USIA and CU, still flinch at the words "Circus Girl." Even after two decades they recall too poignantly an episode that nearly wrecked the United States information and cultural program before it had reached its second post-war birthday.

"Circus Girl Resting" is the title of a painting by Yasuo Kuniyoshi. It was part of a collection assembled in 1946 by the State Department's newborn Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, for overseas exhibition. Displayed at the Metropolitan Museum before starting on its travels, it attracted some attention in the press. NEWSWEEK, among others, published a story, with illustrations; it characterized the collection as "frankly weighted on the experimental and creative side." When the chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee dealing with the State Department appropriation bill for 1948 saw the stories he realized immediately that a bludgeon of crushing potency had been placed in his hands.

The 1946 elections had given the Republicans control of the House after a good many lean years. They were out to make a record, by reducing expenditures, shearing away frills, liquidating crackpot experiments. The information and cultural program, always suspect in Congress, was an obvious target.

There ensued a tragi-comic scene in the subcommittee hearings on March 20, 1947, when Chairman Karl Stefan of Nebraska confronted William Benton, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, with reproductions of the traveling pictures and demanded to be told what they were meant to depict. A brief excerpt will give the flavor of the inquisition.

Mr. Stefan: Mr. Benton, what is this?

Mr. Benton: I can't tell you.

Mr. Stefan: I am putting it just about a foot from your eyes. Do you know what it is?

Mr. Benton: I won't even hazard a guess of what that picture is, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Stefan: How do you like this circus girl?

Mr. Benton: I like her better than



Mrs. B. K. Nehru, wife of the Indian Ambassador, pauses to consider Gabor Peterdi's "History of the Blue Garden." This painting was loaned to the Art in Embassies Program by the artist through the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, under the direction of Mrs. Sue Thurman. "History of the Blue Garden" is now in the US Embassy, Rabat.

many others seem to like her.

And so on for pages.

The Department had requested $31,381,220 for the information and cultural program. It finally received $13,800,000—of which $1,430,000 was for liquidation costs—but only after the Senate had with difficulty persuaded the House to recede from an earlier vote striking out the entire appropriation for OIC.

The offending collection was hastily withdrawn from circulation. (The Department, incidentally, made a tidy profit when it sold the pictures.) It was a good many years before any government agency again ventured to promote contemporary American art abroad.

As Galileo doggedly maintained, the world does move. Today a painting by Robert Rauschenberg hangs in the main reception room of the Embassy residence in Athens. Guests of our Ambassador in Bern can admire or not, if they choose—works by Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol. A Chaim Gross sculpture stands on the terrace of the residence in Fort Lamy. Kuniyoshi, who drew Congressional gibes back in 1947, is represented by an oil at the American Mission to USRO in Paris. (Another Kuniyoshi returned recently from a tour of duty at our Embassy in Quito.) The inventory could be continued to nearly 60 other posts, where residences, chanceries and consulates have become showcases for American art, much of it of a kind that makes the "Circus Girl" look as sedative as a Grandma Moses.

The United States Information Agency, lineal descendant of the Department's OIC, has been vigorously promoting American art abroad for more than a decade, and now is acquiring its own collection of original graphics for public exhibit and for permanent display in USIS libraries and the living quarters of Public Affairs and Cultural Officers.

And hardly a murmur of criticism has been heard, let alone a cry of outrage.

The largest of the several official arts-abroad enterprises is the State Department's Art in the Embassies Program. It has been in existence only three years, and though it built on pioneer work by private agencies, its accomplishments in that short time are impressive.

The program, in the words of a Department brochure, "is based upon the belief that it is important for Embassies of the United States to reflect current and traditional culture of this country in an effective manner. One way to present the high level of American cultural attainment is through visual arts. Consequently, the program plays an integral role in the building of an improved United States cultural image abroad."

This sounds so reasonable that the wonder is it took so long for somebody to do something about it.

As every officer except the very young will remember, the embellishment of a residence or a chancery or a consular office used to be either haphazard or non-existent. Much depended on the taste and the resources of the occupant. Chiefs of Mission with ample private means might bring along their own pictures and objets d'art. One saw Old Masters or near-masters, French impressionists, contemporary works from countries to which the Ambassador had been assigned earlier, but not very often anything recognizably or representatively American. Chancery and consular offices were grimly utilitarian: a few maps and charts, a portrait of Rutherford B. Hayes or James G. Blaine, a glass-doored bookcase half-full of bound volumes of forgotten documents.

When USIA sidled back into the art business, peering furtively over its shoulder at the ghost of the "Circus Girl," it helped out as best it could, occasionally with original graphics that had completed the round of exhibit outlets, more often with reproductions and photographs. Many a visa applicant has had his visual introduction to America from photographs of the Grand Canyon and the Kansas wheatfields on the walls of the consular waiting-room.

Sometimes resident artists or collectors took pity on us. When I served in Reykjavik the show place in the residence drawing-room was occupied by a painting by Iceland's Kjarval, on loan from the local Mycenas, whose collection had outgrown his own wall-space. American art was represented by several USIS reproductions.

The first organization to "do something about it" in a methodical and effective way was the Museum of Modern Art in New York. For a number of years it has been providing collections, made up of pictures on loan from dealers, for display in Embassy residences. Since 1961 the Woodward Foundation, established by retired Ambassador Stanley Woodward, has performed a similar service. The foundation purchases contemporary paintings, and occasionally sculpture, and assists ambassadors-

Mrs. Raul Castro is pictured here among a sampling of the paintings, graphics and sculpture sent to the Embassy in San Salvador under the auspices of the Art in Embassies Program.



designate in making selections. At this writing the foundation owns some 325 works and has collections in seventeen embassies.

The State Department's own program has been in operation since early 1964. Its director is Mrs. Nancy P. Kefauver—widow of the distinguished Tennessee Senator—who was appointed Advisor on Fine Arts by President Kennedy shortly before his death. A professional artist herself, Mrs. Kefauver had noted with distress the bare walls of American residences and chanceries abroad. She brought to her assignment, therefore, expertise, a sense of mission, and a wide acquaintance among artists, museum directors and collectors. No less important is her equally wide acquaintance on Capitol Hill, where, as the tragicomedy in 1947 demonstrated, a benign climate is essential if any governmental venture in the arts is to prosper.

The program is conducted by a six-woman unit quartered on the ninth floor of SA-11 and officially designated O/ART. Today, in its fourth year, O/ART has more than 1,600 works of art in circulation or warehoused awaiting assignment. The term "works of art" is comprehensive; the collection includes oils, watercolors, graphics, ceramics, mosaics, hangings, sculpture, and most recently photographs. Except for the photographs, every piece is an original.

Unlike the Woodward Foundation, O/ART makes no purchases. Through generous donations it has acquired title to a good many works, but most of its circulating collection—roughly six-sevenths—is on loan— from museums, foundations, private galleries and dealers, individual and corporate collectors, the artists themselves—nearly 400 different sources. Not least important are the big corporations that have become patrons and promoters of the arts in recent years—IBM, Sears Roebuck, Philip Morris and many others. The New York Board of Trade helps O/ART get in touch with firms interested in improving their images abroad, and thus the list grows.

Obviously this dependence on the generosity of others has disadvantages. It precludes rigid application of predetermined principles of selection. O/ART doesn't always get exactly what it wants, though it has ways of tactfully declining offerings it doesn't want at all. But Mrs. Kefauver says the gap between what she would like to have and what she has to make do with is narrowing.

The principles of selection are in fact commodious. Any good American art is welcomed, whatever the period, the school, the idiom. For several reasons, the list is somewhat weighted toward the non-objective. Moderns are more numerous and more available, because they have not disappeared into museums and private collections, and the contemporary mode is abstract (unless "pop" is considered representational). Another reason, of course, is that the cultural elite of foreign countries are more interested in what American artists are doing now than in what they did in the 19th century.



Mrs. Nancy P. Kefauver, Advisor on Fine Arts, Department of State, is pictured here in an area of her Smithsonian Institution Repository, provided by the National Collection of Fine Arts. Mrs. Kefauver is surrounded by paintings by Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Ruth Gikow, Gregorio Prestopino, A. E. Gallatin and Walter Meigs on loan from the artists, museums and galleries.

Just the same, Mrs. Kefauver would like to have the revolving collection cover the broadest possible range, and she is unhappy about the gaps and thin patches. Hardest to get are the early Americans, including primitives, all the way back to colonial times. Examples are rare, and the owners are reluctant to part with them, even for two years. (That is the normal loan. Galleries are reluctant to let their treasures go for a longer time, and a shorter period would not justify the cost and effort, considering that it would be cropped further at each end by processing, packaging and travel.)

Mrs. Kefauver is also negotiating for more westerns—Remington and Russell sculptures particularly. The Wild West remains a subject of unflagging interest almost everywhere. Earlier generations avidly read James Fenimore Cooper and Zane Grey in translation; their descendants watch "Bonanza" and "Gunsmoke." Real Indian art also is an important category in the Department's program.

There are still certain inhibitions; what government enterprise is free from them? You may be surprised to learn that in this year of enlightenment and topless go-go dancers, the nude in art is still offensive to some tastes; therefore it is scantily represented in the Department's collections. Demurely veiled in semi-abstraction, a few nudes do get by, but Thomas Hart Benton's "Susanna and the Elders" would never qualify. (This policy is a matter more of prudence than of prudery. Many foreign countries, notably the Arabic and some Latin American, are considerably more strict than we are about fleshly exposure.) O/ART also tends to screen out the more abrasive commentaries on shabby aspects of the American scene, such as some works of the "Ashcan School." Reginald Marsh, for example, is represented mostly by street and harbor scenes; there are none of his famous studies of the Bowery and the burlesque theater.

The catalog has to be eclectic, because a variety of tastes, possibly conflicting, and a number of other factors must be considered in putting together a collection for a given residence or chancery. It would be convenient if posts could be classified, as they are for other purposes, and art prepackaged and tagged accordingly, so that when a request came in, Mrs. Kefauver, or her executive assistant, Carol Harford, could check the list and order, "Send him one Q-37." Unfortunately, it isn't that simple.

A new request—let us say from Barawan, because you won't find it on any map—sets in motion an elaborate research study designed to ensure that

the works selected will be right for the country, right for the building, right for the people who are going to live with them. The desk officer for Barawan and the Barawani embassy are consulted. What are the economic, political, climatic conditions? What is the cultural level? What are the preferences and taboos? (You must not show pigs, for example, in Indonesia, or cows in India, or the bottom of the foot in the Middle East.)

Security considerations are weighed carefully. You don't send a $10,000 original to a country teetering on the brink of violent revolution. FBO's floor and wall plans are studied. The pictures must fit the available space, and harmonize with the decor. Also O/ART wants to be sure that the air-conditioning will provide adequate protection against mildew and other hazards.

Somewhere in the process the Ambassador and his wife are invited in, if they are available, to make a tentative selection. Their personal preferences will weigh heavily in the final choices. You can't expect somebody who dotes on Grant Wood to live for two years with Roy Lichtenstein. If you have no Grant Woods in stock (and O/ART hasn't) you may suggest an Ernest Lawson or a Frank Benson.

The Vice President of Gabon, M. Yembit, and the Ambassador to Gabon, David Bane, stand before W. E. Baum's "Hills in Autumn." The painting is among the collection of 17 works placed in the US Embassy under the Art in Embassies Program.



There is, of course, a possibility that the tastes of the Ambassador and the cognoscenti of the host country may not agree. Here a compromise may be worked out: abstract expressionism in the salon, representative art in the library, or vice versa.

A career officer, sensitive to the whims of his clients, will usually concur in the Department's recommendations. Non-career envoys are not always so forthcoming. If one of them should brush aside suggestions and insist on barnacling the residence and the ambassadorial office with works indigenous to Missisota, there is nothing to be done about it, except to hope that Barawanis will learn to love the Mississotan school.

Once the selection has been made—the Smithsonian Institution provides a repository for works stockpiled or in transit—it is crated and sent on its way. The Department pays packing, shipping and insurance costs. A kit of instructions goes to the post. It includes a brochure describing the exhibit, biographical data on the artists, instructions, with diagrams, for repacking and shipping, and a sheet of "placement suggestions." The last indicate where O/ART, on the basis of FBO's floor and wall plans—and sometimes personal acquaintance with the buildings—thinks the works would show up best. The sheet for one of our smaller posts, Fort Lamy, Chad, is illustrative:

RESIDENCE

Terrace:

"Covered Jar, Stoneware, Ironspot" by Otto Heino

"Seven Mystic Birds" by Chaim Gross

Dining Room:

10′ wall, end of room—"The Station" (7984) by John Hultberg

4′ wall—"Shallow Waters" by Sol Wilson

To right of entrance—"Steel Nocturne" by Stuyvesant Van Veen

5′ wall—"Wellfleet Bay" by George Grosz

5′ wall—"The Battery Ice Bound" by Robert Hallowell

Living Room:

5½′ wall—"Low Tide" (1124) by Mel Stark

Opposite 5½′ wall—"Long Island Marina" by Evelyn Metzger

4′ wall—"Boat Haven" by Evelyn Metzger

11′ wall—"Moonlight on the Desert" by Wilson P. Hurley

Library:

16′ wall—"Dialeius" by Francis Almeida Luzzatto

Entrance Hall:

11′ wall—"Ancient City Walls" by Patience Haley

10′ wall—"Brownstones" by William D. Gorman

CHANCERY—wherever appropriate

"Bridge Sunday" by Prentiss Taylor

"Child in Profile" by Harvey Dinnerstein

These are only suggestions, of course. An Ambassador may shuffle the pictures about to suit his own taste and that of his wife. Most Chiefs of Mission have picked up a few treasures along the way, and naturally they like to place these where they can be admired. One suspects that Mrs. Kefauver feels just a bit unhappy when her carefully planned arrangement is dislocated, but there is nothing she can do about it.

The kit also contains suggestions for publicizing the collection, and USIS has produced some handsome promotional leaflets and brochures. Usually the Ambassador invites government officials and members of the local art community to see the exhibit. The response is always gratifying. The files bulge with appreciative letters. Some examples:

Ambassador Phillips Talbot in Athens: ". . . the collection has evoked a warmly enthusiastic response from the Greek cultural community." Ambassador David M. Bane in Libreville: "Our Gabonese and French guests [at the Fourth of July reception] alike appeared to be most impressed." Ambassador Raul Castro in San Salvador: "The beautiful paintings . . . are the talk of the town."

A good many works are sold. When a prospective buyer appears, the post either notifies O/ART, which informs the artist or dealer, or assists the purchaser to get in touch with the owner directly.

There is little danger that any post would fail to do right by such treasures, but administrative officers might keep in mind that the inspectors will want to make sure that all is well. The art collection is on their check list.

The Museum of Modern Art and Woodward Foundation programs are smaller in scale, and differ from the Department's in other particulars. They provide collections only for Embassy residences, not for chanceries or consular offices. The foundation pays its own packing, shipping and insurance costs, whereas O/ART takes care of these for the museum. There is no duplication or competition. An Ambassador is free to shop around and select the service that appeals to him most.

(*Continued on page* 48)



View from the Residence

JEAN KENNEDY

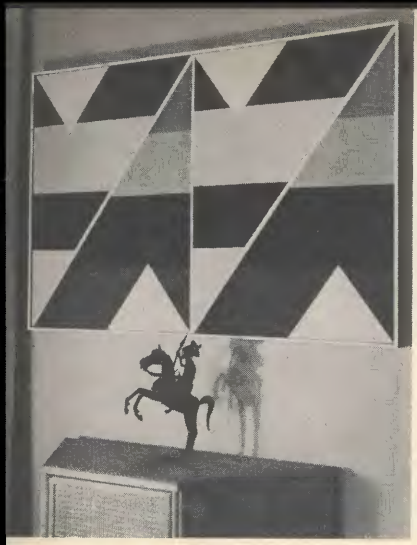
"You know the one I like? That painting over the desk by Jan Muller. Do you think he was influenced by Paul Klee?" said a Nigerian artist. He turned to contemplate the black, yellow and white hieroglyphics of a Nicholas Krushenich silkscreen print. "I like the paintings," said another artist. "The simplicity is beautiful and it's a change." An American woman studying a green ovoid shape in an Ellsworth Kelly lithograph caught the eye of one of the Nigerians. "Looks like a giant pea," she said. "Can anything that simple really be art?" "Of course it can," he replied. "It's so simple you wouldn't think of doing it, only an artist would." "But don't you think it is just a display of craftsmanship?" she continued. "No, it's a combination of both," he responded firmly. "I can't agree," said a toga-draped sculptor from Benin. "I feel the artists simply have nothing to say." A Yoruba actor came bounding through the door. Getting a glimpse of the blazing colors in a large striped Gene Davis canvas that was hanging at the far end of the room inside the library, he exploded, "Oh my God! Wait! Wait! Let me get a drink first. I've got to approach this slowly!" His wife spoke up, "They always say African art inspired modern art. I can't see any resemblance."

The guests moved back and forth through the two drawing rooms on the gound floor of the American Embassy Residence past the wide French doors standing open to the constant vista of the Lagos Lagoon and the sea beyond. They were studying other views, those introduced by a newly arrived collection of paintings and prints. One or two individuals had the bewildered, assaulted look that comes from stumbling over a threshold, or facing the boggling world of "Op," "Pop" and "Hardedge" for the first time.

It was the middle of August, the third month of the Nigerian rainy season. The foliage had grown to Rousseau proportions. The rain drummed away at intervals, oblivious of beginning and end like a high-life dance, but the city traffic jams, noise and excitement continued. There was color and imagery enough even in the capitol city of Lagos to supply ingredients for snapshot-taking tourists and to suggest the importance of Nigeria as a wellspring of African art.

At the Residence the sound of cars on gravel coming to a halt kept the receiving line moving and the drawing rooms filling. Ambassador and Mrs. Elbert Mathews who had accepted their role as hosts to this two-year addition to their household and daily lives were busy officiating. The works of ranking contemporary painters assembled by the Museum of Modern Art was the second to come to Nigeria under the auspices of the Art in Embassies program of the Department of State. Now even the Chancery would have a large James Brooks canvas to adorn the Ambassador's office. It wasn't so long ago that colored scenes of the Grand Canyon and the New York skyline were the rule of thumb for Chanceries.

The evening's "gallery tour" was a little like others on opening night. There was small talk, "small chop" and some speculating: was it true that African painting today merely reflect-



ed international trends? After all if African sculpture helped motivate this century's painters, then here was a chance to check reference points and predict directions.

A graphic artist from Eastern Nigeria, leaving the receiving line, paused in front of a picture handing in the entrance hall. "Wonderful," he said in the moderate tone used here to indicate "wonder" and not necessarily approval. "It doesn't look like anything our sculptors ever did or our painters are doing," said an art critic, pondering a square within a square within a square, one of four prints in the collection from a portfolio entitled, "Homage to the Square" by Joseph Albers, a teacher of some of the other artist-printmakers included. "Atall atall," said the graphic artist.

"Where does all this insistence on geometry come from?" asked a Nigerian fashion designer who was wearing a leopard-print version of the local "skyscraper" turban. "Cubism and African sculpture," answered the art critic who had obviously known all along about such influences and where they could lead.

The bare-shouldered Benin sculptor commented on a Larry Poons print: "Like a limp handshake, perhaps a SOS, a distress signal." They were nearing the Gene Davis canvas, but were momentarily stalled in front of two Motherwell prints flanking the sofa. Immediate rapport took place here: a Nigerian painter who had seen the Motherwell retrospective last fall at the Museum of Modern Art in New York pushed forward. "Ah ha, well now, you see, his paintings are wonderful. Beautiful."

A Nigerian information specialist and an American author of a book on African art standing in front of a painting of bright yellow and green triangles by Larry Zox, were talking. "It tempts me to think of children's blocks seen from all sides with no perspective," observed the Nigerian. The painting, flat in texture and design and almost every aspect, was oddly reminiscent of dimensions lost. "A good deduction," said the American, "also revolt against 'Abstract Expressionism' and 'Action Painting.' "

When the cameraman's flash bulbs were spent and the last guest had eaten the last cheese straw, the critics had a chance at a final assessment. Several days later Remi Ilori, writing in the MORNING POST, was more perceptive than some Americans, a few of whom chalked the paintings up to something ressembling a personal attack. Ilori said quite succinctly that "Meanings have to be read into them, not deduced from them. . . ." His overall inference was that validity doesn't come into question solely because extraordinary demands are made of the viewer.

The Mbari NEWSLETTER for members of the Mbari Artists and Writers Club in Ibadan under the heading, "Pop-op Syndrome in American Painting" claimed that "Nigerian reaction to this collection has been very interesting because in the main most painters and painting lovers who have seen the works are inclined to dismiss them as piddly-puddly toys." It continued: "Most abstract painting of the new styles of Op and Pop (*there is one painting that is a mild form of "Pop" in the collection—Ed.*) are really circumstantial excursion into the familiar sensations of pattern and form and as such are parochial in importance . . . the sensations and sights that make Op and Pop valid just do not exist in Nigerian society and (we hope) never will."

Especially with the work of Motherwell, Muller and Brooks, the relationship to African art, though tenuous, is somewhere in the vague reaches of emotion; a surge of feeling exists in both confined somehow within the limits of an abstract order and not dependent on Kodak reality for transmission. Seen from this perspective these painters do come halfway, but this has little to do with Africa. In many of the paintings there is a lack of that element that is the essence of African sculpture; the forms are sometimes mirrored, ideas are embodied, but few reveal the religious involvement of the artist. Meaning cannot be subtracted from African art. Form, function and content are indivisible. If the work of present day African painters is influenced by Western art, chances are the results are watered-down versions. But if they are influenced by the principles that make fine Western painting, i.e., the same principles that make fine African carving, the resemblance has nothing to do with external similarities or whether the chicken or the egg was the starting point. It is simply the affinity between a fine piece of sculpture and a fine painting. If the purpose in sending the paintings and prints to Nigeria is to excite comment—"You don't have to like them," says Mrs. Mathews—then on that count alone, they are totting up a high score. ■



EDITORIALS

1947 - 1967 - 1987

How will 1967 look to the statesmen of 1987? Will it have been a year in any way so remarkable as 1947?

In that year, there were statesmen in the governments of the major powers who were able to recognize a problem of enormous dimensions in the reconstruction of Western Europe, to define a way in which to approach it, and to organize themselves to deal with it. All of this was a matter of months. Secretary Marshall spoke at Harvard on June 5, 1947. The Foreign Aid Act of 1947 was approved on December 17, 1947. The Committee for European Economic Cooperation met on July 13, 1947 and issued its report two months later. The Economic Cooperation Act was approved on April 3, 1948; and the Convention establishing the OEEC as signed on April 18.

In 1967, after years of discussion, and despite general agreement on the magnitude and urgency of the problem, these same powers have been unable to achieve official recognition of the problems of economic development, no definition of an approach to it, and no apparent willingness to organize themselves to deal with it.

Ironically, all that had to be done by way of analysis, agreement, and institution building in a very few months in 1948 has long since been done, in the case of this problem of economic development. The size and nature of the problem and the techniques for dealing with it are reasonably well-known—to scholars and officials. There is fairly widespread agreement among them. The Bank, IDA, the regional development banks, national ministries are in place. The statesmen have not acted.

They have been warned, and invited to act. Take one aspect of the problem as an example. The developing countries owe the major powers about $40 billion. Most of these debts fall due during the next ten years. This debt is growing at more than ten per cent each year. The export receipts of the developing countries are growing at six per cent. The consequences of widespread default, especially of default to the World Bank, are obvious and unthinkable. Consequently, in high places, little or no thought is given to measures to forestall default. The officials are busy enough shoring up the system. But when they succeed, they add to the problems of next year or the year after.

There's no need to catalog all of these problems. We know that to deal with them effectively will take a sustained massive effort over many years. The President of the World Bank has told us that this effort would cost on the order of three to four billion dollars a year more than is now available. This is probably an underestimate if one takes the full dimensions of the food and population problem into account.

Just as Secretary Marshall, Mr. George Woods has stated the problem with clarity and force.

> ". . . we continue to be confronted by the paradox of great poverty in the presence of great plenty. The industrial countries have never been so prosperous as they have been this year; but they also are facing many competing and unprecedented demands for capital. Among these demands, those relating to the developing countries have never had a high priority, and further erosion of the position now seems to be taking place. As we all know, in 1965, for the fourth consecutive year, the amount of international development finance available from public sources declined as a proportion of the national incomes of the capital-exporting nations; and the trend will not be reversed in 1966.
>
> "I am increasingly convinced that the time has arrived for the industrialized countries to make a joint and thorough examination of what they are trying to achieve in their relationships with the developing world. I believe these countries ought to proceed with all possible speed to measure the importance of these relationships in the spectrum of their own national objectives—to gauge the adequacy of both the resources and the mechanisms which are being employed in development assistance. Such an examination, it seems to me, should be given a priority comparable to that being accorded to other international problems—in the fields of defense, monetary measures and trade—which confront the industrialized countries today. It should engage foreign ministers and finance ministers as well as development ministers, and it should attempt to put the effort to increase and accelerate development into a well thought out and agreed place in the scheme of international affairs."

The answer, if there is an answer to Mr. Woods, will tell us how 1967 will look to the statesmen of 1987. ■

Association Supports S.624

Last month's JOURNAL contained a letter from Association President Foy Kohler to Senator Fulbright expressing the Association's support for an Administration bill which would increase Foreign Service annuities by 5.7 per cent and tie the future level to changes in the cost of living. In 1965, legislation was passed under which Civil Service and Foreign Service annuitants would receive automatic increases whenever the Bureau of Labor Statistics Price Index showed an average rise in the cost of living of three per cent or more over the course of an entire year. In spite of the significant increase in the cost of living, such an average was not maintained. As a result, the following year the Civil Service obtained a modification of the law permitting increases in annuities following three consecutive months of a minimum three per cent rise in the cost of living. Although similar legislation for the Foreign Service was submitted, it failed of passage when it was incorporated in the Hays Bill package. Under the new Civil Service formula its annuitants, but not those of the Foreign Service, received an increase in January 1967. The bill covering the Foreign Service was submitted again this year and has remained separate from other legislation. A new provision was added which would require the Secretary to initiate a study and make recommendations for changes in annuities in case there has been a decline in the price index of three per cent for three consecutive months. The new bill was ordered to be reported out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April and there is every reason to believe that this important legislation will be passed this year. Our annuitants will thus be enabled to keep up not only with their Civil Service colleagues, but more importantly with changes in the cost of living. The Association's support was useful and welcome. ■

WASHINGTON LETTER

by LOREN CARROLL

"The fact of crime and fear of crime are common across our land. For it has an unrelenting taste. It exacts heavy costs in human suffering and in financial losses to both individuals and communities. It blocks the achievement of a good life for all our people."

President Johnson

However brutal the scourge "across our land," it is more brutal still in the Washington area. Here are a few apposite facts:

► Serious crime during 1966 increased 11 percent in the nation but 15 percent in Washington.

► In March 1967 serious crime in Washington increased by 50 per cent over March of 1966. Robberies were up 85.9 per cent, rapes 87.5 percent and house breakings 72 per cent. A large part of this increase came from crimes committed by teen-agers.

► Among cities of comparable size, for instance Atlanta, Milwaukee and Seattle, Washington ranks first in murders and robberies and fifth in rapes.

► The city's biggest drug chain reported that in 56 weeks there were 62 burglaries and 31 armed robberies. Money losses were $116,000.

► A movement was started last year to move the national headquarters of the Sons of the American Revolution from the handsome building on Massachusetts Avenue to Valley Forge, Yorktown, Williamsburg or elsewhere. An advocate of moving wrote "The most valid reason for moving headquarters . . . that of the hazard of living in Washington due to the crime rate. . . . My wife and I were apprehensive about taking a stroll after dark." (The motion was in the end voted down)

► It is common to hear the above remark echoed by balanced non-timorous people. E.g. "I wouldn't dream of walking around at night in any part of Washington or the suburbs."

It is not only the increase in crime but the casual brutality of the methods employed in robberies. Managers of banks and shops are removed from their homes at the point of a pistol, taken to their place of business and ordered to open the vaults. Householders returning to their homes late at night find burglars hiding in cupboards; the householders are tied up and told to reveal the hiding place of valuables. Even when they comply they are often beaten with guns. People standing at bus stops are often murdered for the mere pittance the victim carried in his pockets.

The doorbell rings and the occupant of the house, no matter how often he has been warned, opens the door. Or the occasional prudent one asks "Who's there?" gets the reply "the police," and *then* opens the door. The consequences of foolishness are often to be tied up, beaten, robbed and in some cases murdered.

Murders and robberies that thirty years ago would have created headlines in a metropolitan newspaper now draw a short paragraph on page 17. Crime is now a commonplace and many citizens are apathetic as if crime should be accepted as complacently as one accepts the heat of summer.

We live in a world of dramatic tension and perplexities. We do not perceive that the rising crime rate and the apathetic attitude toward the activities of criminals may be the most insidious menace that faces our civilization during the next half century.

Hope Deferred

The original plan was to make this the lead article in Washington Letter. A jubilant tone was contemplated. The words would have been written in the style of an anthem and the musical support would have been provided by trumpets, sistrums and ocarinas.

We have in mind, of course, two bills in Congress which would benefit all Foreign Service officers, active and retired. Both bills have been outlined in Washington Letter before. But alas! Both are still in the committee stage.

It was President Johnson who suggested a 4.5 per cent rise for all government employees, including Foreign Service personnel. This would take effect October 1. Hearings began in the House April 25 in the Civil Service Compensation Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Rep. Morris Udall. In the Senate the legislation is being sponsored by Senator A. S. Mike Monroney. The fact that the legislation has drawn such vigorous sponsors is considered a good omen. Prudence requires us to stop here.

Bill S. 624 which would bring a raise of 5.7 per cent in the annuities of retired Foreign Service officers is being sponsored by Senator Fulbright in the Foreign Relations Committee. Once again the name of the sponsor arouses high hopes the bill will pass.

One provision of S. 624 ties future increases in annuities to the cost of living. If the cost of living advances three per cent and remains at this figure for three consecutive months, then a rise in annuities becomes automatic. A correlated provision has given rise to a certain misapprehension. Some who have read the bill hastily have concluded that if the cost of living *declines*, then a reduction in the annuity becomes automatic. But this is not the case! Should the cost of living decline, the Secretary of State is directed to make a study of the situation. This is not the same as automatic reduction. In any case is there a good chance that the cost of living in this era will ever decline for any sustained period of time?

Keeping Up

It is sometimes hard for Foreign Service officers carrying out pressing daily routines in posts abroad to keep themselves informed on American policies or activities in other parts of the world. The Department's Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs has come to their aid with a series of admirable monographs on a wide range of political and economic topics.

There is, for instance, a new series on Vietnam. No. 1 in the series is "Basic Data." No. 2 is "The Search for Peace in Vietnam." No. 3 is "Communist-Directed Forces in South Vietnam." The booklets are elegantly printed with maps, charts and photographs.

Here are some other media productions: "The Country Team," Relations with Africa," "The United Nations."

To find out all the material available to you ask Miss Mary Manchester, P/MS, Room 5819A, Department of State, to send you an application form to get yourself on the mailing list.

Award

Nearly everyone has heard of "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" but not everyone knows that Virginia Woolf wrote it. Jonathan Tyler (he says he doesn't want any more publicity so we shall refer to him simply as a librarian

in Wyoming) heard from some intellectual type that Virginia Woolf perpetrated some pretty racy novels. A female William Burroughs or Norman Mailer. Steps were taken to remove them from the library shelves. This country is crowded with librarians who will, without batting an eye, pass out bawdy novels to the customers. It is pleasant to encounter a responsible thinker like Mr. Tyler. He, therefore, gets the June award. Perhaps later we will have a contest to determine which is the bawdiest of Virginia Woolf's novels. "Mrs. Dalloway"? "To the Light House"? "Orlando"?

Over-Sassy

The wife of a Foreign Service officer, a stalwart reader of the JOURNAL, took a particular interest in the "overclubbed," "overchurched," "overproblemed" item in the May issue. The day after reading it she studied her husband unloading salvia, impatiens, asters, etc. which he had just bought at the greenhouse and now prepared to plant in the garden. "This, I can tell you," she said, brazenly, "whether you admit it or not, you are overpetunia-ed."

Overboiled

Overheard in National Gallery:

Young girl to elderly man:

"What happened to your cook?"

"I sacked her. Every time I ordered a boiled egg she boiled it for fifteen minutes."

Narrow-Minded Only in the Boozing Zone

"New Yorkers are not for the most part adventurous in their drinking habits. They are slow to change their habits . . . "

What the New York TIMES says about New Yorkers applies to most Americans. But this doesn't stop the New York TIMES from trying to interest the readers in a number of Mexican extravaganzas. There is something called the Margarita, which you can run up with tequila and Cointreau, or a Sangrita which combines orange juice, lemon juice, tomato juice, Worcestershire sauce, tequila, grenadine syrup and tabasco sauce. Fancy! How could you look your grandmother in the eye after engaging in such iniquity?

While this is going on, a restaurant chain proclaims a "Caribbean Carnival" wherein tipplers are lured into a "happy hour" to drink, at bargain rates, such concoctions as "Bermuda Rose" ("Bewitching as a South Seas Siren . . . mellow as a moonlit beach! A subtle blend of apricot brandy, gin and lemon juice"), or the Nassau Cocktail ("A smoothie made of crème de Cacao, lime juice and white rum. With it come happy thoughts of lazy days languishing in the sun!")

The point made by the New York TIMES is still valid. That is the way it should be. It took the race a million years to evolve that splendid achievement, the martini. Even today, many bartenders have not grasped the intellectual principle of the martini. When they reach for the vermouth bottle, their minds begin to roam. But anyway, so long as a proper martini *is* available, no one has any business delving into any of those arcane concoctions such as the Sangrita or the Bermuda Rose.

There is, it must be admitted, something narrow-minded in our views of cocktails. It contrasts strangely with our tolerance, in other fields, as age advances. The most unlikely people get mesmerized by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Certain stuffy types go all out for Brecht. People tell you that the greatest composer who ever lived was Johannes Tinctorus or Michael von Biel. People put up kinetic sculpture by Titemann in their drawing room. People overlook the most shocking immorality or oafishness. You shrug your shoulders and accept it. It takes all kinds, the world is big enough to hold a little of everything, etc. Our tolerance is sweeping. But if your best friend asks you for an Alexander or a Pink Lady you will probably throw him out the door in a January blizzard.

How to Squander Money

Sign in a Cape Cod cafe:

Hot coffee	15¢
Demitasse	
small	35¢
medium	60¢
large	90¢

Social-Linguistic Note

There was a time when employees used to say "I work for Mr. Willis" . . . "I work for the Pulciphers" . . . "I work for Ambassador Dawkins." But that kind of thing seems to be passing out. You usually hear today, "I work WITH Ambassador Dawkins," etc. No more of that old fashioned servility.

Peaks on Parnassus

What is the most beautiful line in all world literature? Here is a candidate from Medieval Latin:

Cum splendor lunae fulgescat ab aethere purae,

Tu sta sub divo cernens speculamine miro.

Walafrid Strabo (809-849)

(When the moon's splendor shines in naked heaven,

Pause, gaze, let yourself be enveloped in its glory.)

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

S. I. Nadler



"Well, what do you know! I was FSI '62!"

Diplomacy in

CARL CHARLICK

A LITTLE more than half way down the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia lies Dubrovnik, a name that makes the heart of even the most jaded traveler beat faster. Set like a jewel in a ring of ancient walls overlooking the intensely blue Adriatic, the city each year draws a growing host of holiday makers, artists, and scholars of every persuasion.

Visitors are lured to Dubrovnik by swimming and sailing, near-perfect sunshine and enchanting vistas, comfortable hotels and inexpensive dining, rousing festivals of *al fresco* music and dramatics, and by the deep aura of history that breathes from its walls, palaces, churches and monuments.

At the height of the season, nearly every language of Europe may be heard in its streets. The natives stick to Serbo-Croatian. They are a handsome race, the men spare and tall, the women delicately boned and graceful in a Latin way. Now and then a mustachioed mountaineer from the back country will saunter past in his traditional garb of embroidered jerkin and full-bottomed trousers, a round pillbox on his head. Donkeys and oxcarts jostle the few old-fashioned trolley cars. White-walled villas nestle against a background of cypresses, tamarisks, fig and lemon trees, spreading up the slope of Mt. Sergio bulking like a rampart behind the town.

Old Dubrovnik or Ragusa began on what once was the rocky islet of Rhaugia, one of the Elephite islands mentioned by Pliny, to which the inhabitants of the Greek city of Epidaurum fled to safety from marauding Saracens. On its rugged cliffs they built a fortified settlement. Later, when peaceful Slavs joined the colony, the sea channel separating the island from the mainland was filled in and the walls were extended to the base of Mt. Sergio. A natural harbor offered shelter to ships, and a rich hinterland provided a wealth-bringing commerce. Dubrovnik grew into a bustling city of stately mansions and churches under the legendary protection of its patron Saint Blasius.

Inside the old wall-girt city every stone recalls the past. Numerous churches and chapels, and two historic monasteries attest to Dubrovnik's long role as a bastion of Christianity. The massive 15th-century Onofrio fountain commemorates the ambitious water-supply system which that celebrated Italian engineer built for the city five hundred years ago. The Rector's Palace is a gem of renaissance-gothic archways. In the Sponza, or ancient customs house, a pharmacy established in 1477 still dispenses medicines, while the fabulous town archives on the upper floor are a treasure trove for historians.

The cities that dot the narrow wedge of Dalmatia between the sea and the high crest of the Dinaric Alps vie with each other in antiquity. Many trace their origins to Greek and Roman colonies, like Zadar (ancient *Jadertina*), Split (the *Aspalatum* of Diocletian's day), or Kotor (*Dekatera*). For centuries they lived by trade and navigation on the classical *mare nostrum*, exchanging goods and ideas with East and West alike. In this ancient company Dubrovnik is a mere youngster, dating back "only" to 614 A.D. But if we add the history of its parent city of Epidaurum (today Cavtat, about ten miles down the coast), it is more venerable than Paris, London, Rotterdam or Hamburg.

But Dubrovnik deserves honors principally on its political record. For a greater part of its thirteen and one-half centuries, it was an independent republic, tiny but durable. Its population never was more than 25,000, including all outlying districts and islands, and a horseman could traverse all its territory in an easy day. Its miniature dimensions only add to the marvel of its long independence during the turbulent centuries that saw the rise and fall of so many powerful states—Byzantium, the ancient tsardoms of Serbia and Bulgaria, the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, proud cities like Florence and Pisa, the transient empires of Spain, Sweden and Turkey.

Dubrovnik wrote its constitution in 1278. All governmental power resided in a hereditary Senate of nobles who each month selected a *rector magnificus* as titular head of the State. But independence was the inspiration of all citizens. Strong fortresses guarded the approaches from sea and land, well-stocked with powder and shot. The granary, standing on the high ground once occupied by the original fortress, was kept filled. Much of the foreign exchange and gold earned by its commerce was placed on deposit abroad. Its foreign policy was unalterably committed to living on good terms with the outside world.

Dubrovnik's first line of defense was its corps of diplomatic agents, who were stationed in all principal cities of the Mediterranean and in more distant centers like Paris, Vienna and Constantinople. Tirelessly these skilled emissaries labored for the welfare of their city. They explored favorable opportunities for trade, collected outstanding debts, got fellow-citizens out of jail, and gave early warning of impending danger. Their correspondence, written in meticulous Latin and Italian, fills many shelves in the city's archives. From earliest times this correspondence was kept by two major geographic divisions—"*lettere di ponente*," with the West, and "*lettere di levante*," with the East. Under the shrewd guidance of its diplomats Dubrovnik made good its independence, by skillfully playing on the mutual jealousies of its enemies and on the self-interest of its friends. It practiced strict neutrality. In times of stress, its statesmen knew how to create a political diversion, to deflect an approaching menace away from their walls. At various periods in its history the city sought "the protection" of one of its powerful neighbors—the Byzantine emperors, the Republic of Ven-

Dalmatia



ice, the Kings of Hungary, and even the Sultan of Turkey. By adroit diplomacy, however, Dubrovnik kept such ties from encroaching on its historic liberties.

Venice was the arch-problem of Dubrovnik's foreign relations. It seldom missed a chance to harrass the little republic, seizing its ships, impressing its seamen, and even encroaching on its possessions. Yet it was something of a family quarrel; for in culture and language, in its institutions and forms of government, Dubrovnik was a smaller version of the Queen of the Adriatic. Venice was not only a local power; it had major colonies and interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, which brought it into conflict with the rising power of the Turks. After the Turks overran the Balkans, wiped out the Byzantine empire and crushed Hungary, Dubrovnik was forced to seek an accommodation with the new power by a policy of co-existence. Diplomatically the little republic acknowledged the Sultan as its nominal suzerain, paying him a yearly tribute or *harrach.* In return, Dubrovnik's merchants and diplomatic agents were welcome behind the Padishah's curtain that had settled across southeastern Europe, in cities like Sarajevo, Belgrade, Sofia and Adrianople. They promoted a lively trade in the natural resources of the region, in metal ores, timber, hides, cattle, and were often able to execute commissions for other Christian principals.

Dubrovnik's golden age indeed came in the 15th and 16th centuries, when its merchant fleet aggregated more than 23,000 *carros* (a *carro* was a Neapolitan measure equal to about 1¾ register tons). Some of its ships measured up to 900 *carros,* the big grain and bulk carriers of their day, operating in the trade with the Near East and Africa, under the protection of the Turkish navy. Inevitably Turkish sea power was challenged by the Christian maritime states. At Lepanto in 1571 an alliance led by Venice, Rome and Spain under Don Juan of Austria crushed the Sultan's fleet. Dubrovnik, to its great discomfiture, had to remain neutral. Its fortunes, too, suffered a turn. As Turkish power began to slip, a web of sloth and corruption overspread the Sultan's domains, throttling the former profitable trade. In the neighbouring provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Turkish *begs* and *pashas* ruled by organized anarchy, while palace revolutions shook the throne at the Sublime Porte itself. Business and shipping in Dubrovnik declined, especially as the commercial center of gravity shifted distinctly to the Atlantic. Many a Dubrovnik skipper transferred his ship to a "flag of convenience"—French or even English—where greater profits beckoned. Others sold out and retired. Industry languished. By the middle of the 17th century, the merchant fleet had shrunk to a quarter of its former size, and none of the ships was of large tonnage.

For a while, the city fathers of Dubrovnik made efforts to stem the downtrend. Taxes and customs duties were raised and the currency was devalued by 25 percent. Elaborate measures attempted to encourage investment in home industries. But as so often in economic annals, these measures were nostrums rather than remedies. The essential element for their success, confidence, was lacking. A Venetian force just then had arrogantly seized several strategic islands belonging to Dubrovnik; they could only be dislodged by the threat of Turkish intervention, which would have meant for Dubrovnik exchanging the frying

The earthquake in Dubrovnik, April 6, 1667, old engraving belonging to the museum of the Rector's palace.



pan for the fire. As Dubrovnik entered its second millennium, its existence seemed indeed more precarious than ever before.

And then, the lifeline of the little republic nearly snapped completely—in a matter of seconds. The date was April 6, 1667, just 300 years ago, at Easter time.

On that fine spring morning, sunny and cloudless according to the chroniclers, as patricians and citizens gathered for solemn church services, the earth below the city heaved up in a violent convulsion. The first shock was just long enough for a celebrant priest to utter the words "Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ," and the city of stately palaces and churches sank into rubble.

In an instant the holiday scene was transformed into one of horror and panic. The air was rent by the shrieks of hundreds buried under a hail of toppling masonry. The earth gaped, swallowing entire houses, with their occupants. From the heights of Mt. Sergio huge boulders hurtled down on outlying villas. The water was swept out of the harbor and ships at their moorings pitched to the dry bottom. Then the water returned with the force of a tidal wave, smashing everything in its path. Wells ran dry, and fires in untended hearths spread into a conflagration, fed by high winds. What the earthquake had left standing was transformed into charred heaps of stone. The shocks continued—some accounts say for an entire week. From beneath the ruins came the pitiful cries of trapped and maimed victims. Many who escaped bodily injury from crashing masonry or raging flames perished for lack of food or water in their entombment. Bands of marauders now began to roam the helpless city in quest of loot. Ghoulishly they despoiled corpses or attacked helpless live victims to wrest from them jewelry and valuables. They bargained for huge sums from persons trapped beneath mounds of rubble, before turning a hand to rescue them. One survivor recounted that he had to pass two diamonds, the only valuables he had on his person, to rapacious samaritans through a narrow opening before they would consent to dig him out.

Based on historical research it is estimated that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the city dwellers of Dubrovnik, those who lived within the walls, were casualties of the Great Earthquake of 1667. The Rector of the republic, just elected to office five days before, was killed with all his family, and with him 56 members of noble senatorial families. Nearly every patrician clan was represented among the victims. One prominent family lost eleven of its members. A high-ranking victim was the new Dutch ambassador to Turkey, who had stopped at Dubrovnik en route to his post; he, his wife and 30 of his suite were killed outright.

The quake and the fire swept away the city's accumulated riches, jewelry and works of art, brocades and silks, costly furniture, to say nothing of merchandise in warehouses and ships. Eye-witnesses relate that the streets ran with gold and silver, melted by the heat of the conflagration.

With such a toll of life and treasure, the ravaged city lay a helpless prey to its enemies. Word quickly spread that Turkish bands from nearby Bosnia were moving on the prostrate city. And from the north loomed the ever-present threat of hostile Venice.

First accounts of the catastrophe spared no lurid details in describing the holocaust of death and destruction. The very existence of the city, and the bare lives of its survivors, were in jeopardy. Pleas went forth to the world outside for the most rudimentary help. One patrician begged for cast-off clothing, the quake having left him completely naked. The disaster had overtaken many people in their beds, and even if they survived, their belongings lay hoplessly buried under masses of rubble, or had been devoured by fire.

Here and there a glimmer of hope breaks through the news from Dubrovnik. On second view, the devastation was not as total as originally described. The great double belt of fortifications, rebuilt only a few years earlier, had withstood the quake. The *Sponza*, containing the archives and treasury, had been largely rescued. The Rector's palace, where tourists today enjoy chamber music performances, was not beyond repair. The nearby church of St. Blasius still stood. Beyond the walls, the lazaretto or quarantine station (today the municipal bathing beach) was unharmed. On the land side, Fort Revelin, where open-air entertainments are given today, was intact, but its gate was blocked by a mass of rubble. The brave commandant and his men had to be hoisted out by a primitive breeches buoy. The monasteries had suffered, especially the library of the Franciscans, but not as much, according to one historian, as the damage wrought by French and Russian soldiery during the Napoleonic wars. But the cathedral of Santa Maria was a total loss.

In this extremity the city fathers took an unprecedented step toward democracy by calling a general meeting of all citizens, which hammered out a terse emergency program. All persons were forbidden to leave the city, or to remove anything that might serve as building material. All the able-bodied were mobilized for rubble-clearing or rebuilding. Six companies of soldiers were organized to garrison the forts, but half this force could soon be detached to help in cleaning up the city. The fire was subdued, before it could reach the vital powder magazines. An emergency council of ten leading citizens took over the primary tasks of government—water supply and aqueduct repair, the salt monopoly, the supply of bread and other victuals, repair of flour mills, public health and sanitation. A start was made on repairing the principal public buildings. Citizens were ordered to rebuild their houses in a simple standardized design, and this uniformity of architecture is still a striking characteristic of the old town today.

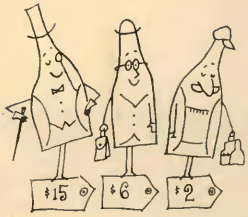
The wheels of diplomacy were set in motion to galvanize outside help—from the Holy See, from Naples, and from other friends. An appeal even went to the Venetian governor of Dalmatia. At first glance this would seem like inviting the "fox into the chicken coop," but Dubrovnik's diplomats took a longer view. The Venetian home squadron was already on the way, to look after some outposts in southern Dalmatia that had suffered in the same quake. At Dubrovnik the Venetian admiral inspected the damage and charitably distributed some ship's biscuit to the most needy. He was also careful to note that the city's fortifications were still standing. What saved Dubrovnik's independence at this juncture more than anything else was that Venice was embroiled in a long and costly war with Turkey over possession of Crete, and wanted no additional entanglements. Dubrovnik, while warily keeping its guns trained on the visiting ships, privately welcomed the presence of a Venetian battle force in its waters, as a check to Turkish designs. And so it proved to be. Soon a flowery message arrived from the *pasha* of Bosnia, announcing that he had given up his plan of marching "to the aid" of Dubrovnik. The little republic's diplomacy had scored again.

The rest of the world did not remain insensitive to the plight of Dubrovnik. The Duke of Savoy offered 1,000 barrels of gunpowder. Ancona sent food and a squad of master masons. The Duke of Tuscany sent

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A Few Bench Marks for American Wines



by Robert J. Misch

The great ignoble experiment called Prohibition, which happily was terminated in 1933, set American wines back vastly. Progress in quality production ceased. Fine vines were plowed under. Skilled vintners went into insurance or Wall Street. It is to the lasting credit of the dedicated people in the American wine industry, both East and West that they were able to put the industry back on its feet so quickly and so successfully in the three decades since repeal.

A great many factors contributed to the re-birth. For example, it should never be forgotten that California has enjoyed a long wine tradition, going back to the Eighteenth Century. The padres at their Missions made wines in the mid-seventeen hundreds. They were not in a class with the wines made today, but nevertheless, it was wine, and a skill, once achieved, is passed on from generation to generation. Secondly, the plantings of European vine cuttings in the mid 1800's, were not totally eradicated. Some vines were left, of course. They produced sacramental wines, grapes for raisins and—sh-sh! home brew, perhaps? At any rate, some were there to start things going again. The University of California, notably at Davis, pitched in to examine new ways of viticulture and oenology—and to disseminate its information to the worthy. Money flowed back into the Industry via established old wine-makers, Eastern concerns and the Banks. Agencies were awarded and distribution lines laid. In all honesty, it must be admitted that the first attempts after Prohibition's demise were egregious. I can remember the attempts of the newly constituted Wine and Food Society in New York to put on a tasting of American wines early in the game. Dozens and dozens of samples were tried—few passed muster. Today, such a Tasting requires the utmost in judgment and restraint in order to select from the vast availability of eligible contenders.

For today American wines can hold up their heads with distinction in any gathering. It should be remembered (and usually it is not) that the wines of the old world are not by any means only a vast array of First Growth Clarets, Domaine de la Romanée Conti Burgundies, or Trockenbeer-enauslese Hocks. Few are these, and far between. No more than ten percent of total production could ever be called great wines. Ninety percent are just average wines and the majority of these are never even bottled. *Vin ordinaire* in cask; *vin du pays* that seldom leaves its hearth-side; these are the order of the day abroad.

California (and hence the United States) has been blessed with some of the finest grape-growing regions in the world, from the points of view of soil, equability of climate, incidence of rainfall, and sunshine. From the Oregon border to the Mexican, here is one vast vineyard. Of course, it is not uniformly productive nor are the grape varieties the same. The cool Northern counties, blessed with foggy nights and Pacific breezes are climatically perfect for most of the shy-bearing noble grapes that produce the world's great wines. But hybridization and experimentation have created excellent new varieties of "hot country" grapes that have taken happily to warmer areas, to produce a splendid harvest of grapes for different wines and wine varieties, both table and dessert.

Another thing to remember is that the topography of California is rugged and varied—hence the climate in the grape-growing areas is correspondingly varied—producing suitable conditions for a plethora of grape varieties, which make a vast number of wines. In fact, in this single state, one may encounter the counterpart of every wine produced in all of Europe, as well as some exclusively American varieties, well worth trying by any man's palate.

A basic difference between the California and European producer is that the latter usually offers only one kind of wine, while in California, one producer may offer a dozen. The varied topography and acreage in California permit the growing of various kinds of grapes. In France, a producer would grow only one, or at most a very few—sometimes by choice, but in the great vineyard areas, by law. Another thing to remember is that some of California's wines never leave the state. You will have to "go west, young man," to try *all* that California produces.

Are California wines better, or worse, or the equals of their European counterparts? It depends on individual taste. Your steak or roast would be better with either. This I *will* say: They may not taste *exactly* the same because a grape, after all, may be likened to a pump or a vessel—it is not a thing unto itself! In Burgundy, a Pinot Noir grapevine pumps what's in *that* soil and drinks in *that* sun and *that* rainfall. In California, it does the same—but six thousand miles away, with all the attendant variations. Result—two somewhat different taste sensations with subtle likenesses. You decide which you like. Probably the answer will be both, since variety, not snobbery, tests the true mettle of the wine lover.

In the East, primarily in New York State, with a smattering in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland, are to be found the wines of the *vitis labrusca.* This great family of grapes, descended from the wild vines growing here when Leif the Lucky, or Verrazano, or Columbus (or whoever it was who discovered America; these days it's hard to say!) are relatives (not always compatible) with *vitis vinifera,* the offspring transplants of the vines of the Old World. The characteristic *labrusca* "foxiness" or grapey taste has, of late, been mitigated by some of the most interesting experiments in hybridizing, cross-breeding with European varieties, and even the growing of hardy Viniferas themselves. Matter of fact, all wine drinking is a matter of taste, and if one is drinking wine, and not labels, the flavor and bouquet of the Eastern grapes in the wine may be to your taste. A true wine buff enjoys the multitude of possible adventures presented by the vast array of wines of the world. He is a wine snob who drinks by the book, by the price tag, or by the certificate of national origin.

To revert once again to California, our prime source of American wines, representing 75 percent or better of all wines consumed in the USA (the remaining 25 percent is approximately 16 percent Eastern and 9 percent imported), let us

(*Continued on page* 50)

Service Glimpses



Perth. The American community served over three hundred dollars worth of hamburgers and coffee with doughnuts to benefit the Save the Children fund. Three cooks, Don Hammond, American businessman, Mrs. C. T. Mayfield, wife of Consul Mayfield who was hospitalized at the time, and Consul Bill McGovern, still smile after ten hours of fund raising.



Punta del Este. President Lyndon B. Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk arrive at the Conference, accompanied by, left to right, William S. Gaud, AID Administrator, Walt W. Rostow, presidential adviser, Sol Linowitz, Ambassador to the OAS, and Leonard Marks, Director of USIA.



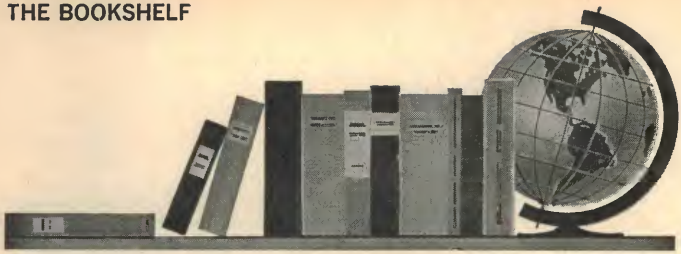
Berlin. Mrs. John F. Franklin, Jr. presents a $500 check from the American Women's Club of Berlin to Mrs. George C. McGhee for the American Foreign Service Association scholarship fund. At Mrs. McGhee's right are Mrs. Nita Story, new president of the AWC, and Mrs. Brewster H. Morris.



Reykjavik. Ambassador and Mrs. James K. Penfield display the Icelandic landscape presented to them by members of the American Mission on the eve of their departure. Charles Luckett, Administrative Officer, made the presentation of the painting by Petur Fridrik Sigurdsson. Susan Henry, daughter of DCM and Mrs. David Henry, assisted in the presentation.



Frankfurt. Mrs. Larry Roeder, president of the American Consulate General Ladies' Club, presents two checks in the amount of $328.75, one to Consul General James R. Johnstone on behalf of AFSA's Scholarship fund, the other to Brigadier General William H. Price, Jr., for the Frankfurt American Community Scholarship Association.



Scientific Approach To International Affairs

THE giant thrust in scientific theory and technology since World War II has included the search for a more "behavioral" approach to the problems of international relations.

An already voluminous literature dealing with this search is now joined by "Man and International Relations" (Contributions of the Social Sciences to the Study of Conflict and Integration). It is, in fact, a selection from this literature made by Professor J. K. Zawodny of the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania on a Ford Foundation grant and under the auspices of Stanford University.

Culled from 3200 scholarly journals and 200 books spanning the past forty years, these selections deal with "violent and non-violent problem-solving on three levels: individual psychodynamics, group dynamics, and nation-state relations," on the assumption that human interaction at all three levels must have something in common. The disciplines under scrutiny included biology, neurophysiology, genetic psychology, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, "and others" unnamed.

Scholars in these disciplines are clearly expected to supply the principal readership for this 1650-page book and, indeed, to supply their own evaluations, conclusions, and specific applications. Professor Zawodny himself preserves scientific objectivity, and carefully avoids offering his colleagues any "neatly-packaged conclusions." He also provides no synthesis or editorial linkage of the many different sections; or, for that matter, the professional identification, qualification, or affiliation of the various authors. Many are well known in this country; others are not.

The non-professional reader who can find his way through the largely-psychoanalytical material on individual dynamics, and to some extent on groups, will come into the sunlight of his reward in what is appropriately the longest section of the work: that on nation-states. It is here that case-study in some instances is used to embrace both conceptual framework and methodology; and it is here that experts in the different disciplines offer often-provocative and ingenious views on what they might contribute to the study and conduct of international affairs.

Among the many imaginative articles in the book, it is a tribute to Dr. Zawodny's balanced selection to have included Robert E. Osgood's on "The Clinical Approach to International Tensions." Osgood not only warns against "assiduous refinement of prosaic insights and concepts" and the all-too-frequent employment of "a special vocabulary for translating common sense into 'scientific' terms," but against the tendency to regard all international tensions, conflict, and hostility as abnormal and pathological, and harmony and integration of international interests, aims, and desires as the only normal and natural state. His conclusion that "sociologists might tell us a great deal more about how to live with international tensions than about how to get rid of them" is apt to find the sympathetic ear of many a harassed desk officer.

There will certainly be persons in the Department and throughout the service who, in spite of its bulk and cost, will find this work provocative and even useful. Kenneth E. Boulding in reviewing Don K. Price's "The Scientific Estate" not long back offered the not-infrequent reproach that "the Department of State is still operated on folk knowledge and is deeply hostile to the social sciences."

Let us, however, listen to Secretary Rusk on a scientific panel in Washington, January 24 of this year: "The scientific revolution has arrived—live, and in color. We cannot clearly foresee the advances, discoveries, and innovations which lie ahead, but the uses to which we put the new knowledge in our human relationships may well be critical." Having welcomed "the alliance of the natural sciences with the social sciences in the world laboratory," the Secretary at the conclusion of his prepared text made these extemporaneous remarks: "As the scientists put their minds to the problems of the future, it is just as important that the social sciences and the humanities do the same. The old notion that somehow the future is not the business of the humanities and the social sciences is rapidly disappearing, because the other half of our great universities is hurling us into the future at a breathtaking pace." The proper study of mankind is also man.

—FREDERICK C. OECHSNER

MAN AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, *edited by J. K. Zawodny. Chandler Publishing Company, two volumes, $45.*

A Jew Looks At Germany

THERE is always the danger that a Jewish observer of Germany today will write a scare report on Nazis old and new. The Israeli journalist, Amos Elon, does spend considerable time on certain disturbing facts (two-thirds of all West German judges earlier practiced Nazi "justice"; Hitler's generals, officials, and industrialists are honored and respected citizens of the Federal Republic today). However, he documents his allegations carefully. Furthermore, his intellectual honesty and reportorial objectivity make his account one of the finest of the many which have been written in recent years.

With the forgiveness which is characteristic of the Jewish race, he sees the good and promising side of today's Federal Republic. "For the first time in history, democracy is a reality . . ." It is not perfect—but it is a working democracy, acceptable to the people.

Elon covers the Soviet Zone and its regime with the same discerning eye that he turns on Bonn. He is not fooled by the fact that many more "fascists" were purged from public life in the "GDR" than in the FRG. In fact, he cleverly compares paragraphs in Nazi law and legal commentary with similar substance in the present law of the "First German Worker's State." He uses a similar device to back up his statement that German university professors ". . . constitute the most flagrant example of intellectual opportunism in our time." With quotes he shows how professors, who today justify democracy with historical arguments, in the thirties provided "scientific foundations" for dictatorship and racial madness.

This is an exciting book—from the description of the visit of defendants and officials of the Auschwitz trial to that infamous slaughter house to the

account of stupid young students raising their sabres to the "nauseating, blood-encrusted dueling jackets, sacred relics kept along flag-draped walls." Despite its excitement, the scholar will do well to read it carefully.

—Albert W. Stoffel

Journey Through a Haunted Land—The New Germany, *by Amos Elon. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $6.50.*

A Cautionary Tale

Some vocal members of the dove coterie would have us believe that the world is a quiet place under normal circumstances. If they find foreign situations not to their liking, they're tempted to say that the guys wearing the black hats came to power through landslide elections in the United States. They must have some golden age in mind, some state of grace from which we've fallen.

There's scant comfort in Ladislas Farago's book, "The Broken Scal," which deals with reading other people's diplomatic and military codes. Take, for example, the situation on December 4, 1941 (Pacific Time), when the United States was still at peace. In assorted government installations, American officials were decrypting Japanese diplomatic and military messages. So were the British, with machines supplied by us. So were the Dutch, with methods they'd devised independently. The Japanese were decrypting American codes, the British were reading German codes, the Germans were working on everyone's codes. Russian agents "Lucy" in Switzerland and Sorge in Tokyo were transmitting. In Batavia that day, the Japanese Consul and the American Consul General went into their adjoining back yards and simultaneously burned classified files. Meanwhile, a Japanese invasion fleet aiming for Thailand and Malaya was moving south from Camranh Bay; another moved on Pearl Harbor.

In 1929, the new Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson remarked that "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail." He abolished the New York City cryptographic intelligence unit funded by the Department. Now, for over a year as Secretary of the Army he had been reading secret Japanese messages decrypted by the "Magic" operation—as he said, "The situation was different."

Farago, an established commentator on things *sub rosa*, is at his best in telling how America first developed capabilities in this field, how they fell into disuse, and how they were revived in time so that Cordell Hull could read American copies of that last diplomatic note on December 7th before the Japanese Embassy could finish typing their version. The account is detailed, and fascinating. Like anyone else, the author has difficulties with conjecture: why were some of the implications of the intercepted messages ignored, or underestimated?

For "The Broken Seal" is not just a simple success story. In the last few chapters, the pace is slow-motion: messages pile up unread, while the Japanese fleets move closer. On December 4th (US Time), the McCormick-Patterson papers came out with the scandalous news that the United States had strategic studies and contingent war plans—and printed portions. Editorials invited the nation to look inward for the source of the world's ills.

So much for that golden age a generation ago. What would a similar book look like a generation from now, with 1967 as its focus?

—David R. Raynolds

The Broken Seal: *"Operation Magic" and the Secret Road to Pearl Harbor, by Ladislas Farago. Random House, $6.95.*

The Mask of Science

The electric power failure in the northeastern part of the United States in November 1965 provides the author with an example of how an electrical network created by man successfully defied man's control, a possibility earlier foreseen by MIT Professor Norbert Weiner of cybernetics fame. This is the central theme of the book—the threat that man's ingenuity will result in his destruction.

Current environmental problems of smog, stream pollution, non-degradable detergents, insecticides and nuclear fallout problems created through scientific progress, now require new and further scientific achievements to undo what has been done. The author's suggestion that scientists should have known from the beginning the results which have been learned through experience seems to be a 20/20 hindsight observation.

Dr. Commoner states that scientists working in secrecy, whether due to military or commercial restrictions, have permitted science, which thrives on the free interchange of ideas, to be eroded. To the author, the ultimate blunder in the use of modern technology would be the catastrophe of nuclear war. The enormous personnel casualties coupled with critical physical damage to industry, to agriculture, and to the biosphere, require that the nation as a whole—not merely the military experts and political leaders—reach an informed decision before initiating this ultimate assault upon our civilization.

The complexity of modern science and technology is such that the average citizen must rely on the scientist to be informed, and the scientist must in turn be sincere in his efforts to inform the citizen on matters of science and technology. He must firmly reject any personal or political input, lest public confidence in the scientist be degraded.

Science and technology have already, then, created problems which require close understanding and cooperation between scientists and citizen, and the new solutions will have far-reaching economic and social consequences. Of the existing problems created as a byproduct of scientific and technological advance, only one cannot be resolved once set in motion —nuclear war. In the words of the author, "The greatest moral crime of our time is the concealment of the nature of nuclear war, for it deprives humanity of the solemn right to sit in judgment on its own fate; which condemns us all, unwittingly, to the greatest dereliction of conscience."

Dr. Commoner has written a doomsday book for the layman. Written from the direction of science, it is a frankly one-sided view down the tunnel of history, but it is a view with which social scientists should be familiar. As Dr. Commoner says, "Science can reveal the depth of this crisis, but only social action can resolve it."

—John K. Rouleau

Science and Survival, *by Barry Commoner. Viking $4.50.*

The General Takes a Hard Look

General Twining, who was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1957 to 1960, has written a sharp and readable criticism of US national strategy since World War II and of the organization of the national defense on which that strategy has been based. His criticisms stem from his conviction that there has been no change in the determination of the Soviet Union ultimately to destroy the power of the United States and of the frec world and that the national strategy has failed to recognize this threat. Instead, through the containment policy and what he describes as vague notions of limited war created by scientists, political theorists and others, including Department of State officials unfamiliar with the nature of war, the United States, according to General Twining, has operated under a series of self-imposed restraints that have

dangerously restricted its initiative and eroded its strength.

A sounder, more rational policy, in the General's view, would have been to put the Soviet Union on notice that the United States stood ready to commit its total military resources to the defense of its vital interests and did not fear nuclear war for itself, its allies or civilization. Inherent in such a strategy would be a greater reliance on the political-military judgment of the professional military establishment and substantially less on that of the civilians within the Department of State as well as those within the Department of Defense whose centralized authority he deplores.

The specific circumstances in which such an alternative policy would be invoked are not as detailed as the criticism of what the General describes as the current "no-win" policy and the workability of the proposed alternative is taken for granted.

—JAMES J. BLAKE

NEITHER LIBERTY NOR SAFETY—*A Hard Look at US Military Policy and Strategy, by General Nathan F. Twining. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, $5.95.*

Foreign Policy-Fundamentals and Measurements

THE burden of Professor Cantril's book is that it is possible for the United States Government to determine the psychological impact of its foreign policies by means of certain tools which he describes. More, he contends that these tools are barely known to those who make and articulate policy.

In the key chapter of "The Human Dimension," entitled "The Psychological Dimensions of Policy," Cantril stresses the need to take into account the feelings of other people wherever they happen to live and to discard the defensive, cold-war stance that has prevailed since the end of World War II.

Most of this slender volume consists of reminiscences and comments on various research projects in which the author was involved over the past two decades. These seem to be more appropriate for a book of memoirs but policy officers should find his remarks on psychological objectives useful.

On a related subject but designed for a different reader is a newly revised textbook by the late Dean of the School of International Service in Washington, D.C., Charles O. Lerche. In addition to his administrative and scholarly work, Professor Lerche lectured on American Policy and International Relations before student groups in several European countries and acted as Academic Consultant to the Naval War College. Those of us who knew Dr. Lerche were impressed by his articulate intelligence, precise realism and warm personality. These qualities are reflected in "Foreign Policy of the American People." In it, the fundamentals of American foreign policy are cogently explained in clear, easy-flowing language and the interplay of the democratic process with the demands of a global foreign policy is emphasized. The student or general reader should have no difficulty understanding the author's account of the historical, philosophical and political developments of American foreign policy and its relation to continuing political, economic and military issues. The latter section of the book is devoted to the "psychological area" where ideological concepts, propaganda, morale and mass communications are discussed. He concludes with a plea for a convincing expression of American leadership and power coupled with a clearer understanding of American motives and intentions. While any text-book has its limitations, this one has few rivals for comprehensiveness and realism.

—FRANK J. LEWAND

THE HUMAN DIMENSION: EXPERIENCES IN POLICY *Research by Hadley Cantril. Rutgers, $7.50.*
FOREIGN POLICY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, *by Charles O. Lerche. Prentice Hall, $8.25*

Why is the Peace Corps
living allowance
not an unmixed blessing?



Because it prevents Volunteers from drinking but forces them to gamble.

Illustration from "It's Fun to be in the Peace Corps," a book of cartoons by Volunteer Janet Pitts, former commercial artist now community developer on the Bolivian altiplano.

Project Concern

MANY a book with a moral or play with a message can bring on lethal boredom—not to mention guilt feelings for being bored. Noble purpose ought to transcend bungled execution—but sometimes doesn't.

Fortunately, none of this applies to "Vietnam Doctor." This inspiring story (with a subliminal message) is inherently interesting and interestingly told. Like Dr. Seagrave's "Burma Surgeon," it tells of humanitarianism, heroism, selflessness, and practicality in overcoming difficulties of every sort.

Dr. Turpin, a missionary doctor, established four *Project Concern* medical clinics in Hong Kong and then moved on to a *montagnard* village, about 150 miles north of Saigon and in the Vietcong-infested highlands, to treat the ill of that region. What his work meant to his patients in the slums of Hong Kong and the mountains of Vietnam, as well as what it meant for himself, his wife and four children in terms of daily living—is related in personal, anecdotal style that induces a sense of immediacy and participation. There is much conversation, human interest and local color; there is a happy absence of whimsy, overwrought idealism and ideological sermonizing. That the story of *Project Concern* is so very well told may be due to the expert collaboration of Al Hirshberg, a professional writer.

"Reader identification" with Dr. Turpin and his family ought to be very easy for those in the Foreign Service, especially in the Peace Corps, who are also serving in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

VIETNAM DOCTOR, *by James W. Turpin. McGraw-Hill, $5.95.*

Out of Myth Into Fact

RETURNING from almost four years in the Philippines, I honestly wonder whether Americans as a whole understand a great deal about the Philippines; and conversely I would hazard the view that Filipinos, despite much awareness of things American and models of behavior thought to be American in inspiration, really do not understand our country much better than we do theirs. . . . Great contact we have had, but a greater contact has not uniformly led to deeper knowledge and understanding." These were the words of a Department official recently, addressing one of the sessions which the American Assembly has been holding to the mutual benefit of both countries on the subject of Philippine-American relations. And they ring true to those of us who deal day-in-day-out with the convoluted layers of psychology in which these relations often appear wrapped by both sides.

The present two volumes form an essential compendium to the deeper understanding of the Philippine-American partnership, its nature and

implications. We are indebted to Dr. Corpuz, now Philippine Undersecretary of Education, for a lucid and sometimes novel, throughout succinct, interpretation of the historical and cultural antecedents and the distinguishing characteristics of the modern-day Philippines. If few of his readers will agree with all of his judgments, few certainly will fail to come away with a better perception of why things are as they are and, despite possible laments, tend to remain that way.

As to the Assembly volume, a listing of its expert contributors alone should suffice to attract both the student and the practitioner really interessed in coming to grips with the complex and often vexing problems in this quite unique relationship of the United States. They include S. P. Lopez with a long view on the essence of the colonial relationship, Thomas McHale explaining the transitional Philippine society, Dr. Corpuz and George Taylor dissecting, respectively, Philippine foreign policy and our mutual security problems, Frank Golay and David Wurfel with illuminating contributions on the economic and psychological problems of "decolonization," and Benito Legarda and R. Y. Garcia on how future economic collaboration can be assured on a new basis. All in all, a foremost contribution to mutual knowledge by the American Assembly.

It is time for dispassionate examination of the Philippines by Filipino scholars, as Dr. Corpuz has done, and it is time for the Philippine-American relationship to be thrust from the mythological realm in which it has bathed into the sharp light of fact to which the Assembly scholars subject it.

—Paul M. Kattenburg

The Philippines, *by Onofre D. Corpuz. Prentice-Hall, $1.95.*
The United States and the Philippines, *edited by Frank H. Golay. Prentice-Hall, for the American Assembly, $3.95.*

On Credibility Infrastructures

Polygots who have institutional expenses accounts enabling them to collect books on nuclear strategy, arms control, and international insecurity, may, if they are ever uncertain as to the meanings of the words so much in use in these fields, find this a useful addition to their libraries. It contains acceptable brief definitions in English, French and German of about 175 of the most frequently employed terms of strategic analysis. The French and German definitions are usually—though not always—translations or paraphrases of the English-language ones. There is enough variety in the definitions of the French and German entries, however, for there to be more to the book than a simple rendering in French and German of the mostly American original technical vocabulary of the subject.

The respective spirits of the three languages come through well: "broken-back war" becomes a relatively orderly sounding "bataille des restes" and a stolid, unimaginative "nachnukleare Kriegsphase." One would have liked to see how these and other terms read in Russian.

—Thomas A. Donovan

Strategic Terminology: *A Trilingual Glossary, by Urs Schwarz and Lazlo Hadik. Introduction by Louis J. Halle. Praeger, $6.75.*

Divers Facets of AID

The chief merit of this uneven collection of essays, reports, and interviews is its resounding endorsement of the primacy of human resources in the process of national (not just economic) development and consequently the importance of what Professor Elliott, in his introductory chapter, calls "political training." He calls upon both the foundations and the government to contribute funds for "the most important form of mutual assistance, namely, the education of leaders, officials, and technical support staff who can ground economic development on political stability and the necessary technical and professional competence." The remainder of the book rings variations on this central theme.

The chief weakness of this volume is that it is dated. It stems from a 1960 Harvard Conference on education and economic development, and most of the individual contributions appear to have been written about that time. It is useful to have them under one cover, however; and the book also helpfully reprints the recommendations of the "Slater report," which, although almost equally dated, nevertheless contains a great variety of interesting program proposals.

The reader is struck by the relevance—not to say prescience—of much of this material in the light of such recent developments as the growing recognition of "political development" as inescapable concomitant, condition precedent, or real objective of the AID program, the addition of Title IX to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966, and the passage of the International Education Act of 1966.

We are frequently reminded today that the AID program — especially technical assistance, which deals with people and is therefore most directly related to political development—is designed to promote political and social, as well as economic change, together with the attitudes and skills that facilitate acceptance of and accommodation to change. This volume provides considerable authoritative ammunition for those elements and individuals in the AID Agency who are moving in this direction.

—Martin M. McLaughlin

Education and Training in the Developing Countries: *The Role of US Foreign Aid, edited by William Y. Elliott. Praeger,* $7.50.

A Polemic by the Committed

In "The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam," the overwhelming question raised, at least by implication, is whether the US Government really wishes a political settlement in Vietnam (as it says) or whether its unavowed but actual goal is not a military "victory."

Having examined the interpretation of the indigenous politics of South Vietnam, international pressures for a negotiated settlement, and the military actions of the belligerents from November 1963 to July 1966, the authors of the book believe that they have found a recurrent pattern: "Movements toward a political settlement have been retarded or broken off by American intervention, most of which have taken the form of military escalation."

In suggesting that the US Government has seen the chance of a negotiated peace in Vietnam as a threat rather than a promise, and has therefore intensified warfare in response to pressure for political accommodation, the authors concede that, in constructing their thesis from public sources of information, they have lacked all the evidence essential to a full and balanced picture of policy formation and its consequences. Moreover, in also noting the limitations of their evidence, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. opines that they do not give due weight to "the military necessities that may at times have rendered an enlarged American role imperative; nor do they always see that negotiation gestures out of Hanoi can be exercises in political warfare too."

The authors of this work, three faculty members of the University of California at Berkeley, have been active and vocal in their opposition to US Vietnam policy. What they have produced is not the result of disinterested scholarship; it is a polemic by

the committed. What heuristic value their speculations may have had in July 1966, when the book was completed, has been much diminished by the march of events since them.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

THE POLITICS OF ESCALATION IN VIETNAM, *by Schurmann, Scott and Zelnik. Beacon Press, $3.95.*

NATO In A Nutshell

WHAT used to be the NATO Handbook, a slim booklet, has evolved into a full-fledged book: "NATO, Facts About the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

In a preface, the present Secretary-General of NATO, Manlio Brosio, modestly disclaims any intention of producting "an exhaustive and definitive study of the origins and structure of NATO." Nevertheless, the book, within its span of 319 pages, contains nearly all the information on NATO that the average reader will require. In addition to its solid informative text, it contains a long list of maps and charts. It is to be commended likewise, for its excellent index. All libraries will find the book indispensable.

—JOHN CONQUEST

NATO: FACTS ABOUT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, *Nato Information Service, Paris. Distributed in the US by Manhattan Publishing Company, 225 Lafayette Street, New York. Cloth bound, $7.50; paperbound, $5.00.*

"Independence or Death!"

THE terrible decimating war of Paraguay against the triple Alliance of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay has been swamped in American and European eyes by their respective contemporary histories which comprised the American Civil War; Maximilian's monarchial venture in Mexico; the Austro-Prussian attack on Denmark and Spain's efforts to recapture parts of her lost empire in the Americas. The period 1864 to 1870 was indeed a busy time for parochial Euro-America. The events which shook the wide sweeping La Plata region contributed to the overthrow of slavery and of monarchy in Brazil; restructured Paraguayan politics and society and probably saved Uruguay from extinction, passed almost unnoticed here. That Shiloh, Antietam, Gettsyburg and the March to Sea are matched by Ytororo, Curupaity, Tuyuty and the Via Dolorosa; that Vicksburg is matched by Humaita; that Carlotta was outshone by Mrs. Elisa Lynch and that, within limits, Jeff Davis and Lincoln are comparable to Marshall Solano Lopez of Paraguay and Emperor Don Pedro of Brazil comes as a surprise bordering on shock to most Americans. Yet the dead of both sides in the Paraguayan War totaling some 350,000, the bitterness of emotions, the skill of the campaigning justify entitling this a major conflict. 220,000 Paraguayans died leaving only 28,000 male survivors outnumbered by their Paraguayan women more than four to one. Such proportional loss of manpower has never been equaled.

Other world events and poor communication facilities contributed to this lack of knowledge, yet an understanding of this devastating war is essential to an understanding of relationships and developments of a major area of South America. Charles Kolinski, a former FSO now teaching at Florida Atlantic University, has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of an area and period as much studied and extolled in South America as it is neglected in North America. "Independence or Death, The Story of the Paraguayan War," abounds in data on places and events; on personalities and plots; on pre- and post-Paraguayan War political events in the four countries involved. If the reports of military campaigns seem a bit tedious and explanations of some of the personal relationship and rivalries a bit detailed, the author may be excused in view of his successful efforts to break historical virgin soil as far as Americans, almost without exception, are concerned. Mr. Kolinski's comments upon the effect of the war, on the development of professional armies; the end of slavery in Brazil; the establishment of the republic in Brazil; the political unification of Argentina; the permanent opening of the Parana River to international commerce and the confirmation of Uruguay in its independent status as a buffer state between Argentina and Brazil, are enlightening and show a sympathetic understanding all too absent, if not entirely lacking, in available and readable publications. It is hoped Mr. Kolinski will continue his efforts in this field.

—JOHN M. CATES, JR.

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH! *The Story of The Paraguayan War, by Charles J. Kolinski. University of Florida Press, $6.50.*

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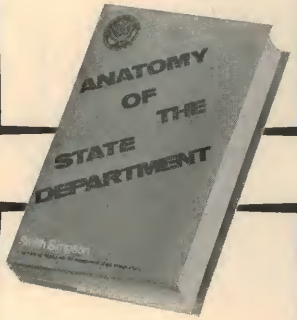
"Whatever the disadvantages of so-called secret diplomacy may have been, can it be claimed that the airing of national dislikes and prejudices in uncontrolled language, whether at the United Nations or over the radio, is less likely to lead to international friction?"—Sir Neville Bland, preface to the fourth edition of Satow's *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (1957)

Anatomy of the State Department

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PATRICK ANDERSON,
New York Times Book Review

". . . a trenchant examination of an ailing bureaucracy that, as the author says, very largely perpetuates its errors through the years. I hope it will be widely read."
MARQUIS W. CHILDS



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DALMATIA

(*Continued from page* 38)

word that he would help if others did likewise. Dubrovnik's emissaries prodded their friends in Rome to set an early example, and obtained shipments of grain and the dispatch of a company of engineer soldiers. Spain promised men and supplies, which arrived after a long delay. The King of France, involved in war with the Dutch, confined himself to polite words of sympathy.

The bustle displayed by the city's emergency government was a boost to morale. Looting was rigorously suppressed, and stern justice meted out to the guilty. A typical example of the improved climate was described by a citizen who had fled to the outskirts and now returned to the smouldering city to see what could be salvaged of his ruined house. He rounded up a surly crew of workers who first demanded everything of value found in the ruin, before they would lift a spade or pick. He then haggled them down to a 50-50 division. By the time the foundations of the house were reached, the men volunteered to reduce their share to twenty-five percent of any recovered valuables.

In a few weeks, progress had been such that the traditional government of a hereditary Senate and a monthly elected rector was restored. But the catastrophe did open a small window to democratic rule. To replenish its decimated numbers the Senate—albeit reluctantly—admitted to its ranks ten members of the non-noble merchant class.

Slowly, the wounds healed. A time of relative peace descended on the region, usually so turbulent. Venice lost its war with Turkey, and entered upon a decline. The Turks in turn, after their crushing defeat at the gates of Vienna, ceased to be a threat to Christian Europe. By dint of hard negotiation Dubrovnik even obtained a reduction of the annual sum payable to the Sultan.

Even nature was forgiving. Although Dubrovnik sits squarely astride the tremulous axis that caused the historic earthquakes of Lisbon, Catania and Messina, and in our day ravaged Agadir, Skopje, Erserum and Tashkent, no major tremor has struck the Adriatic region since. As the 18th century dawned, Dubrovnik enjoyed a modest revival of its trade and shipping. A new cathedral of Santa Maria opened its doors. The arts and sciences flourished in a second blooming, a reflection of that golden afternoon of European enlightenment. It was the era of Ivo Voynovich, whose plays are still given today, and of the physicist Roger Boshkovich, friend and correspondent of Benjamin Franklin. Dubrovnik even lived to see the end of its ancient rival Venice as an independent state, at the hands of Napoleon's armies. Twelve years later, in 1807, the same fate overtook it, and Dubrovnik became for a short while a French provincial city. Dubrovnik took this change in its graceful stride. When Napoleon's star waned, the city experienced a brief but scourging occupation by Russian troops. The Congress of Vienna, boldly redrawing the map of Europe in 1815, awarded the city to Austria, where it remained for more than a century. Since 1918 it has belonged to Yugoslavia.

The world has witnessed natural disasters that have been more destructive than Dubrovnik's Great Quake of 1667. But none, in modern times, came so near to the total extinction of a small and valiant community. By grit and determination, plus an admixture of good luck, Dubrovnik has become a living example of the art of survival. ■

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MARSHALL PLAN: After Twenty Years

(*Continued from page* 26)

missions in all our countries . . . Then, finally, there is [his] relationship with this Organization [the OEEC] in Paris, which has created a spirit of cooperation which is unparalleled up till now . . ."

After the Marshall Plan ended, the Office of the US Special Representative in Europe continued in form. Its content changed. The theater command concept eroded and disappeared, and along with it, two of the functions stressed by Dirk Stikker. The representational function alone persisted, in relation to the OEEC and then in a shifting pattern of relationships that varied with the evolution of European and Atlantic organizations. In time, the representational function was divided among several units, and the transformation in substance was reflected in changes of name.

I do not find the changes surprising. It is perhaps natural that we reverted to type. In this essay, I come to explain the Marshall Plan organization, not to mourn it. I do praise it. It fitted its time and circumstances.

In the conditions of 1948, the general problem of Europe transcended the separate national problems. The general European problem was the principal national problem in each participating state. It was so in fact, and so felt to be by the several governments. It made sense to concentrate upon the problem as a whole. It made corresponding sense to match the comprehensive approach with a comprehensive administrative scheme. The stress on European initiative pointed to Europe as the locus for coordination. The pervasive American supporting role required a continuous American presence. It was not a long jump to the concept of Europe as a theater of operations in which a civilian equivalent of a theater command was required. But many a slip remained possible between the first glimpse of the concept and its effective definition and application. An additional factor was critical to its realization.

The degree of autonomy vested in the Administrator in Washington and the theater-wide authority of the United States Special Representative in Europe involved a large measure of delegation. Delegation to such a degree is only feasible within the scope of a well-established and well-defined framework of national policy. Here I turn again to the quality of the Marshall Plan as national policy in a full and realistic sense, geared into agreed European purposes and policies, sustained at home by government-wide and public support, and made explicit and proclaimed in a statute. This framework of national policy, comprehensively considered and published, and in a sense renewed each year in connection with annual appropriations, constituted the vital additional factor.

Conditions of the kind that made the Marshall Plan pattern of administration feasible and appropriate may not occur often. But they are not necessarily unique. Are we to go on assuming that—except for the case of the Marshall Plan—it will not be suitable to organize overseas activities of the United States in theaters of operations embracing more than one country, and to delegate substantial responsibility to theater officers, except in the military phases of the conduct of American foreign policy? I find it hard to believe that such a limitation inheres in the nature of things, or in the nature of the American system of government. But that again is another story, lying beyond the scope of this article. I do believe that in the conditions of 1948-51, the pattern of administration of the Marshall Plan made possible a quality of direction and coordination that were at least important, and probably indispensable, to the achievement of its mission. ■

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THE EMBASSY (*from page* 30)

Though USIA has been circulating American art overseas since the middle 50's, the program for decorating USIS libraries with original works is relatively new. Already the agency has at its disposal some 800 pictures, all graphics. Some were obtained by purchase, many by gift, and the master collection is growing. If a post indicates what it wants, and is willing to earmark funds from its GOE to cover the costs, Robert Sivard, the painter and veteran cultural officer who runs the program, will try to oblige.

USIA has discontinued its most ambitious venture in arts promotion, responsibility for United States representation at the two big biennial international art shows, which it took over from the Museum of Modern Art in 1964. It handled the American entries in the Venice Biennale in 1964 and at the Sao Paulo exhibition in 1965, and brought in winners in both. The actual selections were made by museums working under USIA grants. Now the Smithsonian Institution has assumed the job.

It is time to inquire why these government ventures in promoting American art have survived and flourished, whereas the earlier experiment was savagely dismembered. One would like to believe that the change reflects a greater maturity, sophistication and tolerance for experiment, in the arts and in other fields. Bob Sivard is one of those who advance this heartening conclusion. It is probable, though, that some credit should go to the greater sophistication and finesse with which the current programs are conducted.

The "Circus Girl" collection was assembled by OIC's own art expert, formerly the assistant director of a major gallery. Doubtless he had the advice and assistance of others in the field. But the responsibility was his, and when the storm broke he and his superiors had no cushion against its violence. O/ART's selections, by contrast, represent a mobilization of expertise that the most mischievous journalist or the most cantankerous legislator would hesitate to challenge.

There is a national committee of twenty-three prestigious personalities —museum directors and curators, critics, executives of corporations interested in the arts. A smaller executive committee does most of the actual work of selection. It comprises, in addition to Mrs. Kefauver, the director of the Kimball Art Foundation in Fort Worth, the Whitney Museum of American Art, the Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, Mass., the Smithsonian Institution's National Collection of Fine Arts, and the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City. All serve without pay, and all, Mrs. Kefauver testifies, are willing and energetic collaborators.

Now as to Congressional relations, It is doubtful whether Mr. Stefan would have liked Kuniyoshi's "Circus Girl" even if he had met her under more auspicious circumstances, instead of learning of her existence first from a derisive news story. But his reaction and that of his colleagues might not have been quite so choleric if they had been properly introduced. Mrs. Kefauver has taken pains to keep the Hill fully posted on her program since its inception. Her own wide acquaintance, as already noted, has been immensely valuable. Frequently a Congressman or Senator, eager to have his own constituency represented in this circulating gallery, will suggest the names of artists, and a number of loans have resulted. The program therefore is pretty well in-

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sulated against foreseeable hazards.

Unquestionably it is giving American artists a public and a potential market far larger and more widely dispersed than they have ever enjoyed before. In Mrs. Kefauver's office hangs a map of the world, bristling with pins. Each one indicates a collection in being or on order. The distribution is not quite universal, but if it keeps spreading at the present rate it will come pretty close. Just a few years back, when pioneer parties were staking out sites for chanceries and official residences in African towns whose very names were unknown to most Americans, it would have seemed the wildest fantasy to forecast that by 1967 American art would be on display in Lomé, Lusaka, Cotonou, Yaoundé and other capitals.

It may be ungracious to raise even a minor question about an enterprise so admirable. But, remembering that Kjarval painting in the drawing-room at Reykjavik, and the glow that kindled every Icelandic face at the sight of it, I find myself wondering if it might not be good public relations to reserve a few square feet of wall space for local artists. Reciprocity is a basic principle in foreign relations, and particularly in cultural relations, as USIS knows well. In one Latin American capital our Ambassador's wife—who had brought a Museum of Modern Art collection with her—invited local painters to exhibit. "I was a firm believer," she writes, "that the American Embassy should express the best of American culture, but a close relationship should be established with the host country's artists. We had one of the best shows in the country. We actually sold quite a few works. This was the first time artists had been so honored, and they did appreciate it." So, one may assume, did the country's political leaders and opinion-makers.

I trust, therefore, that if any Ambassador is offered the gift or loan of an indigenous masterpiece, or takes a fancy to one and buys it for his personal gallery, he will be forgiven if he shuffles the American collection a bit to make place for it.

I must add that no complaints have been registered against the arts program on the grounds of chauvinism, or on any other grounds. On the contrary, it has evoked what is proverbially the sincerest flattery: other countries are eager to imitate it. Several embassies in Washington have asked how it operates; the French request was made at the instigation of Mme. Couve de Murville. Artists in the host countries are naturally excited about the possibilities and are pressing their Ministries of Culture to go and do likewise.

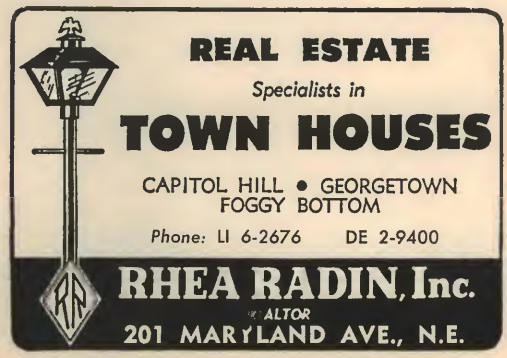
Yes, the world does move. To those who lived through the early struggles to introduce the graphic arts into our overseas cultural program—indeed, to win official sanction for any cultural program at all, "culture" being regarded in some circles as, if not exactly a dirty word, a perfumed and effeminate one*—it must be particularly gratifying to find the United States now setting the pace. Wherever J. LeRoy Davidson, who put together the "Circus Girl" collection, may be now, I hope he knows that the venture that began so calamitously has finally worked out so well.

Former Assistant Secretary (and later Senator) William Benton, who sat in the pillory during that inquisition 20 years ago, certainly does know. It was he who gave O/ART its 39 magnificent Reginald Marsh watercolors. ■

* As a by-product of the 1947 hearings, the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs was renamed the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange.



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AMERICAN WINES

(*Continued from page* 39)

here discuss some of the specifics of the wines to be found.

First, the so-called *varietal wines,* which take their name from the "variety" of grapes from which they are made. For example, the grape that predominates in the most famous red burgundies of France is the Pinot noir. The California wine that most closely resembles them, made from that grape, is also labeled Pinot Noir.

The grape of the great châteaux wines of Bordeaux is primarily the Cabernet Sauvignon; to buy wine made from the same grape in California, you seek a label that says Cabernet Sauvignon. The best of the Beaujolais are from Gamay grapes; the Californians call their wine Gamay or Gamay Beaujolais. The favored grapes for white wines from France's Burgundy are Pinot Chardonnay and Pinot blanc. In California, corresponding wines are called Pinot Chardonnay and Pinot Blanc. Chenin Blanc lends its name to a varietal wine in California. In France it is used in Vouvray, Pouilly Fumé, and other Loire wines. Rhines and Moselles come from Riesling and Johannisberg Riesling. Sauternes, Barsacs, or Graves come from the grapes known as Semillon and Sauvignon blanc. The Californians label their wines with the names of the grapes. There are even some American varietals whose foreign antecedents have been lost. Zinfandel, a delightful, usually light, red is one such; Green Hungarian (this one is white) is another.

In these California "Varietals," the producers have changed the names from the long-used "generic" names of European origin, in order to get away from Old World "place" names, and give them an identity all their own. They did it because of pride in their own creations. Today, there is fast-growing acceptance of these wines under their "varietal" names, and many producers in California are making them.

In the East, such names as Niagara, Elvira, Diamond, Catawba, etc., are Varietals, produced from the grapes of these same names. And, because of the persistence of certain growers, there are even a handful of Pinots and Rieslings from New York, from European grapes of these varieties.

Another category of excellent wines is the *generic.* These still use European nomenclature but with origin clearly indicated—California Burgundy, California Chablis, New York State Claret, etc. These are the handiwork of skilled vintners who blend wines to their own precise specifications, which they associate with these time-honored varieties. There is no requirement, as in the Varietals, to use 51 percent or more of any one grape variety, to legalize the use of the name. In fact, one reason for the "Generic" designation is to permit the blending of several wines to a desired standard.

The third category of wines offered for sale by American producers are the *brand* or *proprietary* named wines. These are "special" wines, the product of one vintner, which he blends and markets under his own brand and type name—exclusively his property. He endeavors to develop wines which you will like and return to, time after time. Hence, uniformity is paramount, and a special flavor which can only be found under his label.

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		1965	1966	1967
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Claims paid during year:				
Group Life,	Number	10	15	14
	Amount	$173,875	$235,850	$211,600
Family Coverage,	Number	7	10	12
	Amount	$6,100	$9,400	$10,500
Accidental Death,	Number	0	2	0
	Amount	——	$35,000	——
Foreign Service Benefit Plan		$704,682.01	$908,894.42	$1,062,644.76

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All of the foregoing refers to table wines which, by definition, are wines made to be drunk "at table," to be enjoyed with other foods. They are simply the natural juices of the grape, which by the subtle alchemy of yeast, have had their grape sugar converted to grape alcohol. Nothing more than that, except filtering, aging and bottling—no additions or subtractions. This is unlike the dessert or appetizer wines—the wines with grape brandy added, whereby the alcoholic content is increased to 18-21 percent. This halts fermentation and if there is unfermented grape sugar left in the wine, the wine will be sweet. (Table wines have a natural alcoholic content of but nine to twelve percent). You know these dessert and appetizer wines as Ports, Sherries, Madeiras, Angelicas, Marsalas, and the like.

A FEW DOS FOR WINE

• Open red wines at least an hour before serving, and leave with corks out. Serve them at room temperature or slightly cooler. Some of the light red wines can be slightly chilled with no harm done.

A word here might be in order about the rosé or pink wines. They can be delicious and are rapidly becoming more popular. But drink them where appropriate—with a slice of rich salmon, a pork roast, with an al fresco steak on a hot summer day, when a red wine would seem too heavy. Don't use them simply as a compromise between red and white. They are, and deserve to be, a thing unto themselves.

• Chill white wines and rosés. They can be left in the refrigerator without ill-effect. (Incidentally, wine that has been opened can still be drunk the next day or two. It will not spoil so quickly.) Whites do not need to be opened ahead. Serve Champagnes well chilled.

• Use large glasses even for white wines, preferably 9 to 10 oz. Never fill glass more than about half full.

• Try not to jiggle wine any more than necessary before serving.

• Keep all table wines with corks in a horizontal position (not necessary for bottles with metal cap patent stoppers); appetizer and dessert wines (sherries, ports, etc.) may be stored in upright position.

• Try to store wines at an even temperature. Between 50° and 65° F. is best; I have lost few bottles over the years, even in New York's torrid summers. So don't worry too much except where conditions are tropical or abnormally high over long periods. Then try to air condition a closet, or even better, have your wine supplier keep your cases for you in his proper cooler!

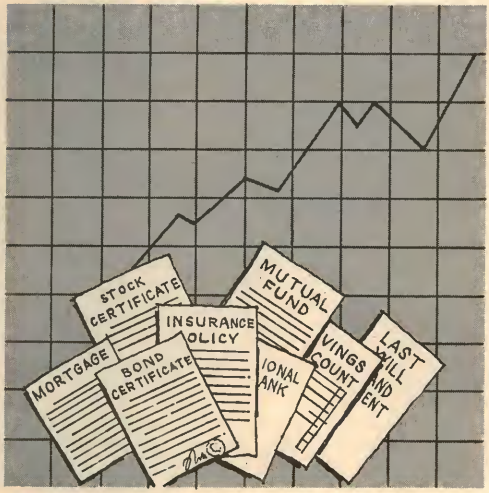
Plato once said, "Nothing more excellent or (sic) valuable than wine was ever granted by the Gods to man."

He was right.

What else has so much good about it, and so little bad? Surely, wine can be overdone. So can Post Toasties or Tootsie Rolls or salted peanuts. Wine *is* the drink of moderation to anyone sensible in its use. Light in alcohol, it is the perfect accompaniment of food. To the simple lunch, it is a touch of genius. To the splendid dinner, it lends magnificence. A little pan broiled trout or a de luxe truffled guinea hen is the better for its accompaniment. Doctors remark on its efficacy and beneficent qualities—as a helpmate of the geriatric; as a new and exciting experience for the young adult, wine knows no second. And as a never disappointing, ever varied, always cheering good companion, wine has no counterpart. The answer to that time-honored old chestnut, "If you could have but one companion with you on a desert island, whom would it be?" My answer is quick, "A bottle of wine—or preferably a case!"

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Mr. Misch, an acknowledged wine expert and a member of the State Department's Wine Committee is the author of a new book, "Quick Guide to Wine" (Published by Doubleday, October 1966; $2.95).*

FOCUS ON FINANCE



A MUTUAL FUND AND PLAN FOR EVERY INVESTOR NEED

By EDMUND J. REINHALTER
Assistant to the President, Loomis, Sayles & Company, Investment Counselors

The first article in this three-part series discussed the concept of the mutual fund or investment company, the dramatic growth of this investment medium in the United States and the key benefits that mutual funds provide investors. This article deals with the types of funds available to the investor and the primary methods by which funds are sold.

Types of Funds Available

All references in this article to mutual funds or investment companies will refer to what was defined earlier as the "open-end" operated investment company—that is, a fund where the investor may purchase or redeem shares at any time.

The dramatic growth and increasing appeal of the mutual fund form of investment has resulted in the development of a large number of funds. They generally fall into one of the following categories:

1. *Common Stock Funds*

   As their name suggests, common stock funds provide investors with a broadly diversified portfolio of common stock investments. As a matter of general policy, holdings of bonds and preferred stocks are negligible. For those willing to maintain at all times a fully invested position in common stocks and to accept the risks involved, or for those who are willing to manage their own reserves and are competent to judge the proportion of their capital which should be in equities the common stock type of fund is a good investment medium.

2. *Balanced Funds*

   The portfolio of a balanced fund includes not only a diversified list of common stocks but also diversified holdings of fixed-income securities—bonds and preferred stocks. As a general rule, common stocks will represent between one-half and three-fourths of the portfolio's market value. A more or less fixed proportion of this nature compels the portfolio managers to realize profits as stock prices rise and reinvest them during a down phase in the stock market cycle. A balanced portfolio clearly possesses protective or defensive qualities lacking in the all-stock funds, and for this reason the value of shares tends to fluctuate somewhat less than the value of the shares of funds committed exclusively to common stocks.

   The balanced type fund is a suitable investment for those seeking long-term growth in capital and income without assuming the risks inherent in a fully invested stock position.

3. *Specialty Funds*

   This large group includes funds designed for a specific purpose. It includes funds participating in certain industry areas and funds specializing in providing high income return. There are funds which provide tax-exempt income and there are tax-free exchange funds developed for investors whose primary problem is having large unrealized gains in holdings of individual securities. These are commonly referred to as "swap funds." Also included in the specialty group are funds specializing in foreign stock holdings, although the direct sale of shares of this type of fund has been generally suspended since 1964 with the establishment of the interest equalization tax.

   While this article concentrates on the open-end fund, the recent introduction of the "dual investment fund" requires some comment as well. After an initial offering period, these funds are to be operated as closed-end funds. Basically, they attempt to serve two types of investors simultaneously: those seeking current income return and income growth and those seeking maximum capital appreciation. Operating on the leverage principal, this specialty type of fund, as introduced in the US, to date has an equal dollar amount of two classes of stock—income shares (preferred) and capital shares (common.) Each class of stock while contributing only 50 percent of the capital, has 100 percent of the fund's capital working to achieve its specific objective, with all income accruing to the benefit of the preferred shareholders and all capital appreciation to the common shareholders.

The following table shows the breakdown of mutual fund assets, by type of funds:

MUTUAL FUND ASSETS BY TYPES
(000 omitted)

	Total Net Assets 12/31/65	% of Total	Total Net Assets 12/31/55	% of Total
Diversified Common Stock	$24,028,700	66.4	$4,370,700	55.6
Balanced	7,646,000	21.2	2,400,600	30.6
Industry Specialized	1,815,100	5.0	203,600	2.6
Income	1,415,300	3.9	432,500	5.5
Tax-Free Exchange	800,700	2.2	--	--
Canadian & International	230,900	0.6	208,900	2.6
Bond & Preferred Stock	252,400	0.7	240,300	3.1

Source: Investment Companies"–Wiesenberger–1966 Edition

INVESTMENT OBJECTIVES OF FUNDS

In general, it can be said that most mutual funds have three basic objectives. The first of these is to provide shareholders with a participation in the long-term growth of either a single industry or a diversified group of industries. The second of these is to provide shareholders with a reasonable and growing return on their investment consistent with a prudent assumption of the risks involved. The third is to attempt to achieve increases in share values and in income over a period

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of years which will tend to offset shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar. Therefore, a minimum objective of a portfolio manager is to maintain in real terms both the shareholder's principal and the income which he receives over a period of time.

In selecting a fund for investment, it is important for the prospective investor first to determine his needs because there is no one fund that is the answer to all objectives. After determining his needs, the investor must select the fund whose objectives satisfy his particular goals. There are over 350 investment companies now existing and the prospective investor has a wide range of competently managed funds from which to choose.

WHO USES MUTUAL FUNDS

Originally intended for the investor of moderate means, mutual funds have gained increasing acceptance among investors of substantial means as well. All economic levels are represented as well as all levels of investment experience. It can be truly said that mutual fund shareholders as a group represent a cross-section of America. As expected, however, the majority of shareholders are not in the higher income brackets. A recent survey shows the median income of shareholders to be in the $11-12,000 range. The median shareholding was approximately $6,500 for those who had made lump-sum investments, and almost $4,000 for those accumulating shares under a periodic payment plan. ■

Fable of Our Time

ONCE upon a time it was proposed to create a unified military service of Union of Ralaira. The purpose was to mold all those concerned with military affairs, no matter what their present affiliation, into one larger, happier, more flexible organization called the Union of Ralaira Military Service. Under the new integration, internecine feuding between Army, Navy and Air Force would disappear and smaller fringe organizations, such as the Marines, Rangers and Special Forces, would no longer feel the anxieties of unimportance—of being left out of the mainstream of our military community. The generally demoralizing concept of elite groups would thus be eliminated. Service jealousy over uniform designs and colors would disappear with the adoption of a new "smart grey" uniform. All officers would henceforth be designated Union of Ralaira Military Officers (URMO's). Contract or short term employees would become URMR's and supporting personnel URMS's. A transitional group, designated MILITARY AFFAIRS OFFICERS, would be created with the purpose of withering slowly away. Within three years, any person concerned with military assistance would be integrated as a URMAID.

No longer would the assignment process be dependent upon the fickle pleasure of senior officers or subject to the whim of individual preference. Rather it was envisaged that each URMO, in his totality, would be impartially programed on MARK IV Personnel Servicards to be fed in random order to the MARK IV URISERVAL Assignment Machine. The costly process of appeal, which today only invites complaint, engenders personal animosities and promotes outworn "subjective" criteria of judgment, would thereby be eliminated.

All categories of personnel, regardless of designation, would receive retirement benefits heretofore available only to URMO's. After all, what is service on the front lines compared to the frustrations and neuroses of the Ralairan Constabulary H. Q. or the crush on Ralairan Trams at 6 p.m.?

Moral: As Clausewitz said, "War is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument, a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means."

LETTERS to the EDITOR

The Argyris Technique

I WOULD like to add my comment to those that have cautioned against a too hasty rejection of the conclusions of the Argyris report. Those of us who have not actually participated in one of the study groups must of course withhold a final opinion on the overall value of the operation. However, we may still ask that the powers that be give the possibilities of this technique the most serious consideration.

I think we should be especially careful to do so because of our institutional predilections. In the past 20 years, the Department and the Foreign Service have shown relatively little (although increasing) hospitality to the findings and techniques of the social sciences and the humanities, although the work being done in these fields should be, as a matter of course, part of our regular stock in trade. In fact it seems that the voluminous work being done for the military by the social scientists—which ought to concern us and interest us as much as a new wrench should intrigue a plumber—seem to be of little interest here. This is so, even though the new ideas, insights, and techniques especially of the last ten years, might well simplify and make more exact large parts of our work. (Not everything the social scientists have to say assays out as pure gold; the lesser ones produce a spectacular amount of trivia, usually written in Choctaw.)

Nor have we shown any special talent for institutional adaptability in the face of demands for change from outside our institutional borders, or those called for by historical change. The price of institutional freedom is usually the willingness to seek out the need for, and administer internally the self-regenerating steps required by changing times and changing circumstances. If this simple (and universal) rule of institutional survival is not heeded, a price is exacted and it is usually the loss of more rather than less freedom of action. The history books and political science texts are full of examples, and no group of people is more directly concerned professionally with them or should know them better than the Foreign Service. I think it can fairly be said that the unhappy price for our institutional failure to read the signs accurately, and adapt to Congressional demands for some lateral entry in the early 1950s, and thus head off Wristonization, is now being paid for by its victims.

Stewart Alsop wrote an eloquent piece in a recent SATURDAY EVENING POST, enjoining the world (including Mr. Argyris) to leave the Foreign Service and the Department alone. I agree. I also believe that the way to insure being left alone by our critics is to so manage our own affairs that no reasonable grounds for outside tinkering exist. Perhaps the Argyris technique is one way to develop the continuing critical, institutional self-examination I believe we need. Perhaps it is not. But since our forte does not especially lie in adaptability or willingness to innovate, we should be particularly careful to compensate, in fact over-compensate, for these sometimes fatal bureaucratic deficiences. We must force ourselves to consider carefully what is new, whether we want it to appear on our doorstep or not.

WILLIAM M. KERRIGAN
Washington

Record of an Experiment

CHRIS ARGYRIS, in my judgment, is neither entirely right nor entirely wrong. Argyris, in focusing on the interpersonal problem, has put his finger on a part of the problem. He fails, however, to recognize that the alleged inefficiency of the State Department is more a function of the complexity of the world in which we live than of either organizational or interpersonal inadequacies. The most significant fact about foreign policy remains that any government's influence in dealing with foreigners, or even its own citizens, is limited. Yet we certainly do need to improve our performance, and clearly, we should try to learn what we can from the social psychologists.

Now it is a commonplace to note that the principal asset of the State Department is its personnel. If exposure to the social psychologists leads to a significantly better performance by only one or two officers (to say nothing of the several hundred participants so far), it is not inconceivable that the overall savings to the US will far exceed the costs. If we accept three propositions:

—first, that the Foreign Service has something to learn;
—second, that professional social psychologists have something of value to impart; and
—third, that how FSOs handle or mishandle situations can have momentous consequences,

the odds make social psychology at several hundred thousand dollars a year a good betting proposition for the State Department. I'm prepared to testify personally that I believe the marginal utility to me—and I hope to the Department—of the expenditure on my week of "Sensitivity Training" was higher than that of any week of FSI training to which I've been exposed. Of course, language and other training in skills is indispensable but it takes longer and costs more.

I would like to report on what John Stutesman called "a mini-lab" involving myself and my immediate colleagues in the Office of Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs (EUR:RPE). It was my experience that the officers of RPE and I benefited from a "team-building session." It concentrated on the process of office operation rather than on operating issues. RPE's experience, though a limited one, may be of some interest.

Following preliminary discussions with the staff, it was eventually decided on a collective basis to give social psychology a try, despite a great deal of skepticism.

Accordingly, the entire staff met outside the office one Friday from noon until almost midnight. It would not be right to say that anything sensational developed. Far from it. And it is probably true that there were few surprises for any of the participants. Nor, obviously, was there time for "head-shrinking." Yet, the discussion brought a few underlying tensions into the open where they could be looked at and discussed in a way that clearly had not been possible within the office itself. Nor, and this is an important point, could the necessary atmosphere have been generated and the issues posed so helpfully without professional help from outside the office. Among other things, officers could and did light into the Office Director apparently with less concern over the consequences than in the normal office setting. The Director and the other participants enjoyed this; especially the other participants.

One key question—and doubtless not a unique question—dominated the talk. Why couldn't the system be more open? Why did so many FSOs play their cards so close to the chest? Virtually everyone wanted to know more about what was going on at higher levels in the Department. Over and over, the question was asked, "What the hell goes on here, anyway?"

At the same time, general staff meetings were criticized for being boring, for their failure to focus on significant issues and for their inflexible routine. The limited office staff meeting in which the Director, Deputy Director and the Officers-in-Charge participate appeared to intrigue nonparticipants. There was a demand to receive guidance more directly from the top. The discussion permitted others to point out that pressures of time and requirements of efficiency often made this impossible.

The group discussion was also of some interest in focusing on roles in the Department. I was surprised to discover that there was a good deal of simple misunderstanding about this, coupled with a sense of remoteness from senior officers. Yet the patent inability of principals in a large organization to deal regularly with all of the staff was recognized as beyond remedy. Still, airing a shared frustration by itself seems to have helped make it less of a cause for officer discontent.

Some minor bureaucratic feuds between RPE sections and officers were brought into the open and freely discussed. These were incipient troublespots about which I was well aware and which I was trying to control. The group examination of the relations broadened my understanding of what the different officers concerned thought was at stake. More important, they developed a different perspective on the RPE effort as a whole and a new insight into colleagues' aims and motivations. In my judgment, there has been a significant improvement in "teamwork" in the office since the session.

A critic may reply that neither the meeting nor explanations should have been necessary. I can only testify that they were. And I believe morale has improved as a result, with all that that means in performance terms.

There were other concerns that emerged as well. There were tensions and resentments caused by problems with secretaries, by pressures to put in overtime, and by difficulties in transportation. They are now at least better understood, even if we are still struggling with remedies.

The discussions also revealed frustration at the lack of comprehension elsewhere in the Department and in other parts of the RPE operation. A number of officers thought it would be well to extend team-building sessions to include representatives from other parts of the Government with which RPE frequently finds itself in conflict. There is much to be said for this. Adversary proceedings—too frequently conducted as bureaucratic battles—have their value. But could they not be conducted with more of an eye on the cooperative purpose?

All of the points set down here now seem obvious. There was probably a certain prior awareness of all of them. Perhaps with more sensitive leadership changes, including variations on the staff meeting theme, would have been made without the team-building session. But one of the values of the team-building technique and of the ACORD Program generally is that it forces participants to think systematically and analytically about issues which are all too often relegated to the background or even deliberately suppressed.

DEANE R. HINTON

Washington

Reductio

YOUR article about the "Argyris" Report, the report itself, and correspondence about it in the JOURNAL lead me to conclude that foolish questions elicit foolish answers.

JO W. SAXE

Washington

EDITOR'S NOTE: The correspondence on this subject is now closed.

And Even Fathers of More Than Ten

I have been following with interest and sympathy the various successes obtained by the Junior Foreign Service officers through the activities of their own special lobby, the JFSOC. I was especially struck by their success in getting due recognition of their promotion needs and in having an issue of the Foreign Service JOURNAL "consecrated" to the "Junior Foreign Service Officer."

My observations led me to a conclusion which fair play and altruism demand that I pass on to other categories of Foreign Service officers whose needs for recognition, promotions and meaningful career opportunities may be no less deserving. I am thinking, for example of: senior officers, middle grade officers, bachelor officers, married officers, officers over the age of 40, officers under the age of 40, officers who married aliens, integrated officers, female officers, generalists, specialists and officers on loan to other agencies. My conclusion is that each of these categories would be well-advised immediately to found an association along the lines of the JFSOC.

While the list of categories mentioned above is by no means exhaustive, I would suggest that the number of such associations be held down to twelve. This would permit the Foreign Service JOURNAL in the course of a calendar year to "consecrate" an issue to each category.

DONALD S. HARRIS

McLean, Virginia

Two Wishes

EVA A. MCKAY begins her letter in the April JOURNAL by designating me as "the Foreign Service's historian." That designation is so flattering, and pleases me so much, that I wish I could thank her for it in person. I also wish that she could have had the good fortune to have known my dear old friend and chief, the late Homer M. Byington.

JAMES B. STEWART

Denver

"Like Quills Upon the Fretful Porpentine."

WASHINGTON LETTER's search for the most beautiful line in all literature seems headed down a dubious path with the incarnadining of the multitudinous seas. Maybe the passage is great theatre, but one must be uneasy about its status as literature. Shakespeare himself had the wit to taper off after his word binge, and at least you should have let him finish, thus:

Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No, this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.

But I applaud your instincts. Shakespeare should certainly be represented in the race. If you are inclined to scratch the red and green entry, you may wish to substitute the following. Besides eschewing sanguineous turgidity, this passage commends itself as being of possible utility in the daily Washington round; for example, it might be used as prologue in explaining to the boss why you have been three weeks clearing a Joint Message:

I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood.
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotty and combined locks to part
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.

HUGH K. CAMPBELL

Washington

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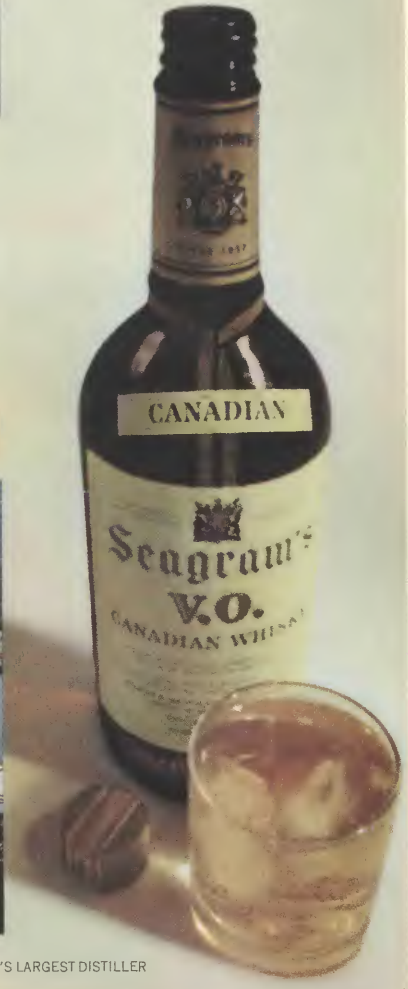


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