The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

VOL. 23, NO. 2 FEBRUARY, 1946

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Department of State at the corner of 17th and Pennsylvania Ave.
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The American Foreign Service Association is an unofficial and voluntary association of the members of *The Foreign Service of the United States*. It was formed for the purpose of fostering *esprit de corps* among the members of the Foreign Service and to establish a center around which might be grouped the united efforts of its members for the improvement of the Service.

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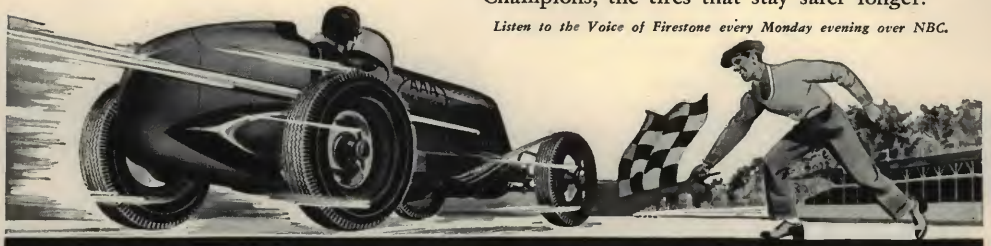

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VOL. 23, No. 2 WASHINGTON, D. C. FEBRUARY, 1946

Some Suggestions on the In-service Training Program of Foreign Service Officers

By FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS, *Assistant Chief, Director of Training Services*

Introduction

Foreign Service officer training falls naturally into two categories—the basic or introductory training of the new officer, which should indoctrinate him into the spirit and purposes of the organization, train him in the fundamental techniques of the Service and provide him with a body of general experience which would be the indispensable foundation on which all Foreign Service careers are to be built; and secondly, in-service training, diversified and adapted to the interests and aptitudes of individual officers, the aim of which would be the development of the abilities of the officer who has been in the Service for a number of years.

In general, it may be said that the primary aim of introductory training should be to adapt the officer to the general work of the Service, and to make him an efficiently functioning member of the organization, possessing appropriate sentiments of loyalty and group spirit. In-service training, on the other hand, should seek to deveop individual abilities and special aptitudes. Thus the one form of training should stress elements which are desired in all officers, as a part of their professional equipment; and the other should be concerned with the diverse potentialities of the many different officers, which should be developed in various directions in accordance with the needs of the Service.

Frank Snowden Hopkins

In the proper architecture of an over-all training program, the two kinds of training should be carefully balanced, so that there is enough introductory training to assure a thorough basic knowledge of the Service and a deeply ingrained loyalty to its ideals and purposes, and at the same time enough encouragement of individual abilities to make sure that each officer's maximum usefulness can be developed and made available to the organization. The writer has set forth his ideas on the training of the new officer in a previous paper; the present one will deal with the in-service training which should be provided for the further development of the young officer in the lower and middle grades of the Service.

The Nature of the Training Process

It will perhaps be helpful to state at this point some of the premises upon which the discussion in this paper will be based. First of all, a statement should be made as to what training is. In this paper, training is not thought of merely as a matter of pro-

viding organized instruction, either in or out of classrooms; rather, the training process is conceived broadly as the purposeful control of all the factors which enter into an individual officer's development during the entire course of his career. Perhaps the phrase "personnel development" should be used as conveying more meaning than the word "training."

Secondly, training is always a twofold process, a combination of theory and practice. Basically, man learns thorough doing, and it is the actual handling of responsibilities and solving of practical difficulties by Foreign Service Officers which more than anything else will develop their abilities in the field of human affairs. But while learning-through-action is fundamental, learning-through-thought is scarcely less important. Certainly intellectual understanding is one of the indispensable foundations for a Foreign Service career. It is not enough for the officer to have had a sound background in academic studies before entering the Service. He also needs throughout his career the kind of off-the-job educational interludes which will supplement his learning on the job and will make increasingly meaningful to him the experiences which he undergoes in the performance of his everyday duties.

This supplementary education should play an important role in the officer's development. The opportunities provided should renew and refresh his feeling for his own country and its people, by bringing him periodically into contact with the thoughts and feelings of articulate homespun Americans; they should increase his knowledge of the modern world, by providing him with a wide range of new information; they should stimulate and enrich his thinking, by bringing him into touch with first-class minds in various fields of effort; they should provide him with increasingly efficient "tools" in the form of language skills and knowledge of geographical and sociological problems; and possibly most important of all, they should provide him with leisure and detachment for reflection, so that he can integrate his ideas and his experiences into carefully thought out personal convictions, which will be the guiding rules of his actions in years to come.

A third consideration which should be made clear at the outset is the goal of the training process. One goal is certainly the development of Foreign Service Officers who will be well-fitted at maturity to handle positions of major responsibility, and who will be able to serve with judgment and distinction as chiefs of mission, counselors of embassy, counselors of embassy for economic affairs, or consuls general in charge of important posts, if assigned abroad; or of handling responsibilities of equivalent importance in the Department of State, if assigned to Washington. But in addition to grooming men for the top positions, a training program must also take care of providing efficient officers all along the line, including men of specialized competence to handle a host of technical subjects which in this modern age have become the everyday subjects of American diplomacy. In other words, there must be leaders, and there must be specialists. And in that state of perfection of which one may dream, the leaders should possess some measure of specialized knowledge, and the specialists should not be without some of the imagination and initiative of the true leader.

In-Service Patterns for the General Officer

For the sake of clarity, the discussion in this essay will be confined to officers of career, including both those who remain general officers and those who specialize. The more complicated problem of in-service training for the specialist, recruited from outside the Service and therefore lacking the basic general training of the career officer, will be reserved for treatment in a separate essay.

First, what of the general officer—that is, the officer who sticks to consular and diplomatic work and strikes out along the traditional path of general reporting, protection of American interests, negotiation and representation? What kind of in-service training program would best aid him to grow in stature and fulfill his potentialities?

The distinction was made a few pages back between introductory training, covering the period of indoctrination and basic experience in the techniques of the Service, and in-service training, to develop the individual abilities of officers who have had this general foundation. A further distinction may now be made between two kinds of in-service training: (1) intermediate training, which would deal with the officer's development through the middle grades of the Service, and (2) advanced training, which would be for outstanding officers only, to prepare them for the top responsibilities of the Foreign Service and the Department of State. In this paper the emphasis will be on the intermediate period.

During the introductory period, the officer will have had both basic field experience and some organized instruction in Washington. It may not unreasonably be assumed that in future years he will have had something of the nature of the "basic year" in the United States, proposed by Dr. DeWitt C. Poole, which would include three months of travel about the country, language and area studies, lectures and seminars on various phases of foreign affairs, and experiences which would give him insight into the workings of the Department of State. Those who go through such a program will, in Dr. Poole's words, bear in common "the intellectual and moral stamp of one basic training experience."

Whether the "basic year" in the United States comes after one year in the field, or three, or five, the proper line of demarcation between introductory and in-service training should be placed at the conclusion of this climactic year. From this point we are not dealing with new officers, but with men who

have survived a rigorous period of apprenticeship and probation, and who now have their feet on the ground and some very definite ideas of the directions in which they should like to develop.

Either at the beginning or at the end of the "basic year," it would seem highly desirable that some sort of "pattern" be set up for the post assignments of the individual officer, so that his experience may be concentrated either in some one geographical area or in some particular branch of Foreign Service work. The aim should not be to make a specialist of him, but to develop him into a general officer with one or more fields of particular competence. If he wants to become an out-and-out specialist, that is another matter, to be dealt with in a later section of this paper. For the moment let us consider the general officer.

A decision, then, should be reached as to the individual's pattern of development. Should he prepare himself for a career in Latin America? Should he dig into the Moslem languages and concentrate on the Near and Middle East? Should he spend a peirod of years on economic reporting and become a general officer with special competence in problems of international trade? Should he be pointed toward eventual work in Russia, and given assignments which would prepare him broadly for such a career? Should he not specialize at all, but make a career of diversity? A group of officers who have worked in all parts of the world, and who have done a wide variety of tasks, might well be a useful asset to the Service.

For the individual officer, the decision reached at this time could be the most important one to be made during his entire career. And from the point of view of the Service, the hundreds of decisions that would be made would in the aggregate determine the future resources of the Foreign Service in terms of men fitted to undertake assignments for which specialized competence is needed. It is believed, therefore, that it would be desirable to have the individual officer, at or near the end of his introductory years, interviewed by a board composed of responsible officials of the Office of Foreign Service. One member of this board should most certainly be the chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, or an assistant chief representing him. Another member might he the chief of the Division of Training Services, or an assistant chief acting for him, and a third might be either the chief of the Division of Foreign Service Planning, or one of the principal officials of the Office of Foreign Service itself.

However the board is constituted, it should have power to make a binding decision on the pattern the officer's career is to follow. The officer should be interviewed carefully and sympathetically. His interests and aptitudes should be determined, and the possibilities for fields of concentration discussed with him, just as a college dean might discuss with a freshman his plans for selecting his academic major. The aim of the committee should be, on the one hand, to see that sufficient men are being concentrated in each important branch of Foreign Service work to meet the future needs of the Service, and, on the other hand, to steer the young officer into the field in which, all factors considered, he should be able to develop most effectively, both for his own best interests and the welfare of the Service. Quite possibly the number of officers interested in one of the more popular fields—say, for example, European political reporting—would be out of proportion to the foreseeable need in that field. The board should then steer enough officers into the less popular fields to right the balance.

To save the time of the board, there probably would have to be one or more persons acting as secretaries to it, to do preliminary interviewing and get the facts of each case assembled. When an officer appeared before the board, each board member should have in front of him a succinct memorandum giving the essential facts of the case, with a statement of what the officer himself wants and what the secretary recommends after studying the case. In no situation, however, should the recommendation of the secretary be merely rubber-stamped; every case should be worth the personal attention of the board itslef.

At any rate, once the decision is reached, both the Division of Foreign Service Personnel and the Division of Training Services should do everything they can to implement it. As far as it can be worked out within the exigencies of administrative needs, post assignments should be made with regard to the pattern decided upon for the individual officer. And the Division of Training Services should maintain continuous contact with each officer, to see that he gets area and language preparation and other training opportunities which would be useful to him in his field of concentration.

In order to keep specialization within desired limits, a decision would have to be made as to the length of time an officer should spend in his field of concentration. The desirable period probably would vary from five to ten years, depending on the individual case. Ten years would perhaps be a convenient period of reference in making plans. Some officers might be kept in a field of concentration—say, for example, Latin America—for the entire period; others might be given some diversified assignments in addition to those in harmony with the major theme. The essential principle to be preserved is that during the ten years immediately following his "basic year," each officer, except those deliberately electing to make a career of diversity, should be concentrated for the majority of the time on some one area or functional division of Foreign Service work.

Off-the-Job Training Projects

Training given in the United States to Foreign Service Officers detached from post assignments for such a purpose can be either specific or general. Since the officer will have a fairly generalized educational experience during his "basic year," it may be assumed that for the next few years following this interlude his primary need will be for instruction that is practical and specific. At the same time, every individual program, no matter how practical or technical, should include opportunities for refreshment in the general atmosphere of American life.

Some of the possibilities are as follows:

(1) The officer would be ordered to Washington for a month's consultation prior to taking up a new assignment. During this period he would be briefed by the appropriate geographical and economic divisions, he would hold conferences with other department officials who are interested in the area to which he is going, and he would be assisted in getting additional background and information by the Division of Training Services. An officer in charge of in-service training would talk over his problem with him and arrange special conferences and experiences which would be of value. Among possible projects which could be worked out in even such a brief period would be to spend several days in a Government department or agency or some other institution which deals with the area or the problem in which the officer is interested; to travel to some city within a few hours of Washington, to confer with some lay authority on the area or the problem, and get the benefit of that authority's expert views; to spend a few days in a commercial or industrial establishment within a few hours of Washington, in order to acquire technical background and obtain the viewpoint of the men engaged in the enterprise; or to collect reading matter in the form of books, reports, magazine articles, pamphlets, etc., which the officer could take with him to his new post and peruse at his leisure.

(2) The officer would be assigned to Washington for two, three, or possibly four months of training before starting for his new post. In such a case the Division of Training Services could arrange somewhat more extensive courses of instruction for him. Intensive language instruction should be provided the officer and his wife if they do not speak fluently the language or languages of the country to which they are going. In addition, area studies should be undertaken. Lectures and seminars dealing with area problems should be going on continuously, so that at almost any time of year that an officer might come to Washington he would find courses being given in his area of particular interest. Quite possibly, language and area courses would be offered on a quarterly basis, and the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, in arranging for training assignments, would be able to time them in such a way that the majority of such assignments would be dated to start at the beginning of a calendar quarter. The area courses should contain very specific material on the economic and political structure of each country, which should be given out in printed or mimeographed form for study by the officer and for his permanent reference. Such material should contain organization charts of the country's governmental structure, graphic displays showing the relationships between the main political parties, charts showing in simplified form the principal economic enterprises of the country and their relationship to the Government, social stratification charts, and such other graphic material as would most quickly orient the student in regard to the country. There should be actual lists of all important American business, industrial, religious, philanthropic and educational organizations in the country, with notes on the importance of each. This graphic and written material should be discussed and made meaningful in lectures and seminars conducted by people who know the country thoroughly from recent actual experience. The climactic lectures should deal broadly and imaginatively with American interests and policies in regard to the country in question. Extensive reading lists should be prepared and given out.

In addition to very specific courses on area problems, a related course, which could be of great value if conducted properly, might be offered. This would deal with some of the basic concepts of sociology and social anthropology, and would have as its purpose to acquaint the Foreign Service Officer with the tools of analysis used by modern social scientists in their studies of human societies. While time would not permit an extensive study of this subject, it is believed that the most useful concepts could be made meaningful in a few well-organized, vivid lectures, supplemented by carefully chosen reading matter. The minimum goal of such a course should be to make the officer realize that the ways a foreign people thinks and behaves are determined by the total cultural milieu, which in turn is rooted in ancient folkways, language patterns, religious concepts, traditions, and institutions. Customs and ways of thinking are never merely quaint or accidental or stupid; they are the expression of a national psychology which is determined by over-all cultural patterns. The officer who is oriented in these concepts can begin to approach his country of assignment in the spirit of an amateur anthropologist, who has some systematic idea of how to go about analyzing and understanding what he sees and hears.

For the officer who is to have from two to four

months of training between assignments, there are many possibilities for obtaining specialized background of great practical value. Along with language and area training, and, in some cases, instead of this type of training, he should have a program of observation of American life, which could be worked out for each individual officer by an appropriate official of the Division of Training Services. The program could include periods of work or of observation in divisions of the Department of State, or of other Government agencies. Even more important in most cases would be field trips within the United States to visit industrial plants, business houses, newspaper offices, radio stations, universities, art museums, technical institutes, agricultural experiment farms, aviation laboratories, oil fields, or whatever other projects or institutions would be of special value to the individual officer. Similarly, the officer should attend any meetings or conferences dealing with subjects in which he is interested and should meet and talk with as many Americans as possible who are specialists in these fields. His travels should not be too hurried, but should include enough leisure to absorb experiences and get thoroughly acquainted with the people in whom he is interested. He should complete such a tour as a better informed American who knows what is going on in his own country.

(3) In the third case, an officer might be detached from duty and assigned to the Division of Training Services for a protracted period—any from six to twelve months. We are still thinking of a general officer in the lower and middle grades of the Service who had his "basic year" perhaps, and even one or two short training assignments in the United States subsequently, but is beginning to get out of touch with the United States and needs a fairly complete experience in American life to reorient him in the thoughts and feelings of his countrymen, bring him up to date on what is going on in business, industry, politics, social movements and the world of ideas, and reinvigorate his thinking.

All the projects which were mentioned for the shorter training periods could be included in various measures for the officer who comes home for the longer period. However, the greater amount of time at the officer's disposal makes it possible to consider a special experience which might be of very substantial value and could form the *piece de resistance* of the training assignment. It is proposed that when a substantial number of officers are available each year for extended periods of training, an arrangement be entered into with four or five of the country's leading universities to take them in as "Foreign Service Fellows" and make them special guests for a semester or for an academic year.

A reference to the writer's personal experience will help to make vivid just what is in mind. Several years ago, when Harvard University first established Nieman Fellowships for newspaper men, the writer was fortunate enough to be chosen as one of the first group of Fellows. He was at that time 30 years of age and had been out of college for approximately a decade. He had an accumulated thirst for knowledge and for stimulating ideas, as did his eight companions. The experience was intensely invigorating and satisfying, affording, as it did, opportunities for associating with a body of distinguished scholars and teachers and participating in the intellectual life of one of the world's great centers of learning. A fairly extended description of this experience may be found under the writer's by-line in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1940 ("Quest for Wisdom: How Nine Newspaper Men Spent a Year at Harvard").

(*To be continued in the next issue*)

IN MEMORIAM

SOWELL. Ashly B. Sowell, Commercial Attache at Panama City, died on July 10, 1945.

BAKER. Joseph Richardson Baker, former diplomatic officer and State Department official died on January 5, 1946, in Palm Beach, Florida.

RAVNDAL. Mrs. G. Bie Ravndal, wife of retired Foreign Service Officer G. Bie Ravndal and mother of Christian M. Ravndal who is Counselor of Legation in Stockholm, died in December in Orlando, Florida.

MARRIAGES

SATTERTHWAITE-CASPARD. Mrs. Leyla Caspard and Foreign Service Officer Joseph C. Satterthwaite were married on December 18, 1945, at Tecumseh, Michigan. Mr. Satterthwaite is Assistant Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs.

PARKS-MENCHERO. Miss Rosario Menchero and Mr. Neil Parks were married on December 29, 1945, in Washington. Mr. Parks is assigned to the Office of the Foreign Service.

HORSEY-LEE. Miss Mary Hamilton Lee and Foreign Service Officer Outerbridge Horsey were married on January 2, 1946, in Baltimore, Md. Mr. Horsey is assigned to the Division of Western European Affairs and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Foreign Service Association. Mrs. Horsey's father was one-time Minister to Guatemala and Ecuador.

GODLEY-PARAVICINI. Miss Livia Paravicini and Foreign Service Officer George M. Godley were married on January 4, 1946, in Rye, New York. Mr. Godley is assigned as Third Secretary at Brussels.

Report on Legislation Affecting the Foreign Service

By CARL W. STROM, *Assistant Chief, Division of Foreign Service Planning*

THE last complete report on pending Foreign Service legislation was made by Mr. Laurence C. Frank in the issue of the JOURNAL for February, 1945. All three bills reported on in that article have become law. One of these was an amendment to the Foreign Service Buildings Act, and another granted relief to certain officers and employees of the Foreign Service who had suffered losses of personal property by reason of war conditions. The third was the Act of May 3, 1945, H. R. 689. At the present time, the following seven pieces of legislation are in preparation or pending in Congress:

1. *Appropriation Bills*

The Department's appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1946 and the first deficiency bill, both of which have been passed, provided, in round figures, $42,000,000 for the Foreign Service. In the deficiency bill, the Department obtained funds to give effect to Public Law 106 (The Federal Pay Act of 1945) in the cases of employees of the Foreign Service whose salaries are fixed by administrative action. A second deficiency bill involving about $3,000,000 and a supplementary bill in which somewhat more than $1,000,000 will be requested are now pending. The purpose of the second deficiency bill is to cover anticipated deficits in Foreign Service appropriations for the current fiscal year while the supplementary bill will provide money to cover the cost of increases that were given under the Federal Pay Act of 1945 to persons whose salaries are fixed by statute. These increases could be made before money had actually been appropriated by Congress whereas specific action in furnishing funds was needed before Public Law 106 could be made effective in the cases of persons whose salaries are fixed administratively.

If the second deficiency bill and the supplementary bill are passed by Congress in essentially the form in which they have been drawn up in the Department, the total appropriations for the Foreign Service for the fiscal year 1946 will amount to $46,000,000, more or less. This is exclusive of funds transferred to the Department to finance the functions of OWI, OIAA, OSS, FEA, and FLC which were turned over to the Department by Executive order.

2. *H. R. 4982*

This bill will provide basic enabling legislation for the Department's cultural and informational program abroad. It was reported out unanimously by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on December 14, 1945, and was expected to be voted upon by the House at an early date. Secretary Byrnes expressed his views on the purposes and need for this bill in a letter of October 16, 1945. The bill, in substantially its final form, was then numbered H. R. 4368 (later renumbered H. R. 4982). The letter follows:

"The Honorable Sol Bloom,
House of Representatives.

"Dear Mr. Bloom: I would like to give my unreserved support to the purposes of H. R. 4368.

"You will recall that the international information functions of the Office of War Information and the Office of Inter-American Affairs were transferred to the Department of State by Executive order on August 31, 1945. President Truman consulted me before this transfer. I did not ask for this responsibility, but I fully endorsed the President's statement that 'the nature of the present-day foreign relations makes it essential for the United States to maintain informational activities abroad as an integral part of the conduct of our foreign affairs.

"There has been controversy over the conduct of our information activities during the war. Mr. Benton and I agree that a peacetime program of information, apart from such expenditures as are later authorized for the so-called cultural program, can be conducted with far fewer people and at far less expense.

"The Department of State now needs basic authority from the Congress for those information activities that may be indicated and that are called for by the President's directive. H. R. 4368 provides that authority.

"In addition the Department needs authority from the Congress to extend beyond the Western Hemisphere the best features of the technical and educational cooperation program. The program in this hemisphere was considered an experiment in 1939. Today it is regarded as an arm of our foreign policy.

"Some phases of this technical and educational program have been extended to China and to the countries of the Near East during the war as an emergency measure.

"In my judgment it is desirable that future activities, developed under such a program, should

(*Continued on page* 45)

Press Comment

MODERNIZE THE STATE DEPARTMENT

By Oswald G. Villard

From The Progressive, December 24, 1945

Ambassador-General Pat Hurley's explosive self-advertising attack upon the career diplomats in the State Department seems, at this writing, to be falling absolutely flat. Should he, however, be able to substantiate his charge at some later time it would reflect much more upon the men higher up in the State Department than those he accused, and on the general organization and methods of doing business of the State Department.

If this sensational assault should bring about the changes in the State Department that are so badly needed, the general will certainly have rendered a real public service. Unfortunately, the facts as to the unfavorable features of our present diplomatic service have been so obvious and have been known and written about so long that I, for one, have very little hope that we shall owe anything to Pat Hurley's explosive appearance upon the first pages.

Plainly, if his charges are true, they would reflect not so much on the individuals involved as upon the system which would permit a man in a great department of the Government to play a different hand from that ordered by the President of the United States and the Secretary of State.

It is not to be denied, however, that looseness of this kind has existed, and does exist, in the Government. Under the last four Presidents there has been a marked tendency of Cabinet members, heads of departments, chairmen of commissions, and other officials, to make public addresses and take positions which constantly have to be disavowed or forgotten as rapidly as possible, with private rebukes for the officials involved.

* * *

One of the worst offenders in this respect is Admiral Land, of the Martime Commission, whose "authoritative" statements about our future maritime policy have caused considerable uneasiness in other countries, and have never seemed warranted by his position, since, in the final analysis, the size of our future merchant fleet and its status will be determined not by him and his fellow-members of the Martime Commission, but by the President and the Congress.

If two diplomats in China have been working against the State Department and the Ambassador, that means that the State Department is not controlling its officials and keeps itself in ignorance of what is being done in its name.

Now I am willing to admit that in the past there have been some routinized diplomats and too many of the old-school-tie type. But I have never joined in the hue and cry that now and then comes to the fore for the reason, perhaps, that I have traveled abroad so much and seen so many of them at work. Thus, I was the first newspaper man to go from London to Berlin, via Holland, travel for a month in Germany and then return via Holland to London after the beginning of the war in 1939.

I was so impressed with what I saw that I wrote an article which was reprinted in the February, 1940, issue of The American Foreign Service Journal, the spokesman and reporter of the career diplomats. In that article I made the following statement:

"I have returned full of admiration for the manner in which our representatives abroad whom I have seen at work, and especially those in Holland and Germany, are buckling to their tasks under extraordinarily difficult circumstances, working day and night, Saturdays and Sundays without thought of self until they are ready to drop.

"I have found them courteous, considerate, eager to help, and always waving aside any thanks on the ground that they are there to be of service. As an American I have been proud of those whom I have met. I know that our foreign service is good, if not better, than any other with which I have been brought into contact. I am strongly of the opinion that, despite the tremendous strain under which they are working, they have preserved their tempers and their human qualities and that there is less red tape than is to be found elsewhere."

* * *

I also wrote that I was the happier to write this favorable comment because my memory went back so far. Just after I was graduated from Harvard I traveled for nine months through the Mediterranean countries, Nothern Africa, Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans, and as I was traveling with my distinguished father I met through him the Ministers and Consuls in the various countries—we had no Ambassadors there then.

They were all of them political appointees. Some of them disgraced us. Most of them were wholly incompetent or uninterested in their work, regarding their jobs merely as a means for existence. Today the career men one finds are usually officials of high-grade intelligence and ability who have profited by service in various countries. They are serious students of trade conditions and of political happenings, and their reports are often of the great-

est value and should be published far more widely than has been the case. When this war came our diplomats often forgot regulations to do everything they possibly could to help Americans and others to escape from the hell that Europe was beginning to be from the first day of this war.

I do not deny that some kept rigidly to their office hours and went home when there were long lines of eager and despairing people waiting to see them. In any service of this kind there are bound to be some stupid or indifferent and lazy people.

But when I think of men like Alexander Kirk, now the Ambassador in Rome, whom I found acting as Charge d'Affairs in Berlin; George A. Gordon, who was Minister to Holland, and George Messersmith, whose superb work as Consul General in Berlin rightly resulted in his promotion to the position of Minister to Austria, I can forget the minority of misfits and still maintain that our service is superior to any other, and especially to that of Great Britain which the British Government is now trying to reinvigorate and democratize.

* * *

Of course there is danger of bureaucratic methods and dry rot creeping into a classified service. It is very hard to prevent their appearance in armies or navies or diplomatic services or Washington bureaus. I gladly admit that there are times when the diplomatic service profits by the appointment of men to some higher positions without previous diplomatic training. But if those specially selected men are Presidential favorites, or just political appointees, they are a danger and sometimes a disgrace, and their work has to be done for them by men under them who do not get the credit they deserve.

Again, I want to point out in reply to the charges that the career men are usually conservative, hidebound, reactionary, and hostile to new trends, especially the charges from the Left, that in the vast majority of cases the laying down of policies is done by the State Department, or the President—Mr. Roosevelt was his own State Department, constantly ignored the Department in Washington which was frequently in ignorance of what was going on, and dealt directly with diplomats, like Robert Murphy and Ambassador Bullitt.

That was enough to wreck the morale of a department, and so is the apointment of a man like Pat Hurley when there are a number of perfectly competent career men capable of doing the job. Roosevelt's habit of appointing admirals or generals as Ambassadors, whether they had any special fitness or not, was another source of demoralization.

What has been even worse has been the inefficiency of the State Department machine in dealing with its own men in the field. I found one Minister in Europe in '39 who told me that he had been cabling from two to seven dispatches every day giving the latest news and telling what he was doing. The war had then been on over two months and he had not up to that time received *a single reply* to any of his messages—not a word of commendation nor of fault-finding, nor of instruction and direction!

He said that he could only assume that he must be satisfying the Department—if anybody read his cables—otherwise he presumed that he would have been rapped over the knuckles. Actually that man was doing the outstanding work in the diplomatic corps in the capital in which he was, but it was never allowed to be known to the general public and the press.

Finally, the men in the field are never adequately paid. Diplomats being sent abroad today are not given an adequate per diem allowance. The Department has never adjusted it allowances in accord with the different living conditions in different countries.

Then, after years of hard work, they may find themselves jumped by men from the outside who do not know the first thing about the diplomatic service and methods. They have to rely on their secretaries and their clerks. Today the career men are facing the fact that the Government is threatening to take into the permanent career perhaps 1,000 of the temporary wartime appointees, so erroneously has the business of the Department increased—it has been called upon since V-J Day to liquidate the OWI and the Foreign Economic Administration, in addition to assuming other functions which it was never intended to operate.

The State Department itself is badly housed, wretchedly organized, under staffed, without adequate clerks and stenographers, or even the tools of the trade. Is it surprising that good men are steadily resigning? That others are highly indignant at the prospect that the Government will break its faith with them and inject into the permanent service, even in the upper grades, men who have been paid from the start of their services more than the bulk of the career men?

* * *

So the next time you feel like throwing stones at our professional diplomats give a thought to their condition, what they are facing, and don't blame them altogether if they occasionally take the wrong direction. Think what it would mean to you if you were a member of a department which had seen in the last few years a constant procession of Secretaries of State, Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Special Assistants, etc, etc.—

Hull, Stettinius, Byrnes, Welles, Berle, MacLeish, Rockefeller, Acheson, Paslovsky, Grew, and many others, and now Dunn, Clayton, Benton, Russell, etc., etc., some experienced and trained, many of them utterly ignorant of their jobs and incapable administrators.

Somehow or other this constant turning over of the personnel in the higher jobs must be stopped if we are to have efficiency, loyalty to the President, and a contented, effective, and keen professional service of younger men bent on making it a life's career and determined to serve their country as well as selflessly as is the bulk of our career men today.

MR. TRUMAN REORGANIZES

By JOHN FISCHER

Excerpt from an article in Harper's Magazine, January 1946

Three successive secretaries have kept the State Department in an almost continuous turmoil of reorganization ever since the beginning of the war. Yet it remains the most criticized, mistrusted, and ineffectual department of government—and Jimmy Byrnes has yet to prove that he will be any more successful than Hull and Stettinius in his efforts to rejuvenate the imperious old lady.

The nub of this intractable problem lies in the fact that the Department has been dominated for the past thirty-five years by a small clique of Foreign Service officers, who have come to regard it as a sort of private club where they could practice diplomacy as a gentlemanly hobby. Traditionally they entered the service directly from one of the Ivy League universities, without once rubbing elbows with business, labor, or the grubbier facts of American life. From then on both their associations abroad and the traditions of their service have schooled them to think of foreign affairs as the special concern of an aristocracy, like grouse shooting, and the less the public hears about it the better.

These men are by no means the coterie of vacant-headed tea-sippers sometimes caricatured by their critics. On the contrary, some of them are appallingly clever. They have a mastery of the dark rituals of protocol which a new secretary finds almost indispensable. They are deeply entrenched in the Department's political divisions and key administrative posts. Their own special kind of civil service makes it impossible to root them out; and it also serves as a barrier against any new recruit, however able, who may lack "proper background." Most important of all, they are virtuosos of bureaucratic intrigue. As one of their recent victims complained: "Those boys don't cut your throat like an honest politician. They pat your back, and then stab you in the kidneys with a perfumed ice-pick."

Because they pride themselves on a profund indifference toward economics, the Department's Brahmins have seldom fully understood the tumultuous events of the past three decades. (This same trait coupled with an open distaste for tradesmen, has not endeared them to American business men operating abroad.) Toward other branches of government their attitude ranges from condescension to a thinly veiled contempt; and as a result the State Department is disliked by nearly everyone else in Washington, and has the most trouble in getting the cooperation of other agencies. Its feud with the Treasury, in particular, has long been an open scandal.

Perhaps the most serious shortcomings of the Foreign Service heirarchy is its failure to develop any interest in the art of administration. On the purely mechanical level, this means that the Department still creaks along with a set of procedures which might have been inherited from an old ladies' home during the Grant Administration. (In the dispatch of cables, which is its main preoccupation, State is slower than any other major foreign office in the world; and the issuance of a passport may take as long as three months.) On the policy level, it means that each of the political offices habitually makes its own decisions in cozy secrecy with little or no reference to the decisions being made by the next office down the hall. The result, as Walter Lippmann recently pointied out, is that "our foreign relations are not under control, that decisions of the greatest moment are being made in bits and pieces without the exercise of any sufficient over-all judgment. . . ."

This state of affairs was tolerable in the days when the United States had small concern with the rest of the world, and wanted less. Today, however, it invites catastrophe.

Hence the repeated efforts to do something about it. The venerable Hull, who wasn't much interested in administration himself, simply drew a new set of boxes on the organization chart and shuffled around the old names. Stettinius redrew the boxes again, repainted the fusty corridors, brought in new furniture and a little new blood, and labored heroically to find out why the correspondence so often went unanswered for weeks on end. Meanwhile the old gang conducted business as usual.

When Byrnes took over he seemed bent upon a reorganization that would really take. His first step was to oust the Foreign Service crowd, for the first time in a generation, from two of its key redoubts—the offices of the Under Secretary and the Assistant Secretary for Administration. Into the first he put Dean Acheson, who suffered many a

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Working Party in the Aegean

By GEORGE M. WIDNEY, *Vice Consul, Salonika*

Out in the middle of the Aegean lies the island of Lemnos, which on a map you will see as a part of Greece and in a Foreign Service List as a part of the district of the American Consulate at Salonika. By plane, the trip from the mainland to Lemnos is not far, but there are no planes to Lemnos. And during the war, the greater part of the small craft that customarily plied the Aegean was destroyed, with the result that the inhabitants of the island—including a number of naturalized and native-born Americans—have been more or less immobilized in the middle of the Aegean. So, Consul General Gwynn decided that if the Americans couldn't get to the Consulate, the Consulate, or at least part of it, would go to Lemnos.

The project had long been afoot, but there were so many persons clamoring for recognition right at our front door that there was no point in traveling afield to gather Americans. However, the situation in Salonika was at last in hand, so the Consul General decided it was time to harken to the Department's instruction, "Procedure for Citizenship Services in Liberated Areas," dated February 21, 1945, which said that ". . . the Department feels that provision should be made for the needs of persons who live at considerable distance from the nearest American office and to whom the present disrupted condition of communication and travel facilities present considerable difficulties."

The capital of Lemnos, Kastron, was chosen as headquarters, and letters requesting assistance were sent to the authorities, and letters of notification to the Americans, who, despite the virtual absence of communications, had been able to bombard our office with letters.

On a Sunday morning in late July, a party of us from the Consulate boarded a British Royal Navy ML (Motor Launch) and took off for "our island." The group included Mr. and Mrs. Gwynn, Mr. John Vafiades, Mr. and Mrs. Plato Jordanides, Mr. Bill Daniels, Miss Lillian Papanicolaou, Mr. Nicko Stamos, and myself. We called ourselves a "working party," but probably we looked more like an invasion force, armed as we were with blankets, office supplies, typewriters, and Forms 213 (a citizenship affidavit entitled "Affidavit by Native or Naturalized American to Explain Protracted Foreign Residence"). And Mr. Gwynn's trusty fly-swatter.

The trip to Lemnos by motor launch takes ten hours. The first hour put us well outside the Bay of Salonika and started us into the Gulf, and the sea had a beautiful early morning smoothness. The second hour the sea began getting rough, and you found people being little amused by remarks about "only eight more hours to go." And the third hour you found few persons to whom to make such remarks. Four of the Greek employees had succumbed to the "unreliable local weather" of the Aegean. Of course, we were in a stretch of water that has had a bad reputation at least as far back as the days of ancient Greece. This was right off the tip of the three land fingers of Cassandra, Sithonia and Athos. At the tip of Athios rises up famous Mount Athos,

Departing from Salonika on Royal Navy ML.

the holy mountain of Greece, about which cluster 20 great Orthodox monasteries, Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, etc.

It was afternoon when we caught first sight of Lemnos, a dun-colored mass of land which from a distance seems devoid of all vegetation. We were a bit disappointed. Some were still feeling sick, all of us were tired and baked by the sun—and now this barren island. But our spirits spurted a bit as we slid past the hilltop citadel which guards the town of Kástron and could see the American flag flying from the town square and the crowds of people waiting at the quay. The ML was too large to pull up to the quay, so we dropped anchor and waited for the two rowboats which had pulled away from the shore. In one boat were the acting sub-prefect and the chief of police, so there was a round of shaking hands before we climbed into the waiting rowboats.

Assembled at last on shore, we listened to the welcome address, delivered in excellent English by a naturalized American, Mr. Nicholas Caravias, which began:

"For the first time in her history, our island has the honor to welcome official representatives of the United States of America."

Briefly he spoke of the admiration and gratitude which Greece feels for the United States. Then we proceeded afoot to our quarters about a ten-minute walk through winding, narrow streets. But first we had to pass through the square, where the crowd cheered and clapped. We felt we were truly wanted.

The island people of Greece have a reputation for hospitality. Certainly on Lemnos we found hospitality that couldn't be surpassed. For our residence, the islanders had turned over to us a large house overlooking the sea. The home was a splendid structure built by a Greek who had become wealthy in England and built the home for his summer vacations on the island. During the occupation it was requisitioned by the Germans. The owner himself died during the occupation. After the Germans evacuated, taking the furniture and valuables of the house, it was closed up. When the people of Lemnos learned of our coming, they obtained permission from the heir in Athens to put it at our disposal, and then proceeded to wire it with electricity and furnish it, complete down to the last work. They even provided an excellent chef. And we had come prepared to camp if necessary! All the furnishings, of course, were loaned by various residents.

And the islanders' thoughtfulness was equal to their hospitality. Surely, we told ourselves shortly after we had arrived, however exhausted we are we shall be required to attend some sort of welcoming dinner tonight, with speeches It was a shock to learn that nothing had been planned for our first night!

This was late Sunday evening. On Monday morning we were shown to our offices — three rooms on the second floor of a private home overlooking the square. Our prospective clients had gotten there ahead of us and had congregated about the open cafe which was on the first floor of the building, and were lined up and down the stars. Old men holding naturalization certificates, peasant women with babies in their arms, youngsters clutching American birth certificates, all wishing to be registered as American citizens. We couldn't but be amazed at the order which prevailed. In Salonika, during the first few months after the office reopened,

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Part of the Venetian-built citadel atop the blister of volcanic rock which guards the town of Kástron, Lemnos. The view is from the window of the residence used by the Consulate working party.

The Foreign Policy of the United States

Lecture Delivered at the Casa Americana by EMMETT J. HUGHES, *Attaché, Madrid*

What Is a Foreign Policy?

ALTHOUGH it has become fashionable in some circles to inquire if the United States has any foreign policy, it is considerably more intelligent to begin with a more basic question: What do the words "foreign policy" signify?

Does the phrase mean only the material—territorial, economic or political—desires of a nation at a given moment in its history? Or does it refer to the ultimate ideals toward which that nation is striving, through war or peace? Is a nation's foreign policy defined by what it does, or what it says, or what it is?

For a moment, let us look at these questions in terms of the much abused analogy between nations and individuals. In any community, the individual human being is concerned with a fairly standardized series of problems which make up his life within that community. He seeks the material welfare of his household, maintenance of his home's security and dignity, education of his children and provision for their future progress, advancement in his own professional career . . . all problems which can be translated into the language of national issues.

In addition—and touching sensitively upon all these matters—the individual must meet the ever present issue of his place in the community as defined by the pattern of human relationships he develops with his neighbors. The definition of these relationships depends upon the answers to certain questions which his associates must ask in judging and learning to understand him. They ask, for example, if he is a person of trust? Is his intellectual strength blended with intellectual integrity? Is he ambitious—and if so, does his ambition consist of the healthy civilized desire to share greater responsibility for the welfare of his community; or it is a predatory ambition which can enrich itself only through the impoverishment of others? Does this individual speak the truth and does the truth he speaks today remain the truth tomorrow? Is he fitted for the position in the community to which he aspires—fitted by character and training and intellect?

In these ways an individual's value must be assessed by his community, and his relationships with all fellow-members of the community must be directed in such a fashion as to provide the answers to these questions. The conduct of those relationships, on the basis of which he is judged, can be said to constitute this individual's "foreign policy."

We see, in terms of the individual, that his contribution to his community is effectively determined by three factors: first—his ability or strength to contribute anything; secondly—the specific nature of the objectives to which he is dedicating his efforts; thirdly, his character insofar as it prescribes for him the legitimate methods he may use in attaining those objectives.

If we apply these same thoughts to the nation instead of the individual, we can see the same principles written in the even larger letters of international relations. And we progress to this understanding: that foreign policy means a nation's use of its strength in the world community to achieve a desired relationship with fellow-nations in a way consistent with its own character and principles. A nation's foreign policy, therefore, is seen as a projection of the national character—an expression to the world of the ideas which bind that nation and inspire it to live.

In the fullest sense, to know a nation's foreign policy is to know its power, to know what that power is striving to achieve, and to know what principles will govern the exercise of that power.

Geographical Necessities

If we were to believe as the ancients in some god whose sole task is to preside over the fate of nations, he would have to be an ambidexterous divinity whose two huge hands—history and geography—would mould national character. For it is from these two sources that there is formed the special stamp—the outward marks and inner attributes—which distinguish each people from all others. And as national character stimulates and guides a people's foreign policy, so is American foreign policy fully understandable only in terms of those formative influences.

Obviously and profoundly, the thousands of miles which stand between the United States and both the European and Asiatic continents have affected America's capacity to grow as well as the nature of its world relations. This separation it was which allowed the young colonies 150 years ago to enjoy a physical security imperative at a time when the nation was not strong enough to risk foreign wars and when no such methods of air travel existed as

could suddenly threaten such relative immunity. This same physical remoteness in recent days has permitted the United States, both after 1914 and after 1939, an important two years or more of mental readjustment, as well as military preparation, before having to enter the European or Asiatic arenas; and the same circumstances have endowed American entry into war with a psychological meaning and impact which have notably impressed neutral as well as enemy opinion in both instances. Finally, this geographical situation has allowed the huge wheels of the American industrial machine to turn without interruption from shells or bombs—an effective immunity which has logically cast the nation in the role of the "arsenal of democracy."

This same special situation on the globe's surface has prescribed a second condition of American political life: the necessity of harmonious working relations with the other Republics of the Western Hemisphere. Without hemisphere unity, the benefits of separation from Europe and Asia would have been more apparent than real. For this reason, even during the times when the passion for isolationism from European struggles was most inflamed, American public opinion has always understood the strategic compulsion underlying Hemisphere unity. This appreciation was first expressed clearly in negative terms, when President Monroe sent his famous message to Congress in 1923—the message conveying the "doctrine" that "the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." This principle has received its affirmative expression in the slow, steady development of Pan-American unity, dating from the time when the first Pan-American Conference was held in 1889. After many reverses and misunderstandings, this unity has come to full maturity in the last ten years, and has reached its finest, fullest expression in the recent accords concluded at the Mexico City conferences.

The entire course of American history has been profoundly affected by a third geographical fact: the presence of enormous adjacent virgin territory through which the original thirteen colonies could expand westward from the Atlantic seaboard. For more than a century the pulse of the American heart beat with the rhythm of the drive to the Pacific, and the fullest energies of American brains and hands were commanded by the ever-advancing frontier to the west. It was a movement further propelled by the great waves of immigration from Europe. Into the area west of the Mississippi alone could have been placed the entire Roman Empire, and this folk movement, which the opportunities of such a territory inspired, was unparalleled since the time when the Germanic tribes swept across the frontiers of that same Empire. And while this gigantic national effort captured the imagination of America, simultaneously the century of relative peace which Europe enjoyed, from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 until the outbreak of war in 1914, brought no international conflicts in the Old World which could compete for the attention of the busy people in the New World.

As a consequence of this advancing of the frontier steadily westward, a fourth geographic factor has come into play: for the United States has become a nation which must defend itself along thousands of miles of coastline on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. These coastlines—blessed though they are with some of the world's finest harbors—deprive the United States of the luxury of concerning itself only with either the Asiatic or European continents to the exclusion of one or the other. An enemy navy dominating the approaches to either coastal area would threaten directly the life of the United States. That is why American soldiers in this war have been hurled in Tunisia as well as Guadalcanal, in France as well as Iwo Jima.

A final geographic factor of profound consequence has been the presence in American soil of unusual mineral wealth. This wealth it has been which has allowed the United States to be the producer of such a large portion of the world's vital resources—coal and iron, oil and copper. These constitute the foundation on which American industry is built—the muscles and nerves of the world's industrial giant. . . . And in industrial wars, such as are fought today, this fact is one of the reasons why there are more German soldiers buried in Tunisia than American, more Japanese than American on the island of Iwo Jima.

Historic Influences

Within these physical limits set by the firm hand of geography, powerful historic influences have shaped the form of American foreign policy. While neither geography nor history creates any inflexible compulsion which forces American statesmen to make a specific decision at a specific moment, both have dictated the factors which American statesmen must take into account, and have limited the alternatives among which they can choose, when any major decision has to be made.

United States history began with a fight for freedom against a major overseas power, and from that fight has come down through one generation after another a legacy of thought and feeling that always

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Diplomatic Warren

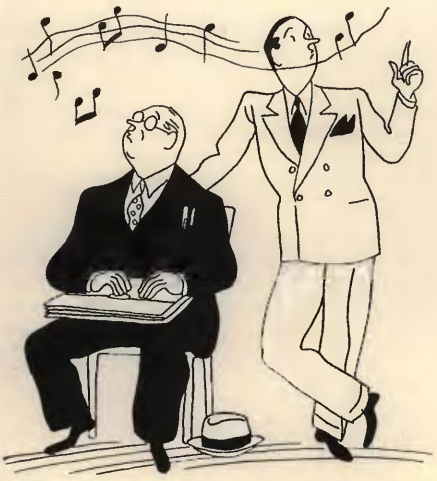
(Being excerpts from the diary of Harold B. Minor recounting some of the tragi-comic effects of overcrowded office conditions at the Department of State

Characters are fictitious. No offense is meant to anyone, except perhaps to those who allot (or fail to allot) office space

DEAR DIARY: The cold, gray building at 17th and Penna. is beginning to lose some of its prison-like qualities and I am almost on the point of believing that there is something in Wilde's philosophy that "stone walls do not a prison make." At least, things are looking up and strangely enough it all came about because of shortage of office space. The best way to explain what I mean is to describe a typical day in one of the offices to which my daily wanderings sometimes take me.

The scene is a warren inhabited by four persons who have under their protective wing relations with six countries. The crowds—office personnel, foreign diplomats (who will be referred to hereafter as F.D.), callers and casual onlookers (who will be termed C.O.) have already assembled and an atmosphere of gay abandon pervades the locale. As I enter, a desk officer (who will be designated as D.O.) is talking to a F.D. on the subject of the future of Palestine. Immediately at the caller's back is another F.D. who is talking to another D.O. but is spending most of his time and effort in listening to what is being said behind him about Palestine. A third F.D. is standing hard by awaiting his chance to get in a few licks about another country but is equally engrossed in the conversation about Palestine. A Rabbi sits nearby (he got one of the eight chairs by coming early) and lends at least an occasional ear to what is being said about Palestine. Several knots of C.O.'s stand by talking on various subjects or humming popular tunes, awaiting their turns. A businessman sits (he also got one of the chairs, since he appears to have spent the night there in the hopes of getting in a few words) in a corner. The even tenor is interrupted only by the constant ringing of the telephones and the chortles of some of the C.O.'s as a particularly good anecdote is sprung.

The tired businessman



The conversation on Palestine warms up well and gets to the point where the D.O. asks the F.D. what in the dickens anyway can be done with Palestine to suit all parties. Everyone in the room is tense as this climax is reached. The other F.D.'s present are alert; the one who has been leaning against the wall momentarily lifts his pencil with which he has been taking copious notes for his chief; the rabbi leans forward; the knots of C.O.'s turn intently toward the speakers. At this point the spell is broken by one of the C.O.'s whose helpful contribution to the dilemma is something like the following: "You can always give it back to the Indians." When the ensuing pandemonium subsides, the rabbi remarks: "Sir, I'll have you know there are no East Indians in Palestine." To this the F.D.'s readily assent. The crestfallen C.O. eats humble pie, remarking, "I was only trying to be helpful, and anyway, I meant American Indians." The tension thus relieved, everyone goes back to his previous preoccupation.

The tired businessman, who had been humming excerpts from Pinafore, smiled appreciatively when I occasionally joined in at appropriate places such as "polished up the handle of the big front door" or "and so do his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." Taking this musical liaison as an introduction, I asked him how he was coming on in his vigil. His plaintive reply was that both his time and papatience were running out and he just did not know what he would do if his business could not be conducted during the course of the day. To impress him with the need for patience and tolerance, I

tackled him in his own field by paraphrasing a song from his favorite comic opera. Using "things are seldom what they seem," from Pinafore, I suggested that after all this might not even be a Government office but more likely was a ward at St. Elizabeth's. He was impressed and carried our little play on Gilbert and Sullivan to a tuneful and logical end by replying, "Yes, I know—that is so." Since he had run out of patience, tobacco and Gilbert and Sullivan airs, he decided to take himself off and return bright and early next morning, bringing his lunch and a victrola with the complete score of "Trial by Jury." His choice seemed sinister and somewhat frightened me.

Turning to a knot of C.O.'s, I was highly amused as one, who had been watching over the shoulder of a typist as she typed a secret instruction on British sterling balances in the Near East, made the naive remark that anyway he had always thought that sterling balances were scales to weigh silver. Turning then to another group I became highly indignant to find them discussing the Tangier Problem. In some irritation I suggested in my best Oxford English (which it is well known all foreign service officers use but which I will admit sounds somewhat moth-eaten in my case when superimposed on a native Kansas twang) that it was neither protocol *nor* cricket to discuss Tangier in that particular room and that they should take themselves off to the African Division where it was likely that some 20 to 50 persons had by this time assembled and where they could have at least as much fun. One protested that I had no authority to move them and that anyway I did not look like an authentic diplomat. Although this is just cause for mayhem, I confined myself to retorting with considerable asperity that I was *so* a real diplomat in spite of the absence of spats and striped pants. (I slipped here for I meant to say trousers, but fell back, in this moment of irritation, into the Kansas colloquial. This is known as a reversion to type or throwback or something like that.) My forceful manner, or perhaps hysteria, convinced them for they took off, making room for other F.D.'s and C.O.'s who had begun to arrive.

While all continued relatively calm, there were minor crises, such as when someone became unnerved by the pleading telephones. (I have been toying with the idea of having these instruments removed because they disturb the tranquillity of these homey get-togethers, but I doubt if I will get support from the bureaucrats.) On another occasion I am afraid I lost that poise for which diplomats are known when a messenger arrived and delivered the secret documents over to the F.D. who was

J. D. Irwin, Illustrator

I was *so* a real diplomat

leaning against the wall instead of to the appropriate D.O. One does not especially like having these outsiders peruse official and secret documents. You find that almost invariably they get finger prints on them, lose your place or take them home in a moment of forgetfulness.

At this point I really had to leave in spite of the fun and get back to my own room before the F.D.'s and C.O.'s there had removed the files and fixtures. I should like to have stayed in in this gay atmosphere until tea and whiskey and sodas were served. Then, too, there might be a bit of dancing later. Bridge, of course, was out for there was no room for a table and anyway, who could concentrate in that bedlam.

So, dear diary, it is fun now working in the State Department and let us hope that we do not have to return to the old days when there was lots of space and when there were only a few people in a room doing dull, uninteresting things. Our work is now so simple. Everything gets done somehow and it does not seem a burden. Whereas in the old days we had to take action on everything that came along, now we find that papers gradually disappear if left on the desk long enough and no action at all is called for. Budgeting is also simple. It makes no difference whether we ask for 14 CAF-4 employees or 4 CAF-14 employees, since anyway no one would know them in the general melee, and in any event they would have no place to sit. So, if they will only leave us in the present state of utter confusion, life in the old, cold, gray building will continue to be just oodles of fun. And so to bed.

Letters to the Editors

Appreciation of Mr. Stimson

Lima, January 2, 1946.

To the Editors,
The American Foreign Service Journal:

In connection with the recent resignation of the Honorable Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War, I would like to recall at this time with gratitude the helpful and vigorous role taken by Mr. Stimson when Secretary of State in trying to improve conditions in the Foreign Service. It is my recollection that to him should go much of the credit in 1931 for persuading Congress for the first time to grant allowances to the Foreign Service for rent of quarters. In this instance and doubtless in many others Mr. Stimson gave the Foreign Service backing which it sorely needed and which it has not always enjoyed.

I would like to feel that I am expressing the viewpoint of the majority of the officers in the Service in expressing publicly our gratitude to Mr. Stimson as well as congratulations for the magnificent job which he has just completed as Secretary of War. To those of us in the Foreign Service who are doing our best to discharge our duties, despite odds and discouragements, in the best traditions of American public service, we cannot help but be inspired by the example of such an exemplary public servant as the Honorable Henry L. Stimson.

Sincerely yours,
Edward G. Trueblood.

Locating the "Lost Battalion"

Washington, D.C.,
December 10, 1945.

To the Editors,
The American Foreign Service Journal:

The "Lost Battalion" letter which appeared in the November issue of the Journal gives the impression that the Department's efforts to obtain the release of Foreign Service Officers from the armed forces have virtually failed. Fortunately that is not the case, and I feel that the Foreign Service should know the facts.

Shortly after V-J Day, letters were addressed to the Secretaries of War and Navy requesting the release of Foreign Service Officers from military duty in order that their services might be used to greater advantage by the Department. Twenty-four such letters were written on behalf of eleven Foreign Service Officers in the Army, eleven in the Navy, and two in the Marine Corps.

The War and Navy Departments naturally were reluctant to make exceptions to their point system for demobilization; however, by persistent efforts in the form of correspondence and frequent conversations, the Department, through the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, has achieved the following results:

(1) All the Foreign Service Officers who were in the Army or in the Marine Corps either have been released or are now in the process of separation.

(2) Of the ten Ensigns and one enlisted man in the Navy, the enlisted man has been discharged and Ensigns are being detailed to the Department. Meanwhile, the Department is continuing to negotiate at the highest level for the discharge of the Foreign Service Officers who, although on detail to the Department, are still in the Navy.

Very truly yours,
William E. DeCourcy, *Chief,*
Division of Foreign Service Personnel.

A Consumer's Cooperative for the Foreign Service?

Consular Section, American Embassy
Brussels, Belgium
December 7, 1945.

To the Editors,
The American Foreign Service Journal:

It was with the greatest interest that I read Mr. Scull's article in the November issue of the Journal regarding the establishment of a Consumer's Cooperative for the Foreign Service and I wish here and now to state that I believe it to be the most logical method of serving the varied needs of our far-flung organization. I think the plan of operation as outlined in the article is quite satisfactory and that steps should be taken to put it into effect as promptly as possible.

However, there is one suggestion I should like to make. If the necessary response from the field is not forthcoming within a reasonable time, might I suggest that a circular instruction, recommending that a poll of all officers and employees be taken, be addressed to all posts. I notice in his foreword that Mr. Tenney suggests that a poll be taken but I fear too few offices will act on his suggestion and I feel that this idea is too important for the efficient operation of our Service to let slide by.

Please count on my wholehearted support in this plan.

Sincerely yours,
Robert M. Winfree,
American Vice Consul.

Why Federal Income Tax for Members of the Service?

American Consulate,
Puerto Cortes, Honduras,
December 10, 1945.

To the Editors,
The American Foreign Service Journal:

Why, I ask, why do we of the Foreign Service stationed abroad have to pay the Federal income tax?

Most of us spend our entire careers outside of the United States. We do not receive any of the benefits of the police and fire protection, superior sanitation, good roads, good postal service, and many other things which those who live in the United States have and take for granted. In other words, our payment of this income tax is exactly tantamount to our having to pay the Federal Government for the privilege of working for it. (I have never heard of such a thing in private business.) I believe it is even unconstitutional, because it is undoubtedly "taxation without representation," one of the cardinal principles we fought for in the foundation of our Government. By the time most of us have been switched from post to post for ten or fifteen years we have even lost the right to vote. We are not even granted the exmption extended to American citizens who habitually reside outside of the United States. We are not even allowed the personal exemption of $1,500.00 granted to certain members of the armed forces. If this is not rank discrimination, I do not know what the term means.

There has been considerable talk some time now about increasing salaries in the Foreign Service. There is one way by which our net incomes could be augmented without one cent of extra appropriations for the purpose by the Congress and that is by the exemption from the pavment of the Federal income tax by members of the Foreign Service stationed abroad.

What about it, brother members of the American Foreign Service Association?

Sincerely yours,
Francis C. Jordan.

Technical and Industrial Assistance

Mexico, D.F., Mexico.
November 2, 1945.

To the Editor,
The American Foreign Service Journal:

The present strong impetus toward public works construction, engineering development, and new industrialization in many countries, as well as the urgent need for rehabilitation in others seems to present a special opportunity to the Foreign Service to do a great work for our own nation and, at the same time, to render real assistance to the peoples of other lands. It does not seem to me that the Foreign Service is now adequately organized to grasp this privilege or to meet its responsibilties in this respect. In the discussions I have read concerning its expansion, I have seen no mention of a specific plan for so organizing the Service.

I am a power and industrial engineer and a considerable part of my business and professional life has been spent in building public works, and in the construction and operation of power projects and industrial plants in Latin America, Europe and the Far East. This work has brought me in contact with our Embassies and Consulates in those regions, and I am glad to say they were always most helpful. Yet, until I joined the Embassy staff here, I cannot remember meeting anyone in our establishments abroad who, I felt, was fully qualified by technical education, background or experience to deal with and report on the many special problems which arise from engineering development and industrialization. These are subjects of great importance to us in our relations with other nations, especially now. They will be increasingly so in the years just ahead.

This Embassy has a Commercial Attache, a Minerals Attache and an Agricultural Attache. I understand that officers skilled in aviation and petroleum problems are to be placed in certain missions. It is obvious that these officers should be technically trained men with specialized knowledge of their subjects. It seems to me equally obvious that there should be, in our principal missions at least, one permanent member of the staff who is an engineer and qualified by technical training and *business experience* to deal with and report on engineering and industrial problems. It might also be practicable to place one officer where he could cover more than one of the smaller missions, such as those in Central America or the Near East. These engineering and industrial matters certainly do now, and will continue to rank in importance in many countries with mining, agriculture, aviation and petroleum.

Our experience here seems to me to be indicative of what is just ahead for many of our missions. Mexico has a large program of public works, irrigation, power development and new industrialization under way, with much more to follow just as soon as the necessary machinery and equipment can be secured. One of the major economic activities of this Mission is dealing with, and reporting on, these important matters, and the Mission has, fortunately, been able to do so to the fullest extent. I believe our experience here has amply demonstrated the

(*Continued on page* 61)

Editors' Column

WITHIN the space of three months the Service and the nation have had to adjust themselves to the realization that two of our ablest diplomatists have become diplomats-emeritus and that their influence on the course of American foreign policy will now be, not through their active direction of affairs, but through the example and the high standard of character-plus-ability which they leave behind them. Men like former Under Secretary of State Grew and Ambassador Armour are not come with every day; and the measure of their stature is to be found no less in the esteem with which they are held by their colleagues of the Foreign Service than by the equally great and perhaps more measured estimation in which they are held by colleagues of other foreign services.

The Service in the past six months has lost through retirement not only officers of the calibre of Mr. Grew and Mr. Armour but others whose contribution to the conduct of foreign affairs has been distinguished and worthy of the nation's tribute. A list of those officers who have retired during the last six months appears on the opposite page.

Lest it be thought that the number of these retirements is unusual, it should be borne in mind that several of these officers were prevailed upon to remain at their posts during the war years in order that their rich endowment of experience could be utilized in the time of crisis. Now that peace has returned, they go to a postponed and doubly well earned rest.

It is well known that following retirement many officers of the Foreign Service feel a moral and spiritual let down. They are like race horses suddenly turned out to pasture. There is no longer the thrill of the urgent telegram and the quick action it demands; nor the constant weight of responsibility which must be borne by any representative of the United States abroad, no matter how high or how low his appointment may be. Retired Foreign Service Officers whose lives have been spent outside their country and whose friends are scattered over the world must, by the nature of their profession, in many instances go through a period of readjustment far more difficult than that of men retiring from professions at home. There may be a natural tendency to feel forlorn, to measure the ingratitude of governments, and to think as the new tide sweeps to sea that one has been left very much behind.

However this pain of separation is more than the price of our profession: it is a measure of the satisfaction which a lifetime in the Service has brought. One of the highest tributes which have been paid to the career was recently made by Ambassador Armour in a radio broadcast in which he said that if he had his life to live over again he could think of nothing finer than to dedicate it once more to the Foreign Service.

Officers retiring from the Service do not really leave it, for it is part of their lives and of its life they are a part. Ours is a service in which none has found fortune, few have found fame but all have found honor. One does not "retire" from such a Service. One merely signs, with great respect, one's last despatch.

* * *

Another name, not found on the current list, which the JOURNAL is particularly proud to honor is that of Ambassador Robert Woods Bliss. As explained by the accompanying exchange of letters, Mr. Bliss was recalled from retirement during the war and served his country as Consultant to the Secretary of State—an excellent example of how the Department can still profit by the wisdom and experience of those no longer active in the career.

We shall always have cause to be grateful to both Mr. Bliss and Mr. Grew for their practical and sympathetic interest in the Service.

In 1935, it will be recalled, Ambassador Bliss offered the first foreign Service prize essay competition, with a generous set of prizes. This contest did much to stimulate officers of the career to an examination of their true values and objectives, and to produce a concrete study of a particular topic—in this case, economics. When the editors of the JOURNAL sponsored a competition in 1944 to develop suggestions for improvements of the service in the postwar era, it was Mr. Bliss to whom they turned first for advice and support. Without his ready response, it is doubtful whether the Editorial Board would have ventured to proceed with a plan which in valuable results far exceeded the expectations of all concerned.

Mr. Bliss and Mr. Grew served as judges in the JOURNAL competition, and by their constructive interest in the numerous manuscripts showed how much they had the Service at heart. Mr. Grew served as President of the Foreign Service Association in 1944-45, while Mr. Armour served as President in 1933-34 and Vice-President in 1932-33.

Among those who reach the top in our career, there are always a few who are distinguished for their tireless devotion to the advancement and welfare of the group as a whole. The JOURNAL salutes these three in particular for what they have done to encourage the rest.

The Honorable Joseph C. Grew

The Honorable Norman Armour

The Honorable Roberts Woods Bliss

FOREIGN SERVICE RETIREMENTS

Effective July 1, 1945:
Geo. A. Gordon — Stephen E. C. Kendrick
Irving N. Linnell — Frank Sullivan
Effective August 1, 1945:
Peter H. A. Flood — Robert G. Glover
Sheridan Talbott
Effective September 1, 1945:
Eugene Dooman — Thos. L. Hughes
Effective October 1, 1945:
Joseph C. Grew — John C. White
Effective November 1, 1945:
Harold L. Williamson — John K. Caldwell
Effective December 1, 1945:
Boaz Long
Effective January 1, 1946:
John S. Calvert — Wyllis R. Peck
Norman Armour — Kenneth S. Patton
Eric W. Magnuson — A. Viola Smith
Cornelius Van H. Engert

The following correspondence was exchanged by the Secretary of State and the Honorable Robert Woods Bliss upon Mr. Bliss's recent retirement:

Consultant to the Secretary,
Department of State,
November 24, 1945.

The Honorable James F. Byrnes,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Three years ago, I returned to Washington and requested reintegration in the Department of State, entirely recovered from two years of invalidism and eager to contribute my share to the war effort. The duties which were assigned me as special assistant and as consultant to the Secretary of State have been of constructive interest and I am particularly glad to have been associated with the department of the Government with which I had previously served for thirty years.

The termination of the war has now brought my specialized duties to an end and I beg, therefore, to be permitted once again to retire from Government service.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT WOODS BLISS.

Department of State,
Washington,
November 26, 1945.

The Honorable Robert Woods Bliss,
Consultant to the Secretary,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Bliss:

I have received your letter of November 24, 1945 in which you point out that the termination of the war has brought the special duties assigned to you to an end and request that you again be permitted to retire from Government service.

As you have rendered long and distinguished service to your country and in view of your expressed wish, I feel I must acquiesce in your request and I therefore accept with reluctance your resignation as Consultant to the Secretary of State.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES F. BYRNES.

News from the Department

By JANE WILSON

Foreign Service Inspectors

The Department seems to be trying to live up to Section 1-10, Note 1, of the Foreign Service Regulations: . . . "Each office shall be inspected at least once in every two years," and has now increased the number of inspectors to five. The Inspection Corps now consists of Foreign Service Officers RICHARD P. BUTRICK, H. MERLE COCHRAN, LELAND MORRIS, ALFRED T. NESTER and WALTON C. FERRIS.

There is a current erroneous tendency of members of the Service to look upon Inspectors as State Department "Gestapo." This idea has evolved as a result of the ignorance of the duties and aims of the inspectors. Not only is it the duty of inspectors, in addition to appraising conditions in the offices, to give field personnel a better understanding of the organization, functions, plans and policies of the Department and of the means by which the Foreign Service can most effectively meet its responsibilities; but to provide a personal medium through which field personnel may submit to the Department their problems, as well as their ideas for the improvement of the Service. An inspector's duties act both ways—he is the mouthpiece of the Department to the field and he represents the individual member of the Foreign Service to the Department.

All of the present inspectors are officers of wide experience and proven ability. They have shown their deep interest in the Service over a period of many years and may be relied upon to hold objective views and welcome constructive criticism.

H. M. Cochran

R. P. Butrick

Leland Morris

A. T. Nester

W. C. Ferris

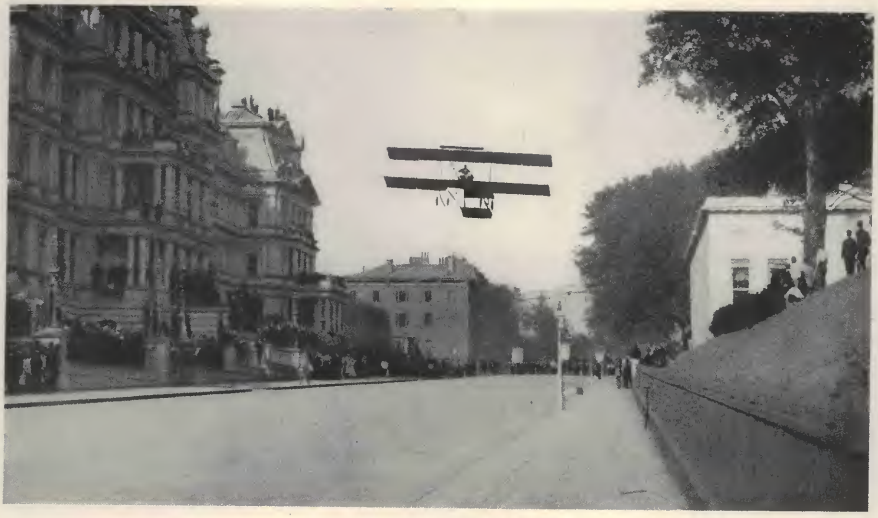
In the recent essays on how to improve the Foreign Service, entered in the JOURNAL essay contest, a great number of the contestants stressed the fact that there should be more frequent and thorough inspection of offices. The Department's recent increase in the number of inspectors seems to augur well for this suggestion for improvement.

An office has been set up in the Office of the Foreign Service as headquarters for the Inspectors when they are in the Department. MRS. FAYE D. HOSMER has been assigned as Administrative Assistant in this office. She is the widow of Charles B. Hosmer, who devoted his entire career, both in the Department and in the field, to the improvement of the status and implementation of the Foreign Service and who was himself a Foreign Service Inspector.

Among those who have been inspectors are: NELSON JOHNSON, J. KLAHR HUDDLE, JOSEPH JACOBS, NATHANIEL P. DAVIS, MONNETT B. DAVIS, GEORGE S. MESSERSMITH, JOHN G. ERHARDT, WILLIAM E. DECOURCY, AVRA M. WARREN, EDWIN C. WILSON, LOUIS G. DREYFUS, JR., LOY W. HENDERSON, LOWELL C. PINKERTON, and WILLIAM DAWSON (Consul General at Large, 1921).

Personals

BRIG. GEN. JULIUS C. HOLMES, former Assistant Secretary of State, will become vice president of the Transcontinental & Western Air, Inc. The company announced that General Holmes will take an active part in the conduct of international relations concerning TWA's



ONE OF THE EARLY BIRDS

On October 14, 1910, the noted English aviator, Claude Grahame-White, flew from the old Bennings Race Track—6 miles across the Potomac River—to the Capitol at Washington, circled the dome, then circled the Washington Monument, and finally alighted with precision in West Executive Avenue, between the Executive Offices of the White House and the State Department. After a brief stop, he rose from the street—but 20 feet wider than his biplane—and returned successfully to the race track. ***From the collection of H. S. Villard.***

overseas routes. Returning to the U. S. in 1933 after being in the Foreign Service, General Holmes became assistant chief of the then Division of Protocol and International Conferences, at a time when the State Department's activities with respect to aviation were centered in this division.

FRANKLIN ROUDYBUSH, former director of a preparatory school for the Foreign Service and also former radio news commentator and Office of Censorship official, has been appointed to the Washington office of the Foreign Liquidation Commission. The liquidation agency was the Army-Navy Liquidation Commission before its transfer to the Department of State. It disposes of all overseas supplies, equipment, goods and property when it is declared surplus by the army or navy.

JONES R. TROWBRIDGE, until recently Vice Consul at Curacao, planned to spend leave with his sister in Augusta, Georgia, before proceeding to his new post at Buenos Aires. He left his collection of furniture and objets d'art in Georgia where they will decorate a wing of his sister's house which he plans to build.

COMMANDER and MRS. GEORGE M. ROUZEE left the first part of January for Lima, where Commander Rouzee is Naval Attache for Air. Mrs. Rouzee is the former JULIA BRETT, daughter of retired F.S.O. HOMER BRETT, SR. LIEUT. COM. HOMER BRETT, JR. is now Assistant Naval Attache in Quito.

Retired F.S.O. MAURICE P. DUNLAP gave a lecture for the Institute of Geographical Exploration at Harvard University on December 17th. The subject of his address was "The Vikings in America". Mr. Dunlap was for many years stationed in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Since his retirement he has spent three years at Harvard in research on the question of the Vikings settlements in America. He recently returned from a visit to Newfoundland where he arrived at some important conclusions on the much-debated subject of the Vikings.

FRANCIS C. DE WOLF, Chief of the Telecommunications Division of the Department and Book Review Editor of the JOURNAL, has an article entitled "The Development of Telecommunications in the Americas" in the December issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union.*

Mrs. James G. McCarger, whose husband is now assigned to the Department, was on the Silver Meteor of the Seaboard Railway when it crashed in South Carolina on January 2nd. Mr. McCarger received an immediate phone call from his wife reassuring him that she had not been injured.

F.S.O. George D. Henderson and Mrs. Henderson completed in January a two-month course in Albanian at Columbia University just before proceeding to Tirana where Mr. Henderson has been assigned Secretary of Mission. The Department detailed Mr. Henderson for this course of study and although the Department's appropriations do not yet include language study for the wives of Foreign Service Officers, Mrs. Henderson was granted special consideration for her tuition by the university. Mr. Henderson is the first F.S.O. assigned by the Department to a university for the study of Albanian. It is understood that the Department hopes to make arrangements for more extensive language study for the wives of the officers of the Service.

Vice Consul Russell B. Jordan writes from Ottawa that a nonimmigrant applicant, completing an informal visa application, when asked what her racial extraction was, turned to a companion and said, "I dunno, but I guess its a pound of tea a month, isn't it?"

Former F.S.O. Andrew Edson, who has been with the F.E.A. is returning to Harvard for his Ph.D. He will write his thesis on the Bretton Woods International Monetary Fund.

The Honorable and Mrs. James Stewart are making their home in Charlottesville, Virginia, at the "Old House at the Farm". This historic house is a pre-Revolutionary building and was the home of the grandson of Nicholas Merriwether, Colonel Nicholas Lewis. As Colonel Lewis was uncle to Meriwether Lewis, the explorer and one of the guardians of Thomas Jefferson, they were both in youth frequent guests in this house. General Tarleton in 1781 established headquarters there.

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former Minister to Norway, spoke to ninety-six new American citizens who were naturalized on January 2 in the District of Columbia Court. Mrs. Harriman emphasized to the new citizens the need for peace in the age of the atomic bomb. Among those in the newly naturalized group was Mrs. William O. Baxter, whose husband handles the Greek desk in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs in the Department. Mrs. Baxter met her husband in 1938 while he was teaching English at a college in Istanbul. Her parents are English.

William W. Butterworth, Jr., Charge d'Affaires at Madrid, will go to Chungking to serve as Counselor of Embassy. Philip W. Bonsal will become Charge in Madrid upon Mr. Butterworth's departure.

Hubert Maness, who served for two years as Vice Consul in the Agricultural Attache's office of the Embassy at Rio de Janeiro, has an article in the December issue of *Agriculture in the Americas* entitled "Brazil's Sugar Industry". Mr. Maness is now assigned as Assistant Agricultural Economist in Chungking.

Mrs. Anne Hemmerich, wife of Vice Consul Harry F. Hemmerich, recently assigned to Adelaide, is an artist of worthy note. During their recent assignment in Lagos, Nigeria, she held art classes composed of Europeans and Africans (primarily the latter), none of whom had any previous formal art training. Mrs. Hemmerich's work, depicting African scenes and life, together with many samples of her students' paintings are to be exhibited throughout the United States by the American Federation of Art. Arrangements for this exhibition were made by the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the State Department as a means of disseminating portrayals of African life as well as displaying African talent.

To Observe Greek Elections

Dr. Henry F. Grady, former Assistant Secretary of State, will head a mission to observe the elections in Greece which are scheduled to take place on March 31, 1946. The mission will consist of approximately 500 American military personnel selected from the European and Mediterranean Theaters who will proceed to Greece from Italy and a civilian group of about 75 persons which will leave Washington for Athens in January and February. There is no parallel for such an observation—by invitation—of one country's elections by citizens of another on such a scale. Britain and France also accepted the Greek invitation to send observers, but Russia declined.

Foreign Service Officers taking part in this mission are: James H. Keeley, who has been assigned as Counselor of Embassy at Athens, will be working with the mission as Special Assistant to Chief of Mission Henry F. Grady, to assist Mr. Joseph C. Green in the indoctrination of the military personnel in their duties as election observers. Foy D. Kohler is Secretary General of the mission and William Barnes is Administrative Officer. Philip Ernst, assigned as Vice Consul to Izmir, will be detailed to the mission to be on the staff of Mr. Kohler.

He's Got Something There

General Hurley told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the only trouble he ever had in

(*Continued on page* 36)

Instruments of American Foreign Policy and Organization of the Foreign Service

From the "Eighth Report of the House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning"

The organization of the Department of State in Washington is weakened in the judgment of the committee in two respects in its foreign service:

1. The career service of the United States is not put upon a basis of comparable attraction in allowances, as well as in salaries, to hold the best talents in the foreign service. Comparable grades and responsibilities of the foreign service were found to be less well remunerated and with less rapid promotion in the foreign service than in the permanent departments in Washington and on a much less adequate basis in the same respects than the temporary war agencies. The committee strongly urges the consideration of Congress for strengthening the usefulness of the career service by insisting in its appropriations to the Department of State on a recognition of the more expensive living conditions abroad and appropriate salaries and retirement allowances. The type of information obtained and the execution of foreign economic policies must depend upon the caliber of the personnel retained in the foreign service.

2. The second general point is the lack of appropriate scope for promotion in the economic sides of the foreign service of the United States and the consequent tendency of officers to prefer appointments in the political side of the foreign service, rather than in the economic side. Missions in the most important European capitals, where the Russian and British Governments were represented by a very large staff and by the top-ranking officials both in service and in pay, were found to be restricted in scope and in the rewards available for distinguished service to our diplomats who were on the commercial and economic side of the legation or embassy staff. The committee would like to pay tribute to the devotion of many Americans who have loyally served their country for the greater part of their lives abroad under these difficult conditions and the high caliber of the representation which we found. It was nevertheless recognized that in many missions it would be difficult, if not impossible, to retain in the foreign service of the United States not only the higher-ranking personnel but the clerical staffs and research workers and special officers in postwar conditions. It seems to the committee of critical importance to make the foreign service of the United States rank in its ability and consequent influence with that of Great Britain, Russia, France, and other countries. Special attention should be paid to the improvement of the foreign service and in particular its economic and information branches.

As the Office of War Information and presumably the Foreign Economic Administration are dissolved, some portion of the better personnel and a great part of the activities of these agencies should be incorporated into the regular foreign service of the United States.

In the organization of the department in Washington it seems to the committee that there is a lack of control within the hands of the State Department proper of many aspects of the foreign policy of the United States. It is recognized that interdepartmental relationships with the Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce and in some instances with the Department of the Interior and other specially interested agencies, require clearance with the heads of these departments. It seems, however, to the committee that the organization of a parallel to the British Department of Overseas Trade would be a natural development for the growing importance of foreign trade to the United States. (It would also incorporate the control of the Export-Import Bank and bring under its head a considerable part of the activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.)

The committee regards it as imperative that American foreign economic policies should be guided from a single center of responsibility which logically is the Department of State, since our economic foreign policy is our strongest bargaining weapon in setting political policies. The granting of loans, the disposal of foreign surplus property (which the committee notes has already been put in the Department of State for policy guidance), the distribution of relief, and the actual channeling of trade, all require to be made a part of the single and clearly defined economic foreign policy. At the same time, the development of trade relations and the placing of business abroad, both for exports and imports, needs a more aggressive policy than can normally be followed under the guidance of the Department of State alone. The committee therefore recommends to the executive agencies con-

(*Continued on page* 36)

News From the Field

FIELD CORRESPONDENTS

Australia—John R. Minter
Bolivia—Hector C. Adam, Jr.
Brazil—Walter P. McConaughy
China—James O'Sullivan
Colombia—James S. Triolo
Costa Rica—J. Ramon Solana
Dutch West Indies—Lynn W. Franklin
Ecuador—George P. Shaw
Ethiopia, Eritrea, British and Italian Somaliland—William E. Cole, Jr.
El Salvador—Robert E. Wilson
French West Indies—William H. Christensen
Greece—William Witman, 2d
Ireland—Thomas McEnelly
Jamaica—John H. Lord
London—Dorsey G. Fisher
Mexico—Robert F. Hale
Morocco—Charles W. Lewis, Jr.
Nassau—John H. E. McAndrews
Nicaragua—James M. Gilchrist
New Zealand—John Fuess
Panama—Arthur R. Williams
Peru—Edward G. Trueblood
Southampton—William H. Beck
Spain—John N. Hamlin
Tangier—Paul H. Alling
U. S. S. R.—Edward Page, Jr.
Union of South Africa—Robert A. Acly
Venezuela—Carl Bueuer

STAFF OF THE LEGATION AT REYKJAVIK (*Left*)

This photograph was taken at noon December 20, 1945 (the sun was just peeking over the horizon), which was the 35th anniversary of the entry of Minister Dreyfus into the Foreign Service. Front row, l. to r.: Miss Marjorie Callaghan, Clerk; Joseph H. Rogatnick, Economic Analyst; Mrs. Dreyfus; Minister Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.; Harry E. Carlson, First Secretary and Consul General; Thomas A. Kelly, Vice Consul; William G. Gentner, Jr., Vice Consul. Second row, l, to r.: Johannes Hovland, Chauffeur; Gudmundur Arngrimson, Clerk; Hogni Torfason, Clerk; Lt. Valdimar Bjornson, Press Attaché; Miss Emma Mortensen, Clerk; Miss Alice Bernhardt, Clerk; Miss Gudrun Jonsdottir, Clerk; Miss Solveig Asgeirsdottir, Messenger; and not included in picture, Albert E. Goodman, Clerk.

QUITO (*Right*)

Photograph taken at the Ministry of National Defense on the occasion of the decorating of the Naval Attaché and the Assistant Naval Attaché in in Quito with the Ecuadorean military medal, "Abdon Calderon," first class and second class, respectively. These were given to Comdr. George O'Brien John and Lt. Walter Adamson for their exceptional work in cementing good relations between Ecuador and the U. S. L. to r.: Col. Angelo R. del Campo, Cil. Carlos Pinto, Comdr. J. Alberto Sanchez, Lt. Walter Adamson, Comdr. George O'Brien John, Geo. P. Shaw, Col. Carlos Mancheno, Lt. Col. Iturrealde.

TEHRAN

Photograph taken at the Embassy in November, 1945, on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Francis Sayre representing UNRRA. *Left to right:* Col. John B. Stetson, Jr., the Liquidation Commissioner; Ambassador Wallace Murray and Mr. Sayre. The picture was taken on the occasion of a celebration in honor of Colonel Stetson's birthday.

DUBLIN

January 10, 1946.

Postmaster General Robert E. Hannegan with a party of Senators, Congressmen, other government officials and press representatives spent two days in Dublin in December on their return flight from Paris to Washington. The visitors were entertained at a dinner at Iveagh House by the Minister for External Affairs at which Mr. De Valera and Mr. Hannegan spoke. They were also given a cocktail party at the Legation by the Minister and Mrs. David Gray.

The Minister and Mrs. Gray gave a New Year's luncheon party at the Legation for the Foreign Service personnel at Dublin. Several new arrivals were present including Colonel K. R. Kreps, Military Attache replacing Lt. Col. George E. Sprague, Mr. J. Alfred La Freniere, recently assigned to the Consulate General and Mrs. La Freniere, Miss Jeannette Corn, engaged to be married to Vice Consul Sanford Menter, and Russell Quirk, a new clerk in the Legation.

An American Army basketball team from a base in England made a journey to Dublin on January 3 to win an easy victory over an Irish Army team. Two teams of Americans played an exhibition game to show how basketball is played in the United States and two Irish teams showed how it is played in Ireland. The difference was striking. The Americans demonstrated team work whereas the Irish depended largely on individual effort, somewhat similar to the game as played in the United States forty or more years ago. Furthermore they played by the rules in effect at that time. The pick of the Irish teams then played the best of the Americans and the superiority of the latter was demonstrated from the beginning; in fact they completely bewildered the Irish by their passing and the final score, 78 to 56 in favor of the Americans, does not indicate the relative merits of the two teams. The gymnasium of the Portobello Barracks in which the game was played was packed to capacity by soldiers and officials, and had the game been played at a public sports arena it would no doubt have attracted a huge audience. Basketball is not well known in Ireland but an impetus has been given to the game by the match. Local newspapers announce that the Irish are to adopt both American rules and method of play.

Prepared by Elizabeth C. Bouch;
Submitted by Thomas McEnelly.

The Bookshelf

FRANCIS C. DE WOLF, *Review Editor*

ADVENTURE IN DIPLOMACY. By Kenneth Pendar. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.00.

Ken Pendar's innumerable friends will be delighted, I know, to find that he has written a book as warm, as friendly, and as colorful as himself. The present reviewer still remembers with what excitement and pleasure Pendar's periodic visits to Casablanca were attended. About 10 days beforehand the Consulate would learn of the visit through the telephone calls of his anxious friends. Then would come a series of little notes asking for appointments to be made, for servants to be hired, or for the repairs on one of his three cars to be hastened. At last the man himself would arrive in a flood of people, papers and packages (he never refused anyone a favor), and rush about, bubbling over with ingenuous and enthusiastic talk.

Adventure in Diplomacy is the record of Pendar's two years in French North Africa from 1941 to 1943. He went out at first as a control officer under the North African economic accords, which, as is now well known, served as cover for preparations for the American landings in November 1942. Pendar was in Algiers helping Robert Murphy when the landings took place and stayed on long enough to see the assumption of power by De Gaulle and the rise of anti-American sentiment among the French population.

The full details of this unique episode in American diplomacy still remain buried in the files of the State Department. Pendar adds a great deal to what has already been published and he can speak from more direct experience than many who have already written on the subject. Occasionally he is guilty of minor inaccuracies (for instance, on page 48 he misquotes the present reviewer), but these faults are the result of enthusiasm rather than of malice, and the general picture is clearly and engagingly reproduced.

It is particularly in the descriptions of town and country and in the retelling of vivid little incidents that the author is most effective. He reproduces strikingly the atmosphere of an occasion. The reader will be fascinated as he wanders through the crooked streets of some medieval Moorish town or attends the banquet of a Moorish prince. He will be intrigued by the atmosphere of suspicion and espionage which prevailed in Casablanca and perturbed by the vacillations and bickering of Vichy officialdom. He will meet Robert Murphy, that fine diplomat, at once exceptionally human and friendly and exceptionally competent, so unlike the sinister Jesuitical Murphy of the American press. And towards the end of the book he will be admitted to the company of the great, for after the Casablanca Conference, Pendar had the singular honor and pleasure of having two Chiefs of State as his house guests for a night in the magnificent palace which a friend had lent him in Marrakesh. The picture of Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt watching a sunset together in an atmosphere of confident and almost tender alliance is the most unforgettable passage in the book.

It is a pity that, with all its virtues, *Adventure in Diplomacy* should fail in its avowed political purpose. For in the preface Pendar states that he is seeking to reveal the mistakes of American diplomacy so that they will not be repeated. But as the book continues it becomes evident that the author believes that the only mistake made was not to have opposed De Gaulle more vigorously so as to have effectively prevented his coming to power. It is questionable of course whether this was possible and even more doubtful whether it would have been desirable. Pendar expatiates at some length on the rather curious mystical conception of leadership expressed in De Gaulle's early writings and on the difficulties of dealing with so sensitive and xenophobic a personality, but a more careful and thorough analysis of political conditions among the French might have led him to the obvious conclusion.

Divided and crushed as the French were after 1940, they carried the germs of a political renaissance. After the liberation of North Africa, it would have been impossible to keep them in a political vacuum until the landings in France, as Pendar recommends. They had to start on the long road upward and to start they needed a strong leader. Giraud was tried and found to be a polit-

ical babe-in-the-woods. Even his followers such as Monnet were obliged to desert him and turn to De Gaulle. For despite all his faults De Gaulle was the only man available for that particular job. The remarkable progress which France has made since that time is the final proof of the wisdom of choosing De Gaulle.

Pendar seems to believe that the appearance of anti-American sentiment among the French at the time of Giraud's downfall was the result of a sinister plot between De Gaulle and the British Foreign Office. (He even connects them in some mysterious way with the murder of Darlan.) It is more satisfactory, however, to explain such movements of opinion by general laws rather than by secret conspiracies. The fact is that occupying armies are never liked by the occupied, however virtuous and well-intentioned they may believe themselves to be. And when one nation, by accident or by design, becomes responsible for the political destiny of another, its actions can never be liked, for they are the actions of outsiders. Moreover, the outsiders will always seek to maintain order and stability once things are to their liking and the natives will feel imprisoned, for change is the life-blood of nations.

These are the lessons of the North African adventure and they should teach us to be cautions at becoming involved in the affairs of other nations. And if we cannot avoid becoming involved, we should not be surprised if we are disliked.

These political considerations do not alter the unusual charm of Pendar's book. A word should be said about its delightful conversational style, the sentences rushing one after another like a crowd of happy children just getting out of school. It is a book which can be heartily recommended to all Foreign Service Officers. They should read it to find out what life was like for their colleagues when they waited for and when they watched the first American victories of the recent war.

PHILIP H. BAGBY.

JAPANESE AS IT IS SPOKEN, by Joseph W. Ballantine, Stanford University Press, 1945. 255 pages. $3.00.

Here is a conversational grammar of the Japanese language supplemented by appendices providing useful guides and aids, such as classified word lists, useful phrases, keyed illustrations of Japanese life and an ample English-Japanese glossary. The author, Mr. J. W. Ballantine, now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, is admirably qualified to undertake the preparation of such a book. He has spent more than twenty years in Japan as diplomatic and consular officer and long supervised, among other duties, the Japanese language studies of Foreign Service officers at the American Embassy at Tokyo. He has what few scholars of the Japanese language have, an intimate knowledge of the spoken language gained from association with Japanese of all levels.

The book is a timely and useful contribution to the requirements of the situation with which we are called upon to deal in relation to post-war Japan. For many years thousands of American service men and women will be in almost daily contact with the Japanese people. Thousands of others, Americans and Europeans—administrators, business men, missionaries, educators and diplomats—will soon be going to Japan for useful work in their respective fields. They will find even a moderate knowledge of the Japanese language helpful in their work and in broadening their interests. "Japanese As It Is Spoken" is admirably adapted to their need for a practical, up-to-date textbook as an introduction to the language.

In the course of study presented the author has convincingly demonstrated the proposition stated in his preface that Japanese grammar is fairly simple. He takes only 123 pages to pass in review the essential principles of the grammar with the accompanying sentence exercises and lesson vocabularies. Within that compass he even finds space for occasional observations on Japanese customs and for a fuller treatment than is given in any other textbook with which I am familiar of some of the more important peculiarities of idiom, such as, for example, forms of address, as described in Section 144. Such streamlining requires very skillful and careful selection and organization of material.

The language course is covered in thirty-seven lessons. It brings the student to the point where he should be able to get about fairly well. With the material in the appendices for handy reference he ought to be well prepared for almost any emergency.

The text is entirely romanized and there is an assured guide to pronunciation. Because of this and because of the simplicity of the explanations made of the grammar the book is well adapted to self-instruction.

The presentation of the entire subject is made so interesting that even the tired business man might be tempted to take up the study of Japanese. At any rate, I have no hesitation in commending "Japanese As It Is Spoken" as offering an inspired guide to a stimulating intellectual adventure.

WILLIAM T. TURNER.

Mixed Matadors

By Barnaby Conrad, Jr., *Vice Consul, Málaga*

ON Sunday Lt. John Fitzpatrick drove over to Málaga from Gibraltar, picked up the Consulate's head clerk, Luis Morales, and myself, and we drove in a station wagon to Granada to see the great Mexican "matador," Carlos Arruza, fight. With Fitzpatrick there also came a gentleman whose identity I never did establish and who distinguished himself only by saying in a crisp croak: "I am happy to announce that the detail of unshod Russian soldiers who this morning bivouaced in my mouth have now evacuated."

We arrived in Granada in about two and a half hours, and since Arruza has a station wagon too, a big crowd collected around the car. (Arruza at this point is considered the hottest thing in bullfighting.) I stepped out of the car and the buzz started that I was Arruza. People came up and shook my hand, wishing me luck, hoping I would "go with God," etc., in spite of the fact that I insisted that I wasn't Arruza. My denials just served to convince them that I *was*. ("Mira que hombre más modesto! He says he's not Arruza.")

I have about the same build as Arruza, and with my hat on, dark glasses, Mexican belt, and above all, my flagrant Mexican accent in Spanish, there remained no doubt in their minds. Such a crowd collected around me that we had a tough time getting into the restaurant. Once inside, the bandleader took one look and struck up "Alla en el Rancho Grande!" People at the tables perked up and began to "don't look now my dear but," and a covey of giggling girls swarmed over me thrusting autograph books or menus in my face with orders to get busy and sign. Swearing by the Barrets of Wimpole St., by the Ides of March, and by all the saints I could think of on such short notice that I *was not Arruza,* I bolted for a private dining-room where we ate our lunch in comparative peace. The waiter addressed me with decided reverence and I thought I detected a trembling of his hand whenever he had the opportunity to serve The Great Man, but by this time I was becoming more accustomed to this glorious goldfish existence that I had been thrust into—in fact, I was beginning to enjoy it!

After the fight it was the same thing again, only much worse due to the fact that Arruza had put up a fantastic exhibition of skill and bravery in the ring. Returning to town from the Plaza, the car had to plow through a cheering waving throng. Luis Morales was enjoying it all hugely and waved graciously back, patting my shoulder patronizingly as a good manager should. At this point, I felt the need of a drink, and we went into a bar. There was a great whispered argument started among the patrons as to whether or not I was Arruza—whether I could have changed so quickly, and wasn't Arruza a little shorter and thinner. I was definitely losing my following rapidly, when in came a friend of mine who had heard that I was being taken for the bullfighter. "Carlos!" he called from across the room. "Que corrida tan magnifica!" and ran across to shake my hand. Then I was done for.

I had to push my way out to the car, shaking people's hands

(*Continued on page* 63)

Vice Consul Barnaby Conrad in Algeciras with Sidney Franklin (left), the American matador, before the latter's first fight of the 1944 season.

Staff Christmas party in the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the Department.

At the opening of the Costa Rican-U. S. Cultural Centre in San José on Columbus Day. Among others may be seen Miss Esther Orner, Secretary to the Cultural Relations Attache Albert E. Carter; Alfred Lee, returned scholarship student; Alberto Bolanas, Assistant Director, National Library; Lt. Col. Irving E. Roberts, U. S. Military Attaché; Mrs. Yolanda de Rojas, former Secretary in Cultural Relations section of Embassy; Third Secretary J. Ramon Solana, Miss Virginia Zuniga, Director of Coordination Committee's radio English course; and Sr. Fernando Piza, Costa Rican Commercial Attaché to U. S.

Service Glimpses

Staff Christmas party in the Office of the Foreign Service. Ambassador Armour was in Director Selden Chapin's office just before the party and appears in the picture.

Mrs. A. Bland Calder took this photo at Hamilton Field, California, of the Foreign Service group which left San Francisco September 29th for China.

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

(*Continued from page* 28)

New Zealand as a diplomat was the fact that he never could convince the State Department that the capital of New Zealand is Wellington—and that Wellington is where his mail should be sent. "They always kept sending my mail to Ankara," he complained. "I suggested that Ankara was in Turkey, not New Zealand, but they kept sending it to Ankara anyway."

Government Strike

In 1864 there was actually a strike against the Government—and what is more—it paid dividends. Printers walked out on the Government Printing Office and won a wage increase of 61 percent and a 20-hour weekly decrease in working hours.

Striking against the Government is illegal today, so anyone who isn't satisfied can just walk out—for good. In this connection it is interesting to note in "The Periscope" in *Newsweek*, December 24, 1945, an item entitled "Embassy Wage Crisis":

"A manpower crisis is threatening the operations of the U. S. Embassy in London. During the last few weeks two vice consuls, seven code-room clerks, and three telephone operators have resigned because they claimed they couldn't live on their salaries. The annual pay of the chief embassy phone operator, who has left, was $1,040, while the chief teleprinter operator received $1,800 after twenty years of service. The situation is aggravated by the fact that some employes were transferred from defunct agencies, such as OWI and the OSS, where they received much higher salaries than State Department employes hired either in London or in the U. S. Dissatisfaction is spreading to the higher ranks. One embassy counselor, whose yearly entertainment allowance is $125 [sic], has also submitted his resignation."

Foreign Service Women's Luncheon

The wives of Foreign Service Officers stationed in Washington gave their first of a series of two luncheons on December 12 at the Mayflower Hotel. About a hundred women attended.

The guests of honor were Mesdames Byrnes, Hull, Acheson, Benton, Braden and Russell.

The Committee for the luncheons has announced that the next luncheon will take place sometime in April. Those serving on the Committee are: Mrs. George Lewis Jones, Chairman; Mrs. Selden Chapin, Mrs. Adrian B. Colquitt, Mrs. Edward T. Wailes and Mrs. Robert Newbegin.

Civil Service vs. Foreign Service

Civil Service has a job classified as "garbage collector" with the salary of $237 a month. "Assistant garbage collector" collects $185 a month.

INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

(*Continued from page* 29)

sideration of closer coordination of the implementation of foreign economic policy under the policy guidance of the Department of State.

The committee feels that legislative sanction should be given to the creation of an Under Secretary of State for Foreign Economic Policy who would report directly to the Secretary of State. He should coordinate the aspects of trade promotion that now come under the Department of Commerce, of loans, whether of Treasury or of the Export-Import Bank; of foreign agricultural trade coming under the Department of Agriculture; and foreign mineral trade promotion coming under the Department of the Interior. It is not proposed to alter the present location of these functions in the departments concerned but to give legislative sanction for clearing the assistant secretaries in each department concerned with these foreign economic aspects of the Department with the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Economic Policy. It is in the highest degree important that the closest working relationships be established by the assistant secretaries of the various departments with the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Economic Policy. It is, therefore, felt that he should be consulted in all instances as to the acceptability of the persons appointed to this function in the departments concerned. He should also act as chairman, with ultimate powers of making the binding decisions, of a policy committee composed of the assistant secretaries of the departments previously mentioned to pass on the matters of foreign economic policy.

It is not the proper function of the Department of State itself to undertake the promotional aspects of trade policy, but it is essential that the formulation of foreign economic policy should in every way encourage and afford legitimate protection to American economic interests abroad. It is particularly important to have one policy carried out in this field rather than conflicting policies. The committee feels that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Economic Policy, reporting directly to the Secretary of State on this whole area, is the logical official to carry out this responsibility.

An awakened interest on the part of the entire business community and of the Nation in the stake of the United States in foreign trade should be accompanied by an appropriate recognition of the increased importance of the agencies of government which promote and protect this trade.

The international trade organization, already treated in the summary of conclusions at some length, can become an instrument for American foreign policy in reaching and maintaining agreements to remove trade barriers and restrictions. It may also serve to scrutinize on an international scale cartel policies and commodity agreements. The committee heartily endorses the initiative of the Departments of State and of Commerce to this end.

THE CHARLES B. HOSMER AND THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIPS

Applications for the two 1946-47 academic year above named scholarships amounting to $300 each, and open to the children of active members or of deceased former members of the American Foreign Service Association, may be made at any time to reach the American Foreign Service Association at the Department before May 31. Because applications have been received occasionally too late for consideration, their prompt submission will facilitate making the awards.

The scholarships may be used only to meet expenses in connection with regular undergraduate courses at a college or university within the United States.

No specific form of application is prescribed. It is, however, preferable if possible for the applicants to apply personally. They should submit a brief biographical sketch indicating age, previous education, scholastic standing, supported by recent academic reports, and college or university which they desire to attend; proposed courses of study, a photograph of the applicant, and any other personal information which may be considered pertinent to the application.

THE *JOURNAL* SCHOLARSHIP

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL'S Scholarship of $300 for the academic year 1946-47 which is open to children of members of the Foreign Service who are also members of the Foreign Servce Association or subscribers to the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, or to children of persons who at the time of their death came within these categories, may be applied for now or at any time to reach the editor of the JOURNAL by May 31, the final date for the receipt of applications.

This scholarship is provided for from the net income of the JOURNAL and is intended primarily for children entering preparatory schools in the United States, preference being given to those commencing the final year of such schools. Should no application be received in a given year for a scholarship in a preparatory school, the amount thereof may be awarded to a suitable and qualified college student.

No specific form of application is prescribed, but each candidate should apply personally, if possible, and should include a brief biographical sketch indicating age, previous education, scholastic standing supported by recent academic reports, the secondary school they wish to attend, plans after completion of secondary training, a photograph, and any other personal information which they may consider pertinent to the application.

SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS

The Education Committee of the American Foreign Service Association announces the awards of scholarships for the scholastic year 1945-46. Miss Sarah Hitchcock and Miss Meredith E. Moffitt were awarded the two Charles B. Hosmer and Foreign Service Association scholarships and Miss Elizabeth Memminger was awarded the Foreign Service Journal scholarship.

Miss Hitchcock is a daughter of the late Henry B. Hitchcock, who served as a Foreign Service Officer from 1912 until his death at Yokohama, Japan, in March 1933. She is attending Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., and has been successful twice in the past in receiving Department scholarships. Miss Moffitt is the daughter of Mr. James P. Moffitt, Foreign Service Officer. She is attending Bryn Mawr College and also has been awarded a scholarship before. Miss Memminger, who is attending the National Cathedral School in Washington, D.C., is the daughter of Mr. Lucien Memminger, Foreign Service Officer, retired.

OLIVER BISHOP HARRIMAN FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOLARSHIP

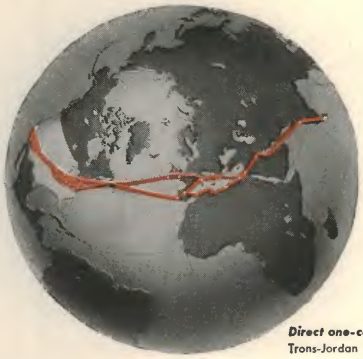
The Advisory Committee of the Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship invites children of present or former Foreign Service Officers interested in applying for the scholarship to submit their applications in such time as to be in the hands of the Committee not later than May 1, 1946. Applications should be in *duplicate* and addressed to Selden Chapin, Esquire, Chairman, Advisory Committee, Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Each application must include information covering the following particulars:

Age and sex of applicant; a full statement concerning the education and courses of study pursued by the applicant up to the present time, including scholastic ratings; the courses of study and profession which the applicant desires to follow; whether or not the applicant contemplates the Foreign Service as a career; the need of the applicant for financial assistance (this should include a statement whether the applicant will be able or not to complete or continue his education without the aid of this scholarship); the institution at which the applicant proposes to make use of the scholarship if granted; and evidence that the school experience of the applicant covers the work required for admission to the institution selected. A small photograph of the applicant must also be included. The application may include any further information which the applicant deems pertinent and which, in his or her

(*Continued on page* 42)

THE NEXT TIME YOU SEE PARIS



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Mr. Hull Awarded Nobel Peace Prize

The following letter of congratulation was sent by the Association to Mr. Hull upon his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Mr. Hull's reply also appears herewith.

American Foreign Service Association,
Department of State,
November 24, 1945.

The Honorable Cordell Hull,
Washington.

MY DEAR MR. HULL:

The deep gratification which the Foreign Service has felt in the award to you of the Nobel Peace Prize was reflected in the proceedings of the Executive Committee of this Association at a meeting on November 21. It was there decided that on behalf of every member of the Service I should convey to you the heartfelt congratulations of all.

We, who had the privilege of serving under you during critical and crowded years of the world's history, know at close hand the full worth of your unremitting efforts on behalf of peace. We have seen how long and faithfully you labored to establish the conditions for a peaceful, orderly world and we continue to derive inspiration from the record of your splendid achievements.

The principles which you upheld and which have now brought fresh honors to you have been in the highest tradition of American statesmanship. We rejoice to see that the flowering of these principles in the United Nations Organization has been justly recognized as being in so large measure your contribution to world progress. With respect and affection we send you this message of greetings and congratulations.

Sincerely yours,
LOY W. HENDERSON,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

Wardman Park, Washington, D. C.
December 4, 1945.

Mr. Loy W. Henderson,
American Foreign Service Ass'n..

DEAR MR. HENDERSON:

I deeply appreciate your letter of November 24, containing felicitations of yourself and the Executive Committee of your Association, in connection with the Award of the Nobel Peace Prize. I am most grateful for your thus thinking of me and expressing yourselves. Please convey my feeling of gratitude to each of your associates.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,
CORDELL HULL.

Exchange of letters regarding the appointment of John G. Erhardt as President of the American Foreign Service Association

The American Foreign Service Assn.
Department of State,
September 28, 1945.

The Honorable John G. Erhardt,
United States Political Adviser
Vienna, Austria.

DEAR MR. ERHARDT:

It gives me very real pleasure to tell you that at its annual meeting on September 28, 1945, the Electoral College of the American Foreign Service Association elected you as President of the Association for the year commencing October 1, 1945.

I believe I speak not only for every member of the Electoral College but also for your friends throughout the Foreign Service when I say that it made us happy to feel that we were able to pay you this small tribute.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER,
Acting Chairman, Executive Committee.

Headquarters United States Forces in Austria,
Office of the Political Adviser,
Vienna, November 9, 1945.

James W. Riddleberger, Esquire,
Acting Chairman, Executive Committee,
American Foreign Service Association,

DEAR JIMMIE:

I am pleased and honored to receive your letter of September 28, 1945, informing me that the Electoral College of the American Foreign Service Association has elected me to serve as President of the Association for the year commencing Oct. 1, 1945.

You know my deep interest in, and strong attachment to, not only the Foreign Service as an institution but also its individual officers as friends and colleagues.

We are now entering a period in which the conduct of foreign relations will be of greater importance than ever before, both to the world as a whole and especially to our own country. For the Service, it will be a period of renaissance, growth and change.

This will occasion a great increase in informal Service activities and exchanges of ideas to meet not only the professional needs of those of us already in the Service and of the many new members to come, but also the lively interest which the American people will henceforth have in their foreign policy and its instruments.

The Association, its publication, the Foreign Service JOURNAL, and especially the Executive Committee of officers on duty in Washington, are in a position to play a role of major significance in this development. I am confident they will do so.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN G. ERHARDT.

OLIVER BISHOP HARRIMAN FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOLARSHIP

(*Continued from page* 38)

opinion, should be taken into consideration by the Committee.

The application should be accompanied by a letter, likewise in duplicate, from the parent or guardian of the applicant.

The Committee calls attention to the following conditions, which should be borne in mind by applicants: The amount available for scholarships in any year will presumably be little in excess of $1,200 and may, in the discretion of the Committee, be divided among two or more recipients. Funds awarded under the scholarship may be used only in defraying expenses at an American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school. This school may be selected by the recipient. No payments may be made until the recipient has been finally admitted to the particular educational institution selected.

It may be recalled that the deed of trust instituting the scholarship provides that in the selection of recipients the Advisory Committee shall be governed by the following rules and regulations:

"(a) The recipients shall be selected from among the children of persons who are then or shall theretofore have been Foreign Service Officers of the United States; and the moneys paid to a recipient from the income of the trust fund shall be used by the recipient in paying his or her expense at such American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school as may be selected by the recipient.

"(b) The scholarship may be awarded to a single recipient or may be divided among two or more recipients in such proportions as the Advisory Committee shall determine.

"(c) The candidates for the award of the scholarship shall apply therefor in writing to the Advisory Committee at such times and at such place as may be designated by it on or before May 1 in each year. Such applications shall be accompanied by letters from the parent or guardian of the candidate and by such other data or information as from time to time may be required by the Advisory Committee. Each application shall be made in duplicate.

"(d) Each candidate shall submit evidence that his or her school experience covers the work required for admission to the American educational institution selected by him or her.

"(e) No payments from the income of the trust fund shall be made to a recipient until the recipient shall have been finally admitted to the university or other institution which he or she may desire to enter and payments of such income to any recipient shall continue only so long as the Advisory Committee shall direct."

The Advisory Committee is at present constituted as follows: Selden Chapin, Esquire, chairman; Mr. Wilfred Wottrich, Manufacturers Trust Company; Mr. A. B. Fisk, Manufacturers Trust Company; and the Honorable Donald Russell.

SELDEN CHAPIN,
Chairman, Advisory Committee,
Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign
Service Scholarship.

Letter Addressed by the Executive Committee to the Secretary in Appreciation for His Christmas Message to the Foreign Service

December 21, 1945.

The Honorable James F. Byrnes,
Secretary of State.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The Executive Committee of the Foreign Service Association, on behalf of the members of the Foreign Service on duty in all parts of the world, desires to thank you for your thoughtful Christmas message to the Foreign Service.

The expressions contained in your message of your confidence in the loyalty, integrity, and singleness of purpose of the Service will serve to inspire its members with fresh energy and determination to face the tasks before us, regardless of what they may be or where the performance of them mak take us, and to prove ourselves worthy of that public confidence which is essential for the most effective implementation of the country's foreign relations.

We realize the need for measures to improve further the effectiveness of the Service and will welcome and support fully changes which, while retaining the carcer principle, enable the Service to develop its usefulness to the greatest extent possible.

The Executive Committee of the Foreign Service Association, on behalf of the members of the Foreign Service, . . . assures you that during the year 1946, as in the past, the members of the Service will continue to the utmost of their ability to carry out the tasks assigned to them.

Respectfully yours,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

BIRTHS

CLOUGH. A son, Marshall Sander, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Nelson Clough on June 12, 1945, in Seattle, Washington. Mr. Clough is Third Secretary at Chungking.

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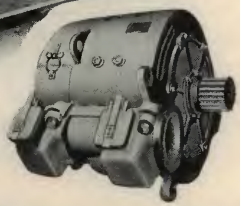

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DIESEL-ELECTRIC DRIVES

REPORT ON LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

(*Continued from page* 12)

be part of a considered and integrated plan. Funds should be provided in one appropriation, administered under the direction of one responsible agency, in order that the Cnogress may annually review the program as a whole.

"Because of differing legal and accounting systems encountered by this program abroad, and the great variety of interorganization relationships necessary in the administration of the program in the United States, it is essential that the basic authority for the program should be accompanied by certain waivers of existing law. The Department believes that the waivers contained in H. R. 4368 are adequate for this purpose at the present time.

"The provision for delegation of authority by the Secretary of State, contained in section 7 of this bill, is particularly important, since this would relieve my office of routine approvals necessary in the operation of this program.

"Very sincerely yours,

"JAMES F. BYRNES."

3. *"The Manpower Bill"*

This is the bill which will provide for the admission into the classified grades of the Service of a maximum of 250 new officers during the next two years, drawn from the personnel of the Department, from the armed forces, and from other departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the government. The bill has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget and has been submitted to Congress. Although it was originally planned that candidates must be less than forty-two years of age and that no one would be admitted to classes I and II, both these restrictions have been removed.*

4. *"The Point of Order Bill"*

For a number of years appropriations have been obtained for many special purposes without the enactment beforehand of basic enabling legislation authorizing expenditures of the types concerned. When a department of the Government asks Congress for money without enabling legislation covering the activity for which funds are desired, any member of the House or Senate can halt proceedings on a point of order, with the result that the item is thrown out. The "Point of Order Bill" constitutes enabling legislation for all types of expenditures involved in the annual appropriation acts where such enabling legislation has heretofore been lacking.

*See FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNALS for October, November and December, 1945.

5. *UNESCO Participation Act*

Representative Merrow of New Hampshire and Senator Murray of Montana, who were delegates to the Conference in London last November that drew up a Constitution for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, are preparing a bill authorizing the President to accept membership in the Organization for the United States and providing for the expenses of participation.

6. *Disposal of Surplus Property*

Bills have been introduced in the Senate and in the House of Representatives making the Department of State the sole disposal agency for surplus property located outside the continental limits of the United States, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, excepting in certain cases in which the Secretary is given discretion to waive jurisdiction.

7. *"The Foreign Service Act of 1946"*

For about a year, studies have been made of the principal features that ought to be included in the new, comprehensive legislation for the Service. Suggestions from the field have been analyzed, including proposals gleaned from the prize essay contest conducted by the JOURNAL. The Joint Survey Group contributed many valuable ideas, and as many Foreign Service officers as possible were consulted in Washington. General agreement on the items in the bill was reached by special committees convened by the Coordinating Committee consisting of the Directors of all the Offices in the Department. Assistant Secretary Russell is keenly interested in the work and is following the various stages of the drafting. The first draft has been completed and is being rewritten on the basis of reviews made in the Office of the Foreign Service. As soon as the second draft is finished, it will be sent to the field with an urgent invitation for further suggestions.

WORKING PARTY IN THE AEGEAN

(*Continued from page* 17)

the crowds, which were so large they had to be controlled by messengers, became unruly in their anxiety to get registered.

Taking applications for registration for citizenship sounds like an easy job, but it certainly is not. The forms themselves, admittedly full of very useful information *once they're filled out*, are ogres when they face you virgin blank. Here are some snatches of a typical interview:

Clerk: "What is your name?"

Applicant: "Panagiotis Dimitrellis."

Clerk (examining applicant's certificate of birth issued by the city of New York): "But the name

on this certificate is Panagiotis George! Where does the George come from?"

Applicant: "Oh, my father's name in the United States was George and in Greece it's Dimitrellis."

(This little complication must be fully explained on the application form.)

Clerk: "Do you have the passport on which you traveled from the United States."

Applicant: "Yes."

Clerk: "Let me see it."

Applicant: "But it's at home in the village."

Clerk (looking unhappy): "And how far is the village?"

Applicant: "Four hours from here" (meaning four hours walking; in provincial Greece all distance is measured in foot-hours).

Clerk: "Well, I'm very sorry, but you'll have to go get it after we finish this application. Meantime, do you have any other documents with your photograph, so we can identify you as the person in this birth certificate?"

Applicant: "But I am the person on the birth certificate. My uncle will tell you so."

Clerk: "Yes, but we must be sure. Now, do you have a document with a photograph?"

Applicant: "I have this" (displays a photograph of a large christening party in the hall of a Greek community of New York City, in the middle of which photograph is a baby dressed in white lace, very conspicuous against the tuxedo of the mustachoed gentleman holding it).

Applicant: "That's me" (pointing to the baby).

And so it goes.

To people like the Greeks, who have suffered through the occupation and civil strife, who have gone hungry, who have seen their relatives killed, America is the all-desirable. Everyone with a claim to United States citizenship wishes to return. A great many of these are young people who were born in the United States and were brought to Greece as infants or young children by parents who decided to go back to the old country for residence. They were entitled to America, but they were taken away without being consulted. One has sympathy for these. Then these are persons who became naturalized in the United States and then returned to Greece. From all appearances, some of these persons returned for permanent residence; but some came shortly before the outbreak of war and just got caught. All wish to return.

Not all the persons we saw in Lemnos came to register as Americans. Some were W & W (whereabouts and Welfare) cases—Greeks who wished to institute inquiries for relatives in the United States. Others came to apply for resumption of Veterans Administration pensions. Then there was the lady

who didn't bring any proof of her naturalization and was instructed to bring in all documents she possessed so the clerk could pick out the necessary papers. Among her papers she brought back was an insurance policy for $2,400 of her husband, who had died in the United States, and she was named the beneficiary! She had held the policy for years without knowing what it was. The Consulate has written to the insurance company concerned.

Our applicants showed the marks of the lean years. The adolescents and children especially bore plain evidence of malnutrition. The year 1941 was the bad time for the island, as it was for the rest of Greece. On Lemnos, between 600 and 700 people died, I was told by Mr. Theo Caravias, an artist who studied many years in America and came to Lemnos, his birthplace, shortly before the war because of lung trouble. He is very skilled in portraiture. He does two types—painted-to-order portraits for sale to the subject, and casual rough-stroke portraits of faces that have impressed him. He showed me three portraits of the latter type which he painted during 1941. They were faces of starving persons, a child and two men, gaunt testimony of grim days. In one respect Lemnos was worse off during the war than places like Athens and Salonika, in that no Red Cross supplies came in. The Germans were fortifying the island and declared that it was a strategic area and so refused admittance to Red Cross personnel. Today in Lemnos there are few dogs about. During the occupation most of the residents poisoned their dogs, since they couldn't feed them.

The staff worked for three days from 9 in the morning till 9 at night, with time out for lunch, but on two afternoons the Consul General and I made outside visits. On one afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Gwynn, Mr. Vafiades, the chief of police of Lemnos and I took off in the island's only bus—a battered Chevrolet, circa 1930—to see Moudros Bay. The bay is a great inlet on the southern coast of the island, almost completely locked in by land and protected by low-lying mountains from the northeast winds that swoop down from the Black Sea, and is reputed to be one of the world's best anchorages. There during World War I the whole Allied fleet gathered for the Battle of Gallipoli. During World War II it was used as a small craft and seaplane base by the Germans, who built several water-edge installations at the little town of Moudros. Enroute to the bay we passed through several little poor villages which, unknown to us, had been advised of our trip. In each village all the inhabitants turned out *en masse* and in each village we clambered out of the old bus to answer their greetings. There would be an American flag flying, one or more "Americans" to shake our hands, and two girls, each with a bouquet of flowers which they would present to Mr. and Mrs. Gwynn. But in Moudros itself there were three young ladies with flowers, and I got a bouquet, too.

Another afternoon we were asked to tea at the Municipal Hospital, which was built shortly before the war with funds contributed by Greek-Americans living in the United States. The board of directors sits in Philadelphia, Pa.! Though at present the hospital lacks some equipment and medicine, nevertheless it appears to be doing good work.

Such an atmosphere of peace envelops Lemnos that one would believe it had never known rude sights and sounds. Yet, only a year ago (until September, 1944) between 5,000 and 7,000 German soldiers patrolled its shores, lived in its houses, and fortified its strategic positions. Kástron was attacked once during the war by an English submarine which surfaces right off the town square and with her deck guns sank eight caiques loaded with German war materiel.

We were sorry to leave "our island." And those who had been seasick on the trip across and now had to face the return were doubly sorry. But anyway, on the appointed morning we rowed out to the waiting ML, and after much waving of handkerchiefs, left for Salonika. Our first working party, we decided, had been a success, and immediately Consul General Gwynn began talking of the second. In fact, at this writing, a second trip is being planned for Kastoria, a little lake down in western Macedonia. Kastoria, here we come!

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE U. S.

(*Continued from page* 19)

contains political meaning. That battle for independence left like a birthmark on the American people a love for national freedom and a resolute dislike for the subjection of small nations to the dictates of large ones. The American people are intransigeantly opposed to the idea of sheer, brute physical strength dictating the terms of relationship between any two nations. They abhor the idea of one nation's interference in the internal affairs of another. They do not like the concept of "satellite" states within "spheres of influence" because such a concept serves only as a thin disguise for aggression. Stated simply, Radio Tokyo would have to improve its propaganda technique enormously to ever be able to convince the American people that Japan invaded the Philippines to make the Filipinos "co-prosperous" with the Japanese. American psychology and American conviction are such that they rebel against international bullying. They also fight it:—and quite successfully.

U.S. Prestige flies with this symbol

To men, women and children the world around, the Symbol of the Flying Clippers has come to be recognized instantly as the sign of an old friend from the U.S.A.—the distinguishing mark of a pioneer in overseas air transport.

Pan American World Airways' first route, opened back in 1927, was a Latin American route. Today, throughout Latin America, the peoples of twenty nations have come to regard this world airways system as their friend, and the wings of the Clippers as the symbol of that friendship.

For the native populations of many other lands the big, sleek Clippers—the brisk, pleasant, blue-clad crews who fly them—have been tangible evidence of the courtesy, courage and capability of the United States.

America's prestige flies with the Clippers to four continents. Just as soon as conditions permit, Pan American will also fly to Asia and Australasia.

You can now fly by Clipper to 4 continents

Expansion westward of the United States was a historic factor that did much to shape popular American ideas about justice in international relations. When the thirteen states that clustered along the Atlantic seaboard in 1789 began to look across the inland mountains, they saw a territory of huge dimensions and great natural wealth. When the march westward was begun, a major decision had to be taken: were newly acquired lands to be treated as dependent colonies of the original thirteen states, serving to feed the latter's economic machinery and pile up wealth in new imperial centers at New York and Philadelphia and Baltimore? This certainly had been the characteristic practice and policy of nations for many centuries. The decision taken—and expressed in the famous Northwest Ordinance sponsored by Jefferson—firmly rejected this thesis and provided the specific procedure by which each new area colonized might qualify for statehood and assume its role as an equal partner in the American Union.

The appreciation of the idea of "sovereign equality" which this policy reflected, in the case of states within the Union, has continued to be an active force in American thinking, in the case of independent nationalities throughout the world. This is one of the many reasons why "racism" was never a popular product for export from Germany to the United States after 1932: why Americans have never been attracted to the doctrine of the "master race." It is also the underlying motive force behind Philippine independence. In this way, the ideas of a figure as remote as Jefferson today affect the lives of men as different as President Osmeña and Dr. Goebbels.

From across the Atlantic Ocean came the third great historic factor which has helped shape American ideas about international relations—the entrance into the national life of the United States of the millions of immigrants from all parts of the Old World. Irish and Spaniards, Poles and French, Germans and Russians . . . from the Shannon and the Vistula, from the Ebro and the Rhine . . . from the Vosges and the Carpathians . . . 20,000,000 people came to join in the enterprise of building free and secure lives in a country determined to be secure and free.

The incalculable debt which America owes these men and women who have enriched its life and culture includes a profound influence on the forces shaping American foreign policy. For one thing, these millions made American opinion, with such huge blocs of European population, keenly sensitive to political developments in Europe. By a curious and helpful paradox, therefore, these men who turned America's face westward, as they pushed the frontier steadily toward the Pacific, were the same men whose personal heritages kept alive in the American mind awareness of the course of events to the east across the Atlantic.

While stimulating this awareness, the immigrant populations also planted firmly on American soil the conviction that peoples of the most diverse nationalities could live and work peacefully together and without coveting their neighbors' goods. It became, thanks to these men and women, a primary doctrine in the American faith that fraternity among nations was not only possible but was in fact the heartfelt desire of all peoples, if their hopes and ambitions were not treacherously inflamed by political leaders who promised the riches of the earth in return for the sins of covetousness, theft and murder—those three essential ingredients of war. . . .

With a faith in liberty dating from the circumstances of its own national birth; in equality, following from the principles invoked in its own march from ocean to ocean; and in fraternity, inspired by the reality of its own enormously diversified yet firmly unified population . . . with these convictions, the people of the United States have come to an appreciative and realistic understanding of the meaning of the words "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" and of their relevance to the shaping of a foreign policy. For these three words are not simply empty rhetoric but only the truest way of summarizing the manner in which national history has moulded national character, as this in turn has been projected into American foreign policy.

Political Principles

Today, as the armies of the United Nations reach the Order and surge across the Rhine in the European theater of war and as American Super-Fortresses progress in the task of pulverizing the Japanese industrial machine, three questions are asked about American foreign policy:

1. Is the United States prepared to make commitments to secure world peace after military victory?

2. What will be the nature of these commitments and their effectiveness in preventing future war?

3. How far will the United States go in backing these commitments if they are challenged? . . .

On March 2, Secretary of War Stimson announced that American Army casualties in this war exceeded 720,000 men. This does not include more than 70 000 casualties in the United States Navy. Nor does it include the 5.000 Marine casualties suffered in the first three days of fighting on the island of Iwo Jima.

These are commitments made to secure military

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We are indeed gratified that members of the Foreign Service missions find Bellows Special Reserve Whiskey to their liking and take this opportunity of expressing our sincere appreciation of their patronage.

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So that a ship in the China Sea
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By pioneering in communications
And electronics
Is helping shrink distance
And build a neighborly, peaceful
One world

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BUY AND HOLD VICTORY BONDS

victory: commitments paid in the most valued currency a nation possesses—human life.

To secure the fruits of that victory, exacted at such a price, the American people are prepared to make commitments designed to protect the peace.

There are sceptics who question this truth. They are, however, the same sceptics who after the fall of France in 1940 spoke of the folly of the British in continuing the fight; the same men who said the United States forces would never return to the Philippines; who as late as June 5, 1944, told us that the threat of Allied landings in France was merely a clever trick of propaganda. The same people who told us in 1941 that the United States could not arm itself swiftly enough to bring military victory to the Allies are today telling us that the United States is unprepared to participate in securing peace after that victory, which now looms so close. Just as they underestimated American preparedness for war, so now they deprecate American preparedness for peace. . . .

But determination to make commitments in itself does not define those commitments or make them secure—any more than American desire for peace in 1941 defended Pearl Harbor from Japanese bombs. Hoping and wishing is not enough, for neither of itself has ever been known in history to save peace from the assaults of men who wanted war . . . perhaps because we have more fully developed the science of making war than the science of preserving peace.

Commitments which American foreign policy is prepared to make fall into two categories: first, the principles of international order to which the United States subscribes; secondly, the international relationships it envisions in order to apply those principles.

What are these principles? They may be summarized as four:

1. All nations, large or small, are equal before the law and in tems of international morality, and therefore, to all peoples regardless of their relative armed strength, belongs the right to a free and prosperous national life.

2. To the people of each nation belongs the right freely to determine, without foreign interference, the forms and details of its governmental organization—provided always that that nation recognizes the same right for all other nations and in no way menaces their peace or security.

3. Economic health and security, for each nation, depend, in the final reckoning, on the same security for all nations; and this fact demands, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, the closest international collaboration to gain for all peoples the fullest possible opportunity for economic advance-

ment and for free access to the raw materials and trade of the world.

4. Use of force must not be labelled the special privilege of the aggressor, but must be invoked promptly and effectively under the aegis of a representative international agency charged with defense of the peace.

These four sweeping principles can be translated into corrollaries and implications which express their full meaning. To say that all nations are equal before the law is to repudiate any form of the pagan "master-race" theory; to demand that relationships between states conform to international law and that disputes be resolved by adjudication and not by bullying; to deny, in effect, that nations of the world must be divided into the sheep and the wolves, the latter having some special title to feed upon the former.

To assert that all peoples are free to choose their own government is to renounce territorial ambition; to lend real meaning to the words "liberated Europe"; to reject the prospect of a world system based upon "satellite" states, moving in some predetermined orbit around the central star of the conquering nation; to repudiate such Oriental adaptations of the racist doctrine as the Japanese-sponsored "co-prosperity sphere"; to treat colonial areas as temporary trusts assigned by the international community only contingently to certain nations, and to demand that governance of such areas be designed to educate and develop them for full, free partnership in the community of nations at the earliest possible date.

To speak of collaboration in the economic field means to reduce excessive trade barriers; to allow for the movement of capital on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries; to speed the economic rehabilitation of war-devastated areas; and to assist in all possible ways the elevation of international labor standards. . . .

To all these principles, American foreign policy is resolutely committed.

International Relationships

Between principle to practice, between the pleasure of envisioning to the problem of enforcing, there lies an abyss which is piled deep with the frustrated good intentions of people and nations. . . . How then does American foreign policy propose to convert ideals into realities? Through what sets of relationships among nations does the United States propose to attain these objectives?

First—in stating its terms of relationship with the Axis powers—American foreign policy is clear and unequivocal:

"Your armies will be fought until they surrender unconditionally."

"Your war criminals will be punished for their specialized contributions to the present tragedy."

"Your country will suffer the imposition of such conditions as will make it impossible for you again to plunge the world into such a war."

"You will be welcomed as a free member of the community of nations when you have given evidence of the moral and political sense of responsibility which alone entitles you to such membership."

Secondly, with the other nations of both Americas, the United States hopefully contemplates the continued double blessings of unity and peace, and to them it says:

"We thankfully join with you as equals and as friends in the hemisphere task of protecting our heritage of freedom, and in the world task of maintaining peace. The principle of the Monroe Doctrine has been widened into the ideal of the Declaration of Chapultepec—and a unilateral expression of desire has become a multilateral statement of policy. This continent—where the great historic traditions of Spain and Portugal, Great Britain and France, have fused to produce the American tradition—is at peace with itself and unitedly will work for peace for the world."

Thirdly, the two great world powers—Great Britain and Soviet Russia—who, with the United States, have formed the triumvirate of nations most directly responsible for the downfall of Naziism, may read in American policy the firmest desire and determination to cooperate with all national resources in the maintenance of peace. This cooperation will be fortified by that special kind of friendship which can be born only in times of common peril and which matures with the sense of growing common achievement.

The decisive basis for this association of powers is this truth: with the total defeat of Germany and Japan, the foreseeable future of world peace depends primarily upon the cooperative understanding shared by the three greatest world powers—Russia, Britain, and the United States.

No American statesman entertains any easy assurance that this triangular harmony can be maintained without sacrifice or without compromise among three distinct national viewpoints. But American leaders are convinced that such sacrifice and compromise can and must be made, for they realize that rarely in history have three great allies held so firmly in their hands the key to world security.

American foreign policy is also aware of another important fact affecting international unity—the fact that misunderstanding among great powers can

always be traced to fear, and fear in turn is almost always based upon misinformation or malicious propaganda.

This propaganda of fear is of such a nature that if a group of people are determined to be afraid, it is a simple matter to make their fear sufficiently plausible and elastic to cover any set of political facts. Indeed, the same fact which, in one phraseology, inspires confidence, can, by the simplest twist of an adjective, be exploited to provoke fear. Let us, for a moment, examine an imaginary nation as the object of a "controlled" fear and see how easily any facts may be manipulated so as to inspire destrust. . . .

If the leaders of this hypothetical nation fail to declare honorable national intentions, we can cite this failure as confession of the sinister objectives sought by the country. . . . If, however, such statements of national purpose and principle *are* made, we can quickly dismiss those declarations as evidence of national "hypocrisy.". . .

If this imaginary national territory is of huge dimensions, the greater, then, will be its capacity to attack and destroy. . . . But if the national territory is small, then the keener will be its impulse to expand and conquer. . . .

If this nation posseses great natural resources, the greater will be its ability to wage long war. . . . If it lacks such resources, we can fearfully conclude that the greater will be its lust to acquire them. . . .

If the people of this nation are governed by a dictatorship, then the threat of an aggressive foreign policy depends only on "the dangerous whim of the tyrant.". . . If its government is representative and elective in character, then "the ficklenes of public opinion" and "the heat of public passion" will hurl it into war against its neighbors. . . .

If an unusually lengthy frontier marks the boundary of this nation, the greater are the number of nations on which it borders and which it threatens. . . . If it has a short frontier, the easier it will be to defend and hence the greater the impunity with which conquering armies may be unleashed abroad.

If it openly seeks control over vital sea lanes, it is confessing its aggressive designs. . . . If it should already hold such control, then it is already equipped to carry out those plans for aggression. . . .

These few examples only suggest the psychology of fear in its full technique—the technique of inspiring international hatred which has been so well exploited by self-interested aggressors who are always "defending" something from a threat of their own manufacture, or heroically offering themselves as a "bulwark" against some assault which they themselves have provoked.

Against this psychology of fear, American foreign policy is well armed—armed with the facts, with an appreciation of the realities of international politics, and with the conviction that no honorable effort must be spared in converting the alliance which has brought victory into one which can protect peace. For a third world war, for our civilization, would probably be the last. . . .

The fourth category of international relationship in which a fixed American foreign policy applies concerns the liberated and war-devastated areas. This policy is dedicated to achieving the swiftest possible return of normal prosperity and order to the liberated areas. And it rests upon the two firm foundations of humanitarianism and international security.

An acute psychological problem underlies the situation of liberated areas. People who had felt for months and years the burden of Nazi occupation could not help looking to the day of liberation as a moment when some miraculous political alchemy would transform their national grief into national joy. Yet the inescapable facts are that liberation of a country has meant fighting across that country, a fight that scars and wounds the people and the land; and even when the fight is won, the firm priority of military over civilian needs has to be recognized. The result is that economic unrest is likely also to be accompanied by a popular feeling of uncertainty and anxiety.

Such a political scene offers a magnificent setting for the rise of some form of national chauvinism or national revolution. Insecurity prevails and inflation threatens. From such economic maladjustments sprang the Hitlers of yesterday, and stern steps must be taken to prevent the births of Hitlers for tomorrow.

These facts make the task of relief and reconstruction not only a humanitarian effort but an essential contribution to international security. The American people are ready for continued sacrifices to bring to the liberated areas the food and clothing, medicines and tools, seeds and fertilizers which alone can restore national health.

For American foreign policy recognizes that peace is not something that can be imposed by the fiat of a few peace-desiring nations. The peace for which we are working is a total peace, as this has been a total war; and peace itself is not a product which can be rationed and allocated in greater or less measure to certain areas of the world.

And this principle applies not only to liberated or war-devastated areas but to all nations of the world—allied, enemy and neutral. World peace is inclusive, not exclusive, and the benefits from it, like the responsibility for preserving it, belong to all peoples of the earth.

Pursuing these lines of action, the United States is convinced—its people and its leaders—that the ideal objectives toward which it is fighting can be translated into political reality . . . the ideals of: the equality of all nations before the bar of international law . . . the right of all nations to live in freedom from fear . . . the sense of international fraternity which should govern all economic relations . . . and the *responsibility* of nations to be willing to dedicate their strength to defense of the peace.

From Ideals to Realities

When we speak of moving from the plane of ideals to the level of reality, it is true that the multiple complex problems involved in such a transition must be clearly, frankly kept in mind. But this fact does not justify professional pessimists in their stern, platitudinous assertion that efforts to achieve world peace can never progress further than the pulpit or the lecture platform.

When cynics cite past failures, they ignore, in their anxiety to be "realistic," two real facts of decisive meaning. The first is this: that the economic interdependence of the world, the shrinking of its size, which make world unity for peace essential, is historically a very recent phenomenon. The necessity, therefore, for world organization to protect peace is a very recent one: a need, hence, which can fortify attempts at world unity in a way entirely impossible in the past.

There is a classic example of the way communications have made the world one only recently. In the first century after Christ, the newly elected Roman Emperor Hadrian found himself in England at the time of his election. To speed his travel to Rome, all the energies of the Roman Empire were mobilized; and he made his voyage in some fifteen days. . . . Some 1,700 years later, when the British statesman Peel was made Prime Minister, he was in Rome at the time of his appointment. On this occasion, British Empire transportation facilities were mobilized—and Mr. Peel took exactly the same length of time to reach his destination as had the Emperor Hadrian. . . . What remained unchanged for 1,700 years was revolutionized in $^1/_{20}$th of that time.

This leads us to the second decisive fact affecting the prospect of world unity: the fact that the severest impact of these revolutionary changes in communication have *already* been suffered, and that the future pace of change in many crucial instances will be considerably slower than in the past.* In at least

*For the material on this point I am indebted to the fine article of Mr. S. W. Boggs, published in the *Department of State Bulletin* of Feb. 11, 1945, on "The Effects of Science and Technology on Human Relations."

one direction, the ultimate has already been reached. Communication can now move with the speed of light and touch all points of the world at once. In the days of either Napoleon or Nebuchadnezzar, the fastest travel was at the rate of a fraction of one percent of the speed of sound—but presumably it can never achieve a speed much greater. . . . Similarly, in the case of machines: one factory machine today may perform the labor of 10,000 men, but even if someone should invent a new machine which will produce as much as 100 machines now do—nonetheless the rate of change will not be as great as what has already occurred in the past.

These facts lead us to the conclusion that, while economic developments make world unity a necessity which it was not in the times of either Prime Minister Peel or Emperor Hadrian, the *pace* of these developments reached its probable maximum in the last century. We therefore can deduce that the economic and technical developments, which today almost force world unity upon us, will not tomorrow race at such speed as to exceed our ability to develop such unity.

In this sense, the advance of technology has at one and the same time already done its worst in attempting to escape from man's control, while it has created—for the first time in history—the economic conditions necessary for world unity in maintenance of the peace.

In the light of such facts, men cannot justly be branded as "unrealistic" who believe that this century has brought a new historic hope for world peace.

Right, Responsibility and Force

When all the international conferences preparing for the peace have been held and all questions of procedure and prerogative have been finally resolved, it will be apparent that a strong peace will find its strength in this principle: that the exercise of every right demands acceptance of a responsibility and that to every freedom there attaches a corresponding duty.

It is this principle which builds an unbreachable wall between international freedom and international anarchy. It is this principle which distinguishes freedom to live from freedom to attack one's neighbor. This, in turn, maintains the delicate balance between the ideals of liberty—which means exercise of right—and of equality—which means protection of others' rights. And it is this principle of responsibility which forces us to recognize that if nations wish to enjoy peace, they must accept the duty of defending it. And this means use of force.

The world knows that the naked desire for peace does not suffice to preserve it. That lesson was

learned in September of 1939, when German tank columns moved across the Polish frontier to initiate the Second World War—after years of the most passionate attempts by the Western powers to keep the peace by making one concession after another to Hitlerite Germany. Each concession offered further testimony to the Western powers' desire for peace—and each concession brought the approach of war closer. And the truth was finally learned that a devout combination of wishes and words does not suffice to maintain peace.

This has been an unpleasant and difficult conclusion for men to reach—for at least two reasons. In the first place, men of good will have always experienced difficulty in admitting the existence of men of ill will—just as men who wanted peace in 1939 could not give credence to reports about men who truly wanted war. In the second place, it always seems easier—in human or international relations—to voice good intentions than to assume difficult responsibilities; and the use of force to defend the peace is a sobering responsibility. . . . Yet, despite the temperamental reluctance inspired by these facts, the foreign policy of the United States today embodies the conviction that defense of the peace must be more than verbal.

Does this mean a peace in which the great military powers will impose their will upon the world? Does this herald the return of "power politics"?

In a certain sense, the answer to both questions is, Yes.

It means a peace in which the great military powers will implement their determination to maintain world peace; in which they will demand worldwide recognition of their publicly proclaimed purpose to discharge their moral responsibility by using all their might against any aggressor. In this sense, the will of the great powers is going to be "imposed" upon the world.

And it means a peace that involves "power politics" because no historian has ever been known to uncover a kind of politics that did not involve lower in one form or another; and because the attempt to develop a system of "powerless politics" in 1938 and 1939 did not save either Czechoslovakia or Poland from aggression, nor the world from total war.

It cannot justly be argued that such a peace, backed by force, contradicts the principle of international equality. The equality which all nations share is a common moral right to independence and national growth. But all nations are patently not equal in their ability to defend their own independence. To propogate any fatuous doctrine to the contrary would banish any plans for peace to a cloudy world of wishes and dreams.

If we wish, we may build in our imagination a world in which there are no great powers—a world where the power and resources of Soviet Russia are no greater than those of Luxembourg, where the armed forces of Liberia match those of the United States, where China is no larger than Borneo, and where the Japanese fleet really does annihilate the whole American Navy every fortnight or so. . . . We are perfectly at liberty to create such an imaginary world. But we are deceiving all mankind if we pretend that this is the world in which we are living and therefore the world for which we are planning peace.

We happen to live in a world which quite recently gave birth to as fierce a tyranny and as powerful aggressors as history has recorded. In the face of such realities, it is an abdication of all moral responsibility and common sense to view use of force with a temperamental shyness which is self-righteously confused with moral scruples.

The principle of international equality remains unshaken when stated in these terms:

To all nations, large and small, belongs the right to participation in a just and peaceful international order . . . while the *responsibility* for ensuring the preservation of that order belongs to each nation in proportion to the physical strength which it can contribute to world security.

In this sense, national power is an international trust, and power is the equivalent of responsibility. And the freedom of all nations depends upon the courage and wisdom with which the strongest fulfill their responsibility.

In such a scheme of international values, force can no longer be regarded as an instrument belonging only in the arsenal of aggressors.

The Peace We Shun—and the Peace We Seek

These propositions lead us to a clear understanding of the aims of American foreign policy and the kind of peace it seeks to build. In the light of these principles, the American people are able to state:

We do *not* seek a peace based upon any form of the "master race" creed which implies that any nation or race is inherently superior to all others.

We do not seek a peace predicated upon collections of satellite states—because such a concept means that someone has to be the satellite.

We do not promise or believe that the attainment of military victory will herald a millenium of easy prosperity, because we believe that the problems of peace will be just as exacting as the problems of war—and also, because the example of one man who promised his people a new order that would last 1,000 years suggests that such promises are

It Takes Time . . .

THERE can be no hurrying or short-cuts in aging and mellowing fine liquors to bring out their full, smooth, rare flavor . . . *it takes time.* But first you must know how to make liquors worthy of the art of aging them to perfection. That takes skill and experience . . . also attributes of time.

In selecting wines and spirits, it is not only wise, but excellent taste, to choose brands distinguished by time and tradition. We hope that we may continue to serve you for a long, long time.

NATIONAL DISTILLERS EXPORT COMPANY, INC.

120 Broadway, New York 5, New York, U. S. A.

OLD TAYLOR and OLD GRAND-DAD are straight bourbon whiskies. OLD CROW is straight whiskey—bourbon or rye. OLD OVERHOLT is straight rye whiskey. BELLOWS SPECIAL RESERVE whiskey—a blend. MERITO imported brandy. LEJON California brandy. MARQUES DEL MERITO ports and sherries. BELLOWS & CO. ports and sherries. HARTLEY dry California sherry. LEJON dry vermouth. CHATEAU LEJON red & white wines.

not only dangerous but also exceedingly difficult to fulfill.

We do not believe that the march toward world peace can be conceived in purely quantitative terms, through a mechanical mathematical reduction of naval ratios expressed in terms of tons and of army maintenance in terms of heads and pieces.

We do not agree with those who label force as an inherent evil because we think they are unable to distinguish in their judgments between a gun in the hand of a policeman and one in the hand of a thief—between the knife which the assisin holds, and the knife used by the surgeon.

We do not believe in the idea of "co-prosperity spheres" because the Japanese have taught us that this only means "co-operation from you and prosperity for me."

We do not subscribe to the cynical doctrine which says that efforts to maintain world peace are futile because some perverse destiny has decreed that humanity must prey upon itself every twenty years or so.

On the other hand. . . .

We do believe that the ideals of national liberty, of legal and moral equality, and of international fraternity are both logical expressions of our own national character and applicable principles for the world at large.

We do believe that law and morality can be restored to international relations only after the total defeat and punishment of those who have violated both.

We believe that the road from Casablanca and Moscow and Teheran and Yalta, to Mexico City and San Francisco—full of sharp turns and steep inclines through it may be—offers mankind real promise of the light of day after a long and tragic night.

We believe that this century—if not the century of the "common man"—may yet be the century of the common nation, enjoying its freedom and fulfilling its proper responsibilities within the community of nations.

We believe that, through time and struggle, the nature of international society can be redeemed from the habit of recurrent chaos; that it may, at least in some measure, follow the course of man's salvation, and be raised from corruption to incorruption, from dishonor to glory, and from weakness to strength.

AFRICAN HUNTER

By LAWRENCE W. TAYLOR

IN Central Africa there is a small antelope, slightly larger than a full-grown fox terrier dog. It is delicately formed, blue in color and easy to tame

for a pet. The Administrator's wife wanted one for her young son and called on the village natives to capture one alive.

The animals were caught by chasing them into a cord net strung from trees, but each one captured had a pencil thin leg broken or was otherwise injured in the hunt.

"The pigmies are good hunters," said the village natives. "Perhaps they could catch one without hurting it."

The pigmies *are* good hunters. But first you must hunt a pigmy. They live deep in the forest and are almost never seen. They melt into the bush at the approach of a human being, white or black, not of their tribe. It is their custom, however, to trade, on stated days, with the village natives, bringing offerings of fresh meat, antelope, buffalo, monkey, elephant or other product of the hunt.

On the appointed market days, which have been established for countless generations, the pigmies slip down in the dark before the dawn to the customary trading place. They put the meat in small separate piles and disappear. During the day the village natives pick up the meat and leave in its place salt, tobacco leaves, dried fish, arrow heads or other articles desired by the forest dwellers. After night falls the pigmies return to pick up the exchange articles.

To settle the matter of the live antelope, the village natives, on a market night ambushed one of the pigmies and brought him by main force, trembling, before the Administrator's wife. By means of an interpreter she explained her desire and the pigmy was released.

The next morning he appeared at the Administration post with a live, unharmed antelope in his arms. Satisfied at last, the Administrator's wife filled his hands with salt and placed the antelope in a cage that had been prepared for it.

The following morning the pigmy appeared, proudly bearing a second antelope, likewise unharmed. He received, less enthusiastically, a bunch of tobacco leaves. The succeeding morning he was there again with a third antelope. This time he was brusquely received and given a scant handful of rice. The interpreter was called and he was told to bring no more antelopes. The contract was finished.

But not for him. Each morning for nine days he appeared, antelope in arms and the fact that he received nothing but abusive language did not deter him in the least. On the tenth morning the Administrator took charge. He took the antelope, returned it roughly to the pigmy, turned him about and applied a gentle kick where the pants should have been. The principle of the saturated market had been demonstrated.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

(Continued from page 23)

need in the Service for men who are trained in these subjects.

I do *not* believe we should give "engineering service" as such, to any greater extent than we give mining, agriculture, and aviation service. To do so involves responsibilities which should rarely be assumed. I do believe, however, that our missions should be qualified to give reasonable technical and industrial assistance to our foreign friends, to assist our own nationals and to report fully to the Department on these specialized matters. It seems obvious that this can best be done by an engineer who is also qualified by industrial and business experience to do so.

My observations (and I have had ample opportunity to observe) lead me to the firm conclusion that this service cannot be performed to the best advantage by the temporary assignment of specialists or "experts." (In engineering parlance an "expert" is a man away from home!) These men, regardless of their personal caliber, frequently do not understand the language, the customs, or the psychology of the people of the country. Often they have little conception of existing business and political conditions. It seems to me that this great service can best be performed, and should be performed, by a technically qualified officer who is a member of the Foreign Service or the Foreign Service Auxiliary, and on the regular staff of the mission in which he is serving.

Yours very truly,
HORACE HARPER BRAUN,
(Power and Industrial Engineer) Economic Analyst.

Change Title to "Diplomats"

U.S.S. Midway (CVB 41).
26 December 1945.

TO THE EDITORS,
THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The Rogers Act has received so many blows in the JOURNAL lately that one fears the many columns of praise in your 1924 issues will turn over on their shelves. Mr. George's fine article in the November issue adds to the objections offered by previous authors, but none as far as I remember mentioned the objection so often heard abroad. That concerns the title "Foreign Service Officer" created by the Rogers Act. After an existence of over twenty years this title continues to remain a headache, as it seems to convey most anything except what was intended. We have foreign service in the Army and Navy, also in other Government departments. Commercial firms and banks use it for their officials stationed abroad.

I remember when Coert du Bois visited a cruiser

abroad where the officers from the captain down asked me just what a Foreign Service Officer was, although it was given in the "Navy Regs." They all knew consuls and ambassadors very definitely, although a few were not so sure about ministers and mixed them with those of religious orders. Coert received the full honors due a Consul General as the best solution in the limited time at our disposal.

My suggestion is to substitute "Diplomat" for the present title. The public understands this term and that is really what he is. Whether he deals with local or national authorities his duties are those of a diplomat and it is his profession. Now I don't mean Diplomatic Officer, but simply Diplomat, to which his proper class can be added in the roster.

Very sincerely yours,

LT. COMDR. C. M. J. VON ZIELINSKI, *USNR.*

MIXED MATADORS

(Continued from page 34)

all the way. As I was trying to get the door open, a nice-looking Spaniard forced his way through to me and said pointblank and in a voice the whole crowd could hear, "Are you Arruza?" I was scared to say "Yes," as for all I knew the man might have been the real Arruza himself, but on the other hand with that great well-wishing throng that had just opened up their hearts to me, I hated to say "No."

I cleared my throat.

"Buenos pues, it depends on how one looks at things," I began, not having the slightest idea how I looked at things nor what I was going to say next, but before I could finish, this bird sings out: "Viva Arruza!" and flings his hat in the air and his arms around me, saying:

"Sí, eres Arruza, the greatest man in the world!" Then, "Where are you fighting next?"

"Valencia—mañana," I replied weakly, and he said, "I'm going with you! I'll be right behind you with my car because you are the greatest man in the world!"

Then he led the crowd in a great "Viva Arruza! Viva México!" and added to Fitzpatrick at the wheel, "Forward, chauffeur!"

We sped off for Málaga and managed to lose the car that was trying to follow us and stopped first at Loja, 60 kilometers from Granada, where the whole performance was repeated when we went into a restaurant for dinner.

Luis staved off autograph-seekers and hand-shakers by saying how tired I was after killing two bulls, and we went on to Málaga. Here everyone knows darn well who I am and I have reluctantly resigned myself once again to the unspectacular and safe routine of a Vice Consul.

Just where the heck the real Arruza was during all this commotion I don't know!

PRESS COMMENT

(*Continued from page* 15)

jab from the perfumed ice-picks during his earlier assignments in the Department and has never forgotten it. For the second, he drafted Colonel Frank McCarthy, a thirty-three-year-old protege of General George C. Marshall, who had made a reputation as a super-charged administrator while serving as secretary of the General Staff. Byrnes told them to overhaul the works, with the help of a blueprint drawn up by the Budget Bureau, and then took off for Potsdam and the London conference.

McCarthy lasted just six weeks. Full of pep and high purpose, he tore into his job with a somewhat naive enthusiasm. Gradually it became sodden under a drizzle of cold hostility, passive resistance, time-encrusted precedents, and countless memoranda explaining in three thousand words why nothing really could be done. Moreover, it began to appear doubtful whether Byrnes, an habitual compromiser, would back up the reform program in the face of an ominously growing internal opposition. Then McCarthy developed a painful and quite genuine case of bursitis which afforded a convenient opportunity for him to resign.

To fill the vacancy, at least temporarily, Byrnes called upon his old South Carolina law partner, Donald Russell. His experience has been political rather than administrative, and his most pronounced talent seems to be the smoothing of ruffled feathers. Nobody expects him to attempt anything drastic; the Budget Bureau's reorganization scheme is moldering on the shelf; and the old regime is breathing easily again.

Yet in all these abortive reorganizations something has been accomplished. In Byrnes, Acheson, and Ben Cohen, the Department's new counselor, State now has a team of top policy-makers which is sometimes described as the ablest since the days of John Hay. Under great handicaps they are doing their level best to put together coherent foreign policy, in which the line of action proposed for, say, Japan no longer contradicts that for Eastern Europe, and in which loans to our allies, tariff, revisions, oil interests in Saudi Arabia, overseas airlines, the atom bomb, and a dozen other complex pieces may at last fit together in some consistent pattern.

Their economics staff has been reinforced to a strength of about three hundred, and under the aggressive leadership of Will Clayton it is at last beginning to serve as a counterpoise to the still-dominant political divisions. Byrnes has junked one of Hull's most cherished notions—the theory that the Department should lay down "policy" from its august heights, while lesser agencies carried out "operations"—and has taken over remnants of four such operating agencies—OWI, OSS, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Office of Inter-American Affairs. It is true that State is not yet in any shape to handle these new functions. At this writing it has not even begun, for example, to recruit and train the large staff of civilian administrators needed to take over the government of Germany from the Army next June. But the mergers at least brought some desperately needed new blood. . . .

A FUTILE FOREIGN SERVICE

From the World Herald, November 29, 1945

Frankness, like charity, ought to begin at home. So before Americans become too incensed at the slickness, the slyness and the secretiveness of foreign diplomats at international meetings, some thought might be given to the situation within our own State Department.

That situation seems to be little short of civil war, a strange sort of war in which a tight censorship hides all truth from the people.

When truth does come to light, it is through such spectacular events as the resignation of General Hurley and his denunciation of State Department underlings who allegedly conspire against the policies of their superiors.

What evidence there is seems to be with General Hurley—and with Senator Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), a liberal man and constructive critic.

"The President and the Secretary of State announce a policy, as I read the Hurley statement," said Senator Fulbright. "And it is not carried out by others. . . . Our foreign policy has been ineffective and this may be one of the reasons."

Thus we have big-minded words from our leaders condemning communism and imperialism—and we have underhanded actions by State Department agents who give aid and comfort to the Chinese Communists and lend-lease weapons to the British and Dutch who are repressing rebellion in their East Indian empires.

Senator Wherry is certain it is Dean Acheson, the idol of Reds and fellow-travelers, who is at the root of State Department dissension. Others, like General Hurley, indicate that the cross purposes arise from a weak and futile foreign service which has no understanding of the problems with which it is faced and which is completely undisciplined. Thus our foreign agents fall prey to those who would sell out American ideals and subvert our announced foreign policy.

In almost any other land on earth, such conduct by government servants would be considered treasonous. But in America there are apologists in

Congress who find excuses for what is unquestionably the most inefficient and chaotic foreign service of any major power. They are quite willing to overlook such little mistakes as fomenting foreign rebellion and sabotaging our own prestige.

The fault seems to lie deeper than the mistakes of the people who now run our foreign affairs. Mr. Byrnes has so far proved no blinding bolt of diplomatic lightning as Secretary of State and he may be as inept as his critics would like to make us think he is.

But the people who work for him, the busy little men who take the plane trips to Chungking and Batavia and there gum up the works, are our so-called career men of the Department who have been around for many years and whose Civil Service status protects them from political upheavals. They were there before Mr. Byrnes, and unless something is done about them and the type they represent, they will be there long after Mr. Byrnes is gone.

There have been suggestions in Congress for the establishment of a trained foreign service. This would include an academy to train future diplomats. There would be high standards and rigorous instruction and graduates should be a far cry from the strange crew of dilettantes and ideological misfits who manage to slip through the loose net of Civil Service and find their way into key State Department posts.

So far such suggestions, including a foreign service academy bill introduced by Representative Curtis (Rep., Neb.), have come to nothing. Incompetents and perhaps highly dangerous persons still infest the State Department. Discipline and morale are lacking as in no other branch of government and the whole sorry mess is shielded by a wholly unjustifiable censorship within the Department.

Little can be accomplished by switching Ambassadors or changing department heads. Even a change of Administration cannot do the job that needs doing in the State Department. Until we have a Congress and an Executive willing to face the facts about our foreign service, the present dangerous situation will continue.

POOR PAY RESULTS IN MEDIOCRE PUBLIC OFFICIALS

From an item in the Philadelphia Bulletin by Ralph W. Page

Washington, Dec. 4.

In the rumpus about Communists and imperialists General Pat Hurley contributed one very pertinent suggestion.

He was asked what remedy he had for the discord which he asserted exists in the State Department. His answer was that he would provide some-

thing resembling adequate quarters, staffs and pay; that, as matters stand, our major representatives abroad must lose from $20,000 to $40,000 a year out of their own pockets, and the overworked and restricted staffs get the remuneration of clerks.

The situation at home is no better. Today the State Department is the most important department of the Government. It is expanding to take charge of the Government of occupied countries and to spread American information and doctrine throughout the world.

Yet the money provided by Congress is so ridiculously minute that it is impossible even to employ the stenographers and messengers, file clerks and manual labor required to function.

Under the barrage of criticism, the department is being reorganized under the supervision of Assistant Secretary Donald Russell. To be sure he can, and will, cut out a lot of dead wood and antiquated procedures.

But it is humanly impossible either to conduct this far-flung and vital service with hopelessly deficient equipment or to obtain a superlative type of administration on mechanics' salaries.

Congress has discovered that this pinch-penny policy toward public service is threatening its own prestige and effectiveness. The recent resignation of Representatives Ramspeck and Woodrum to obtain a better living wage only accentuates the increasing tendency of leaders to leave for more lucrative fields.

The fault, of course, does not rest primarily with Congressmen. Throughout the country the paradoxical opinion is fostered that corporate performance is efficient and Government performance ineffective, combined with the notion that corporate managers are entitled to salaries without limit and Government managers should be content with clerk hire.

So when it was suggested during the war that the income of industrial executives be limited to $25,000 it was proclaimed that first-class men could not be obtained for this pittance to run a boiler factory.

But we expect $2,500 to $7,500 men to staff the headquarters which must negotiate interests throughout the world with Russian and British services, which command the very best brains and talent available. In a word, we belittle our public services.

The amazing thing is how many citizens of outstanding ability there are who still sacrifice lucrative careers for Government service, in spite of the certain abuse and measly awards.

Here, at all events, Hurley is on solid ground. However, this blight is not confined to the State Department. President Truman recognized the imperative necessity of improving every function of Government when he demanded a very drastic increase in pay throughout the legislative, judicial and executive branches.

To deny this would not be economy. It would be colossal waste. As a people we get what we pay for.

BYRNES HINTS CHANGES IN FOREIGN STAFF

From the Washington Post, December 21, 1945

Secretary of State Byrnes yesterday hinted at a "far-reaching" reorganization of the Department's Foreign Service during 1946.

In a Christmas message published in the December issue of the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, Byrnes praised the career diplomats for their wartime achievements and sacrifices, but added:

"In the year to come there will be changes in the Foreign Service, some of which may be far-reaching in consequence. These are necessary if the Service is to function as it should."

VISITORS

The following Foreign Service personnel recently signed the Department Register:

December

Tom E. Woods, Zurich
Elaine D. Freers, Moscow
Charles W. Booth, New Delhi
Frank J. Repper, Oslo
Louise D. Ziegler, London
Patrick H. Armyo, Bogota
Donald R. Fox, Jr.
Katharinie Jane Hicks
Dorothy Edna Connenbert
Richard B. Peters
Mary J. Jennings, Habana
Alice C. Mulher
Paul E. Geier, Vienna
Gerald Warner, Buenos Aires
Richard M. Sererci, Tsingtao
William W. Lanahan, Jr.
Julia H. Stimpson, Guatemala
Mrs. Saide Joe Carroll, Berlin
Charles K. Withers, Leopoldville
Theo. F. Varner, Buenos Aires
Nester C. Ortz, Rio de Janeiro
Eleanor D. George, Fortaleza
Frederick D. Hunt, Neuvo Laredo, Mex.
Walter C. Coughenour, Warsaw
Carl Willmy, Warsaw
Kathleen Clapp
John Simmons, San Salvador
Gillie C. Howell, Madrid
Calvin C. Woodfall, Buenos Aires
Marcia L. Martin
G. Stewart Brown, Rome
Richard E. Kleinhans, Shanghai
Jean C. Jackson, Managua
Kinsley Twining
Glenn Bruner (Army terminal leave)
Edna T. Flach, Vienna
Grant Isaacs, Toronto
Marjorie B. Campbell, Vienna
H. D. Finley, Algiers
Eva Ponticello, Port-au-Prince
Hubert R. Krantz, Athens
Ruth G. Michaelson, Helsinki
John G. Randolph, Algiers
Gerald B. Downman, Buenos Aires
Betty Jo McClintock, Managua
William T. Lockett, Buenos Aires

Horace G. Bolster, Tehran
Carvel Painter, Stuttgart
Flora L. Mason, Madrid
Alexander Trutko, Bern
Leonard Lee Bacon, Zurich
Ann T. Aragon, Paris
Marjorie Wright, Rome
Paul C. Hutton, Guatemala City
Elizabeth A. McLaughlin, Vienna
Fayola McGinnis
Marjorie Cleaver
Lewis Coleman McCorquodale
Norma J. Casper
Roger S. Abbott, Paris
Gage Loughton, Paris
Chas. S. Courtney, London
Richard M. Herndon
Richard E. Usher, Rangoon
Wm. C. Bryant, Madrid
Mary M. Kane, Vienna
Armistead M. Lee, Melbourne
Rodham C. Rontledge, Buenos Aires
Robert B. Houston, Jr., Accra
Charles Wolf, Jr.
J. H. Spitler
J. Kittredge Vinson, Antwerp
Leslie Albion Squires, Budapest
Clarence C. Kulhman, Buenos Aires
Bernard Pfeffer
Jones R. Trowhridge, Buenos Aires
C. H. Hall, Sr., London
B. Van Allmcn, Bern
Herschel Johnson, Stockholm
Robert K. Calcote, Sao Paulo, Brazil
Austin J. Rittenhouse, La Guayra
Cherry R. Stubbs, Caracas
F. Taylor Gurney, Teheran
Katharine F. Hogge
Dorothy Chubbuck, Batavia
A. Guy Hope
Henrietta J. Humphries, Bilbao
Edwin J. Kyle, Guatemala
Kathryn M. Geoghegan, Buenos Aires
Edward R. Koudelka
Joseph J. Bulik, Moscow
Mrs. Harriet D. Estrada, Guatemala
E. P. Lamton
Gloria L. Schuster, Haiti
Barton P. Jenks, Paris
Edward Schoenrich, Baghdad
Ida B. May
Anne Katharine Pond, Algiers
Barbara L. Gray, Wellington, N. Z.
Robert M. Norton, The Hague
Martin Blackmun, Melbourne
John B. Ketcham, Batavia
Alfred Green
Claire B. McCarthy, Berlin
Mary Grace Mytinger
Betty Ann Peyton, Lima
Daniel L. Horowitz, Santiago
Helen Sheehy, Managua
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