The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

VOL. 26, NO. 10 OCTOBER 1949

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COVER PICTURE: In peaceful contrast to the current conflict is this houseboater on Dal lake in Kashmir, not far from Srinagar, ancestral home of Prime Minister Nehru.

Letters to the Editors

THE NEW DESPATCH FORM

Washington, D. C.

To the Editors,
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

When traditions interfere with efficiency, the question may properly be raised whether such traditions are worth maintaining. Some may hold that even a slight impairment of efficiency may be justified, for reasons of historical continuity and the spiritual values of tradition. I do not hold with that opinion. I do hold, however, that when traditions are being scrapped merely for the sake of an *appearance* of increased efficiency, as is the case with part of the Department's new correspondence regulation, then the question may be raised whether the Service is not being *impoverished for no good purpose.* I refer in particular to the elimination of the complimentary beginning ("Sir, I have the honor to report . . .") and close ("Respectfully yours . . .") which will in the future no longer appear on despatches from the field.

Traditions are nothing to be ashamed of. Lord knows, the Foreign Service is not encumbered by an excessive number of them—we are downright informal compared with the foreign services of other nations. Traditions are among the factors that hold us together, that give us *esprit-de-corps,* that make us function as a team. Just as good manners may occasionally seem a waste of time, the conduct of business in a civil and civilized manner need not detract from its efficiency. I repeat: Prove to us that traditional formalities are hobbling our efficiency, and the overwhelming majority of us will gladly see them go. Where, however, is the gain in efficiency in the new despatch form? The complimentary beginning and close will save some typists about 20 seconds per despatch. Elimination of the "key word" at the bottom of the page will save the typing of one word per page, although that saving will probably be offset by a longer time required to assemble the pages. On the other hand, the fact that despatch forms will come already assembled will indeed be a saving in time. No one will criticize that.

Again, however, who is fooled into believing that there is increased efficiency just because the new despatch form will eliminate the airgram? (Not that the airgram is encrusted with tradition—it was a wartime expedient that proved successful and met a need.) What is there to be proud of in the fact that from now on brief, urgent messages, which might have been telegraphed, will appear on the despatch form along with long commercial reports, and along with political reports and analyses? To leave it to the drafting officer to decide just how informal he can be (*"The writer,"* says the enclosure to the Department's recent instruction on the subject, *"is free to use whatever style seems most appropriate to his subject"*)—is that conducive to high standards of reporting?

Undoubtedly, some things were wrong with the old forms of correspondence. The airgram, in particular, was often improperly used purely because the item transmitted happened to be short, even though not urgent. Reports, by their rigid form, may have been unnecessarily restrictive, and may well have been rightly discontinued. Where, however, is the increased efficiency in that lamentable innovation, the Operations Memorandum, a communication without action or information copies that floats around until it finds a kindly recipient who will take care of it—if it does not get lost, being unnumbered, unregistered, practically incapable of being dealt with by more than one person at a time? Here informality, it might be said, not only fails to increase efficiency but even reduces it.

It would be silly to grieve over the end of a meaningless ritual such as the complimentary beginning and close of the official despatch form. The incident, however, may be indicative of a trend of thinking that is dangerous: that because outsiders may feel that the traditions of the Service interfere with its efficiency, therefore "business" methods are to be adopted even

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

(*Continued from page 3*)

where they manifestly do not fit. There is nothing wrong with the Service having a way of conducting its business that is its own way, as long as it is efficient. Instead of pruning away at traditions as though we were ashamed of them, let us think of preserving our traditions, even while we increase our efficiency. It can be done—*it could have been done in this instance*—and it should be done, in the interests of sustaining and uplifting the morale and *esprit-de-corps* of our Service.

F. S. O.

P.S. I notice that the first page of every despatch has printed on it "Use a despatch instead of a telegram. Air is fast—save money." It also gives helpful instructions on what to do with unneeded carbon pages. How would it be if every form also had printed on it: "Use your eraser to correct mistakes. Do not take more than an hour for lunch. If you have nothing to say—don't say it"? However, has it occurred to the efficiency experts that the officer who decides whether a despatch or a telegram is to be sent, does not see the typed despatch until long after he has made the decision? It might also be desirable to inform the typist, in print on every single page of the new form, that she is authorized to blow her nose while typing the despatch.

F. S. O.

Medical Care for Retired Officers

2938 Clay Street
San Francisco 15, Calif.
August 12, 1949

To the Editors,
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Having upon previous occasions taken up with the department and the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL the question of medical attention at a reasonable cost for retired Foreign Service officers, I read with considerable interest the two letters in the July number of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL: one from the Medical Director of the Foreign Service in answer to a proposal from "a small group of retired Foreign Service officers," and the other from my old friend Roy Bower. The letter from the Medical Director was not too encouraging but it shows that some action has been, and is being taken.

Shortly after retirement I too, as had Roy Bower, investigated every possibility to obtain medical insurance and with the same result, that is, none. Quoting from memory, one company would insure me, but to be completely covered I would have had to pay something like $50 per month at my age. Had I belonged to some group, no matter how insignificant, I could have been covered at a reasonable rate. Is there any other important definite group in the United States besides the Foreign Service which is placed in this unenviable position? Many or most of us have spent years in some of the world's most insaluhrious climates with inadequate medical attention and undergone the dangers of wars, revolutions and seismic disturbances in the service of our country. Yet we face the possibility of bankruptcy of our dependents in case of illness in old age.

I cannot but feel certain that if the Department of State would make a determined effort it could not fail to obtain the sympathetic consideration of Congress in a matter of such elemental justice. Would not the Secretary of Defense and the committee exploring the hospital situation gladly take into consideration in their delihcrations and recommendations the maximum of a few hundred Foreign Service officers who might need medical care? I consider this much more important than the question of obtaining a small increase of a few hundred dollars a year in retirement pay.

HENRY S. WATERMAN
F. S. O. (retired)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

(*Continued from page 5*)

4602 Van Ness Street, N.W.
Washington 16, D. C.

To the Editors,
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The more I think about this "selection out" business the more I am convinced that it is a "gimmick" borrowed without much thought from the Navy, which will do a great deal of harm to the Foreign Service and in the end to the Department of State.

The Navy needs leadership, youth and up-to-the-minute acquaintance with modern machinery and its development in its officer group. The "gimmick" "selection out" is an excellent device for getting rid of those who lack the qualities of leadership, those who are too old or physically unable to fight or to stand up to the strain of swift plane flight at great heights or the life and work associated with the submarine, and those who have been unable to keep pace with developments in machinery and science. New machines, new scientific discoveries constantly change the conditions under which the naval officer makes his career.

This is not the situation with the Foreign Service Officer who is a negotiator, or diplomat. You do not go to youth for advice and counsel. In this field you need experience with human beings, a deep knowledge and sympathetic understanding of humanity and the wisdom that comes with time accompanied by patience, persistence and the administrative skill that comes from understanding human nature. These are not the attributes of youth or the fighting man. They are found at their highest development from the ages of fifty-five to sixty-five and are virtues of great value in the field of foreign affairs.

NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON

Robert Braden

American Embassy
Belgrade, Yugoslavia
August 5, 1949

To the Editors,
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Robert Braden's passing is a tragic loss not only to the Embassy at Belgrade and to the Foreign Service but also to the world, for the world has need of men like him. He was a splendid man in every respect. His brilliant mind, his warm heart made him greatly loved by all who knew him. Those of us who mourn him are humbly grateful for the privilege of having known him.

WILLIAM H. FRIEDMAN

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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Report on Japan

By JOSEPH W. BALLANTINE

Old Japan Hands like myself, who have revisited the country after the war, have been struck with the rapidity of the transformation that is taking place in the outlooks, manners and habits of the Japanese people. Intelligent interest in public affairs is more widespread than formerly and they are more freely discussed. On the streets one sees more wives walking beside their husbands instead of meekly trudging on behind with all the bundles. A boy and a girl student can take a walk together in the park without fear that a policeman will take their names. I found that I caused irritation when I addressed the waitress at my hotel as *neesan* (sister) and was expected to call her *ojoosan* (miss), a term formerly reserved to young ladies of the gentry class. If I had so addressed a waitress in the old days she would have suspected me of making fun of her. This may be because upper class families have been permitting their daughters to take service on Occupation billets, so that the girls would be assured three square meals a day. If this is the explanation, it reveals a changing attitude no less significant.

Joseph W. Ballantine was an American Foreign Service Officer from 1909 to 1947. He served at various consular posts, primarily in the Far East. His assignments in the Department of State include Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State; he was Adviser to the Prosecution—International Military Tribunal for the Far East, 1946; he has been a Staff Member at Brookings Institution since 1947. Mr. Ballantine is the author of "Japanese as It Is Spoken."

The force of the impact of the Occupation is attributable not only to the impressionable character of the Japanese and their amazing capacity to accommodate themselves to new situations but also to the dynamic character of the Occupation itself. Country girls often get up parties to go to town to take a look at the GIs. The men stand in wonder over the magnificent equipment with which our troops are provided. One might have thought that with a strength of only one person for every four hundred natives the influence of the Occupation would be spread very thin. Disparity in numbers, however, is compensated for one thing by mobility and also by the economy of manpower that mobility renders possible.

The smoothness with which the country was taken over and with which the Occupation is operating is a tribute to the military genius of General MacArthur and to his superb handling of a proud and sensitive people. This fact stands out despite criticisms regarding his regime on details of economic policy and other matters. The situation in which he found himself was one in which leniency or slackness might have inspired contempt or invited liberties, while harshness might have produced non-cooperation or even revolt. The Supreme Commander has treated the Japanese with firmness, but his firmness has been tempered with sympathy and paternal kindness. Our American boys too deserve a great deal of credit. Their easy competence, their independence, and their soldierly bearing on duty have won admiration, and their chivalrous and warm-hearted acts have appealed strongly to popular sentimentality. They have played well the role of Exhibit A of the American way of life.

I talked with many Japanese about the Occupation and about the future of their country. A number of them referred feelingly to their good fortune in having been defeated by the United States rather than by Russia. Fear of Russia and of communism strongly color the desire of many that we do not withdraw our forces prematurely. Even if Japan had not been disarmed, the nation's fighting spirit has waned and the army leaders have lost their prestige. The son of an eminent statesman, who died some years ago, said to me that he was glad his father was not alive today to witness the destruction, the destitution and the disgrace that the militarists had brought upon the country.

My observations indicated that the military party is discredited not on moral grounds but because by its miscalculations and mistakes it has betrayed the country. Although it is quite evident that the Japanese are grateful to the United States for the self-restraint that it has shown in its policies and for the generous aid that they are receiving, I met few Japanese who expressed any remorse for the injury that Japan had done to us and to other peoples or seemed to be conscious of Japan's war guilt. I therefore felt called upon as occasion offered to tell Japanese people frankly that our consideration for them was based upon our desire to lay the foundations for lasting peace in the Pacific and that they must not be misled by our forbearance into believing that we can easily forget and forgive what they had done.

It is not that the Japanese people are lacking in moral standards, but they do not apply to the conduct of public affairs the standards that govern personal relations. In this respect, they perhaps do not differ from any other people whose political traditions are authoritarian. The military party did not come into power against the will of the people. The army was deeply rooted in national life, and it carried the country with promises of a new order that found a strong popular appeal. The repressions to which the army resorted to consolidate its power were directed only to a relatively few non-conformists who were not in accord with the prevailing authoritarian norm.

THE GI INVASION
"Daibutsu," the Great Buddha at Kamakura, Japan

It is clear that here is one of the fundamental difficulties that stand in the way of converting to democracy a society such as that of Japan. You may give the country an enlightened constitution, and you may repeal laws and abolish institutions that suppress human liberties and stultify the individual, as the Occupation has done, but such steps, however desirable, will not in themselves ensure the enthronement of democracy. There must be developed a general consciousness that the individual is not a mere cog in the national totality, but is endowed with a dignity, rights, responsibilities, and a personal conscience that society is bound to respect. This is a pre-requisite to the emergence of a democratic leadership, for it is only where there is such a public consciousness that the struggle for leadership is fought out on moral issues and not on claims of successful opportunism. And it is only a democratic leadership that can successfully operate a democratic system of government.

One can therefore have little faith in the efficacy of measures designed to further democratization that are imposed from the outside, unless the Japanese themselves are convinced of the merit of the measures and are willing to cooperate. Nor does it seem likely that we can destroy the influence of their former leaders merely by our declaring them to be undesirable and debarring them from holding important positions. Since most of the leaders were selected through a merit system open to all on an entirely nondiscriminatory basis, it might be difficult to convince most Japanese that their system was any less democratic than ours of selection for office through popular elections. It seems equally doubtful that other reforms which we may institute, such as those aimed at effecting the wider diffusion of ownership and control, will stick after our departure, unless in the meantime the Japanese people are strengthened in a purpose to exercise their rights and discharge their public responsibilities.

On the other hand, great importance should be attached to the activities of the Occupation in the field of education, both in matters of substance and of procedure. The reforms that are being introduced include elimination of ultranationalistic influences from personnel and subject matter, structural reorganization of the educational system, re-education of teachers and the introduction of revised text-books. What is of even greater value is that a good beginning is being made in laying the foundations for the development of a critical, experimental and creative approach by students and the minimizing of learning by rote. It is customary for American specialists to hold regular conferences with Japanese educators and to encourage a frank expression of their views. In this way mutual confidence is established, full co-operation of the Japanese is enlisted, and the American staff is forewarned of measures unadapted to Japanese conditions.

The methods adopted in the educational field illustrate how the opportunity of our presence in Japan can be used to bring to bear the strong forces of suggestion, example and tutelage, so that the Japanese people, confronted with the inadequacies of their traditional order of life, may be influenced themselves to make choices in the direction of democracy. There is encouragement for this hope in the readiness that the Japanese have always shown to adopt innovations that find merit in their eyes and also in their amenability to sympathetic leadership. There is also encouragement for democracy to be found in a development in Japan's recent past.

In the nineteen twenties a liberal movement emerged as the cumulative effect of the impact of Western thought. For years Japanese students, most of them especially picked for their promise, had been going abroad to American and British universities; many more had come under the influence of foreign missionaries in Japan; and practically all educated Japanese were avid readers of western books. New concepts of the rights of man and of the relationship between the individual and the state were spread, and Anglo-Saxon political institutions were widely studied and discussed. The political parties steadily gained strength, and after years of struggle with the bureaucracy the advent of a responsible parliamentary government appeared to be in sight. Leaders came to the fore who advocated the conduct of international relations in accordance with the principles of peace.

If the progressive elements in Japan had received greater support from the western democracies the liberal movement of the nineteen twenties might have had a better chance of survival against the ascendancy of the military party in the decade that followed. Only two years after Japan had committed herself in the Washington Conference treaties of 1922 to policies of peace, an immigration law was enacted in the United States that was discriminatory against the Japanese. The merits of our immigration policy are not in question, but we might have handled the matter in a manner that would not have aroused Japanese susceptibilities. The Japanese militarists cited our action as evidence of the insincerity of the United States in its lofty humanitarian professions and as demonstrating the futility of depending upon international co-operation to advance the national well-being. This and the raising of trade barriers on Japanese goods in American and British Empire markets lent themselves to effective propaganda that Japan was a "have-not" nation and could not develop or even survive without control of strategic materials and markets and without room for its rapidly growing population.

I gained the impression that we are not giving as much support as we should to these Japanese who were educated in the United States, thereby failing to reap full returns on our investment in them. It is true that Matsuoka, a pre-war statesman, though American educated, was almost rabidly anti-American. To believe, however, that many Matsuokas will be found in their ranks implies a lack of faith in our own institutions of learning. If American-educated Japanese are not worthy of our confidence, how can we expect to do better with the products of a Japanese educational system even if it is remodeled to suit us, and how can the Japanese be expected to have confidence in the leaders that it turns out? Furthermore, we should give encouragement to all Japanese to come forth who in the past have been associated with liberal ideas and movements. (I mean in the Gladstonian sense.) They ought to know far better than we the needs and the limitations of their people. If they appear to fall short of our measure of what to expect of democratic leadership, may it not be that their failure to have accomplished more than they have is not because of faltering loyalty to the cause of liberalism but rather due to a conviction that ingrained beliefs and outlooks can normally be changed but gradually.

This does not imply that we can select for the Japanese people their future leaders, but we might be able to contribute to the enhancement of the standing of those that have already demonstrated their fitness to the Japanese people and can also collaborate with us. Such a policy is all the more essential because we cannot expect an entirely new democratic leadership to spring up over night. Nor can we look to the masses to provide the new democratic leadership as some Americans insist that we do. Under the Japanese competitive system for channeling the best talent of the nation into the service of the state and big business, promising material from all walks of society has not been deprived of opportunity to compete on equal terms in the national arena. The residue left among the masses is therefore for the most part unprogressive and medieval-minded. It was, in fact, rather in the ranks of the university graduates that most dissidence from the prevailing order in Japan was found.

Other sensible means for fostering democracy in Japan are to make available to as large extent as possible western books on political, social, economic and philosophical subjects, to facilitate the travel to the United States of Japanese officials, educators and business men, and to provide opportunities to Japanese students to enter American universities. It is appreciated that because of the need of conserving Japanese foreign exchange and cargo space for bare necessities, as much in these directions has not been done as might otherwise have been desirable, but outlays for these purposes are so worth while that it is to be hoped that more will be done in the future. It might be observed that considerations of economy have not deterred Russia from flooding Japan with communist literature.

It is idle, however, to expect that the Japanese people can be made either peace-loving or democratic if they are denied an opportunity to establish for themselves a reasonable

Shrine on roof of Isetan department store, Tokyo

economy. Today one finds in Japan a once relatively prosperous population reduced to a standard of living with which few Americans are familiar. Millions are ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed, and if it were not for American bounty millions would starve. The pressure on the land is so great that vegetables and even grain are being grown in the rubble of devastated city blocks. Less than sixteen million acres of arable land to feed eighty million people. It cannot be done. Japan's only recourse is a vast expansion of industry and foreign trade.

Japan faces formidable obstacles to such an expansion. In the pre-war days not only did she have an industrial plant that was in good running order, but she had in her dependencies a preferred access to sources of supply of food-stuffs and raw materials and to markets. She had besides a flourishing foreign trade, which was largely serviced and moved by her own facilities. She sold her raw silk in New York, not in Yokohama; she bought her cotton in Dallas and Bombay, not in Osaka. Her ships carried trade both ways across the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. Her trading companies and her foreign exchange banks had branches all over the world. These facilities reaped earnings not only from Japan's trade but also the trade of other countries and swelled the total of items that enabled her in normal years to import more in merchandise than she exported and still to balance her international settlements of accounts.

It is not suggested that all of this was commendable; or

(*Continued on page* 38)

BEFORE and AFTER

By PHILINDA KRIEG

Before . . .

There has been a good deal of talk lately about life in Washington as it affects Foreign Service people and their families. This has interested me very much, because I consider myself something between a case history and a horrible example when it comes to living in Washington after spending several years in other parts of the world. People who are shocked by my confessions will he pleased to learn that I have been reformed, regenerated, reactivated, and generally made over like new. In short, my case history has a happy ending. But since there was an astounding amount of reforming to be done, I can still only consider myself on parole and not yet a completely integrated part of American life. I am hopefully awaiting further moral development.

To begin at the beginning, I'll show you a picture of that alarming young woman, me, with the ominous word "Before" written underneath it. She emerged from college equipped for life in the Foreign Service with a supposedly profound knowledge of 16th Century French poets (which proved to be extremely transitory), an intimate acquaintance with the careers of such worthies as Roger the Second (long since forgotten) and a really enduring skill in a type of dance step then known as "The Bounce" (which appears to have gone completely out of style).

The young woman known as "Before" doesn't have the faintest idea how to clean a house, do a large laundry, care for a child, or whip up a supper for eight. She can converse haltingly in French or Spanish on the subject of 18th Century thought, should anyone care to discuss it, but she finds it extremely difficult to buy clothespins or eggplant in either language. She tries to save face by hoping the wind won't blow the clothes down and purchasing nothing but beef steak, which she providentially discovers is the same in nearly all languages.

Since the wind is really quite often tempered for the shorn lamb, this ignorant young woman soon finds that the easiest way of doing things in foreign lands is to say "Oh, anything you know how to make well will do perfectly!" when the cook asks what to have for dinner. To stave off the pangs of conscience, she convinces herself that this procedure makes the cook happier, too. The Primrose Path was never more flowery. Transferring her experiences in the field of cooking to housekeeping in general, "Before" often attempts to flatter her servants by asking their advice as to how to make the curtains look whiter, the silver brighter, the kitchen cleaner. But she doesn't listen to the answers. She really couldn't be less interested. She merely wants them to do it for her.

Thus, you see, "Before" managed to sidestep many a vital issue which her compatriots had learned to deal with long ago, although she was learning to cope with some situations with which they are happily not faced at all. "Before" knows how to live with a gorgeous tiled bathroom from whose gleaming silvery taps not a dribble of water emerges for days on end. She rises to the occasion when a large party is expected and the cook announces that there is no water with which to make dinner. "Before" is likewise ready for action when the gas stove puffs out dismally at six A.M. and refuses to heat the baby's bottle. The uninitiate might think of calling the gas company, but "Before" knows the futility of such gestures and has developed her own methods. "Before" has learned to stifle consternation on discovering that the plumber has never seen a bathroom in his life, the carpenter has never heard of chests of drawers, the refrigerator repairman has been, until yesterday, a taxi driver, and the hired waiter is firm in his belief that old fashioned brown sugar is exclusively made for use in Old Fashioned cocktails.

"Before," despite her faults, is not the woman to dither just because she asks for a package of cigarettes and is promptly presented with a raw carrot. Nor is she unyieldingly attached to hot running water, mechanical aids of all varieties, and the electric Light That Failed. "Before" is the girl who thinks any garment under three years of age is very new indeed, and whose greatest delight is the mail order catalogue fresh from American presses only two or three months ago. All of which merely goes to prove that "Be-

Philinda Krieg says the highlight of her career was "two glorious weeks as fashion correspondent for United Press in Paris in 1940—until they caught on." More prosaically then she worked at the Carnegie-financed American Library in Paris until all Americans were evacuated during the war. She met FSO William Krieg in Lisbon, "where the train stopped." The Kriegs were married in Lagos, Nigeria in 1943. They have one son, now three years old, whose mechanical interests account for the fact that her typed manuscript was bereft of "J's."

fore" is a specialist of sorts. Outside her field she is hopeless. Off her Primrose Path she is likely to stumble.

But even "Before" knows where the Primrose Path generally leads, and very soon she begins to ponder, to contemplate the rocky country which must inevitably lie ahead. What should she do, she thinks gloomily, if she were suddenly transferred to Washington in her present state of abyssmal ignorance? The thought transfixes her with horror. "I am a parasite, an ignoramus, a character without character! I shall commit hara-kiri rather than face the consequences of my own lazy conduct in the past!"—such is her lament. But she becomes fascinated by the whole subject of life in the United States, nonetheless. She bores those of her friends who have recently returned with questions as to the enormous and painful business of real, honest-to-goodness American housekeeping. "How could you bear it? How did you find time to read, live a life of your own, and have patience left for your children?" As these were all leading questions, fairly sitting up and begging for the desired answer, many of this young woman's kinder friends stopped the discussion by answering as "Before" had shudderingly expected, "But I couldn't bear it at all—it was simply dreadful." This served to calm her somehow by being every bit as bad as she had always believed. "Before" never stopped to think that these friends of hers had all managed to survive the grim ordeal mysteriously well, all things considered, and even found time to read a book or two.

When there is a "Before," at least in the advertisements, there is also an "After" peering smugly out of the other picture. What the advertising people usually omit is a picture of "Between." But I am confessing, not writing advertising copy. Therefore I must at least show you a few kaleidoscopic photographs, not for publication, of the horrendous scenes that lay between. Quite in the manner of the Greek tragedies, her onrushing fate overtook "Before" in short order, and the most that can be said for that rather obnoxious person is that she really tried quite hard to manage a brave, beautiful smile as the blow fell.

"Between" is another woman entirely. She is in the United States, washing out diapers in hotel rooms most of the time. She is a nervous type, and has lived up to her expectations in regard to loss of patience, sleep, peace, and sound reading matter. Fortunately, a kind of numbness has stolen over her, so that the worst scenes are vague both in memory and at the time they occurred. Later, she can recall being alone with an unusually seasick child, being out late at night with a tired child whose irritability is only matched by her own, and being perpetually in the act of saving said child from imminent death quite unaided. Many recollections come to her later of wild scrambles in other peoples' houses during which her only hope is to move fast enough to keep her child from overturning the ormulu clock, smashing the hurricane lamps, or crashing downstairs and making their nice carpet all bloody. But as I say, it's all misty in her memory later on, because "Between" had so many things on her mind. Her one object in life was strange, considering how hard she had been trying all her life to get out of housekeeping: she wanted to get a house of her own in Washington, and settle down!

It sounds as if she had become "After" already, but no. She still has a residue of the ashes of "Before" which she carries around in a kind of mental funeral urn. For one thing she still doesn't have the least idea how to keep house once she acquires one, nor how to move into it unaided, either. For another, she has conceived the odd idea that it would be much easier if she could send over for her old steward boy from African days. It doesn't occur to her until much later that a large black African straight from the bush might look distinctly peculiar padding about a small brick colonial in Bethesda, Md.

The atmosphere in American kitchens and American supermarkets, in which "Between" is soon thoroughly immersed, is not at all rarified. On the contrary, it is a thick, healthy, sea-level sort of atmosphere, rich in common sense and salubrious normality. For several months "Between" is dead certain that it is far too rich for her, and that she must surely stifle in it. But from necessity she has mustered a feverish energy to which she had never laid claim or sought previously. She has discovered, moreover, that she has slowly been growing a third hand which helps enormously around the house. At least she supposes it must be a third hand, because she knows perfectly well that *she* could never do all she has been doing with her own two hands, unhelped. In any case, the one thing she knows for sure is that she is cruelly overworked and put upon by an unkind destiny. Her worst fears, formulated when she was that lucky girl "Before" have been amply and awesomely justified.

Between . . .

And so it goes, from day to weary day. Then one afternoon around three, Presto! We are happy to announce that the photographer has come once more, to take the second picture. "Between" has changed considerably, and can now be called by the lilting name "After." We find her sitting in an armchair reading a book! Her household chores have all been accomplished, the evening meal is prepared as far as it can be at that point. "Between," unaware of her new identity, looks up from the book quite startled. It has suddenly occurred to her that she has been rather enjoying the past few weeks, callously getting pleasure out of doing a lot of household tasks, going against all her former principles! What goes on? Slowly her expression changes, and by the time the photographer is ready she is looking positively radiant, though perhaps the smallest bit self-satisfied.

The picture the photographer takes of "After" is not a wholly true one. She is not always the eager domestic beaver she appears to be, and at times is almost schizophrenically split between the insouciant flibberty-gibbet she was in the first picture and the well-adjusted American wife and mother

(*Continued on page* 54)

The lion capital of an Asoka pillar at Sarnath has been adopted as the official seal of India.

NEHRU

India's Prime Minister Visits the United States

By FRANK D. COLLINS

When Jawaharlal Nehru steps down from "The Independence" at Washington National Airport on October 11, he will be setting foot for the first time on American soil. For Nehru, who will be sixty years old on November 14, this visit will be a major event in a long and brilliant career. He arrives as the undisputed leader of 340 million Indians and as one who has gained eminence and distinction in international affairs.

One interesting aspect of his character is his apparent liking for travel. In the course of his career he has traveled extensively both abroad and at home. It is doubtful if any world figure can approach his record in this respect. From 1925 to 1927 he visited many European capitals, including Moscow, and on many subsequent occasions he took advantage of opportunities to return to Europe. Within India Nehru's travels have been frequent and extensive. During 1936-37 he is said to have traveled over 110,000 miles and addressed over ten million people. A few months ago an attempt was made on his life as he addressed a crowd estimated at 1,000,000 in Calcutta on the subject of communism. A new and great audience awaits him in the United States during his current tour where through the medium of the radio and television he will be brought into the homes of millions of Americans.

Many Americans seeing and hearing Nehru for the first time will wonder what lies behind the personality of this great Asiatic leader. In the circumstances and events which have shaped his life and which have influenced to a great extent the future of India may be found the answer.

As the son of a prominent and wealthy Kashmiri Brahmin family, Nehru was afforded opportunities far beyond the reach of the average Indian. He displayed great affection for his family and following his entry into public life he persuaded his father and mother as well as his wife and his sister, Madam Vijaya Laksmi Pandit, present Indian Ambassador to the United States, to join him in the independence movement. At an early age his education was entrusted to a British tutor in India and he later entered one of the English Public Schools, Harrow, and finally completed his studies at Cambridge. There is little doubt but that the character, personality and actions of Nehru today have been greatly influenced by these early impressionable experiences in England. Following Cambridge, Nehru was called to the English bar at the "Inner Temple" in 1912. After his return to India in the same year, he enrolled as an advocate before the Allahabad High Court. It is a tribute to his genius that he did not allow his British mannerisms, speech and attitudes to handicap him at the start of his political career. He developed character traits which appealed to the Indian masses, and in India's struggle for independence he found a cause which provided a rallying force upon which he could center his energies and rise to leadership.

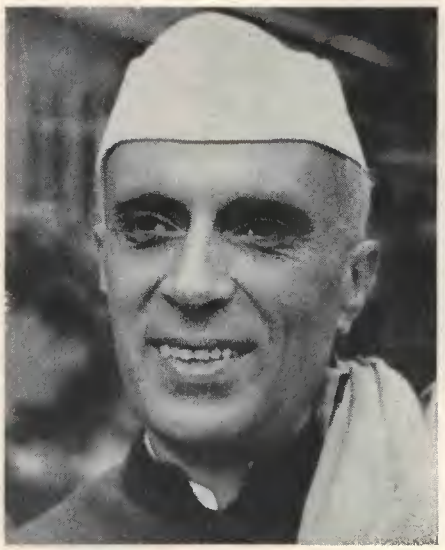
It was upon his return to India that the greatest influence was afforded to him. Nehru joined the Indian National Congress which was becoming the political vehicle upon which Indian hopes for independence were centered. This group decided to follow the leadership of Gandhi in the passive resistance campaigns. From the first, Nehru was attracted to the personality of Gandhi and in the common cause for which they pled, a great bond was developed between the two. It can hardly be said that the relationship was one of equals: it was Gandhi, as the revered teacher and Nehru, as the brilliant pupil—in a philosophic sense a Plato-Aristotle relationship.

There followed the bitter, heartbreaking struggles, disillusionment, and years of imprisonment as well as the death of his wife in 1936. The struggle for independence continued, and in 1940 Nehru was imprisoned for the eighth time only to be released and imprisoned again from August 1942 to June 1945. With the end of World War II Indian hopes for independence rose. In

A graduate of Loyola University, Frank David Collins started out as a teacher. After a few years, however, he turned to government work, serving first in the War Department and since 1944 in the State Department. He has been a country specialist since 1948 and is now Assistant on the India Desk in the Office of South Asian Affairs.

1946 Nehru entered the Interim Government of British India as a Member for External Affairs and since Independence on August 15, 1947, he has been Prime Minister.

India, today, under the leadership of Nehru, has become an increasingly important power in world affairs. That Nehru was able to rally the Indian people around him following the assassination of Gandhi on January 30, 1948 is a tribute to his genius. In the past two years Nehru has devoted much of his time to the difficult internal problems facing India, such as integration of the princely states, increased agricultural production, industrial expansion and the numerous problems associated with drafting of the Constitution. He has continued to maintain his great interest in international affairs. India's foreign policy has been shaped largely by the force and personality of Nehru. As enunciated by him, India does not wish to align herself with what she terms "power blocs" and desires to pursue a policy of neutrality, taking advantage of opportunities to bridge by compromise East-West differences on specific issues. The current Indian proposal in the United Nations on atomic energy is an example of her attempt to reconcile the differences between the Soviet view and that of the West. On matters involving the rights of colonial peoples to independence such as in Indonesia, India has been and will probably continue to be the champion and spokesman.



Prime Minister Nehru

India faces today many extremely difficult problems. Most pressing are the needs for increased production of food, land reforms, expansion of facilities for industry, and the eventual raising of the low educational level of the people—to mention but a few. Cooperation and close friendly relations between India and Pakistan are essential. A settlement of the Kashmir, water rights and refugee property issues would do much to bring this about and would allow India to devote her full energies to the above problems.

Against the background of the above problems, Prime Minister Nehru will embark upon his tour of America. The purpose of his trip is a goodwill mission to this country and he comes at the expressed invitation of President Truman. It is believed that the opportunities afforded by this trip for Nehru to see at close hand our democratic practices and institutions, our scientific and industrial progress and the intellectual and spiritual forces upon which our democracy is built will be of great benefit to the furtherance of United States-Indian relations. Nehru will see and talk with Americans of all walks of life. In New York he will visit one of our foremost universities, Columbia, and in a special convocation an honorary degree will be conferred upon him by General Eisenhower. In the great Middle West Nehru will visit several farms and will partake of a typical harvest farm dinner. He will view the wonders of Niagara Falls, T.V.A. and Grand Canyon. In addition to Columbia, he will talk to our scientists and educators at Harvard, Chicago, California and Wisconsin. Numerous public organizations throughout this country have spent much time and effort to assure Prime Minister Nehru of a warm and cordial reception. We are confident his visit will be an outstanding success.

The Department–Foreign Service Exchange Program

An Interview with Haywood P. Martin, Director of Personnel

Q. What is this exchange program—is it something new?

A. The idea is not new; the program is. One of the principal purposes of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 was to make inter-service assignments easy and frequent. Yet for a variety of reasons, chiefly budgetary, we have not previously been able to achieve these purposes on anything like the scale we would like. Now, with the new program, here's what we hope to do:

In each fiscal year assign anywhere up to 50 well-chosen people from the Department to the Foreign Service Reserve or Staff for two years, subject to two-year renewal;

Bring to the Department an equivalent number of Foreign Service personnel;

Assign the persons on both sides of the exchange to jobs which will bring out their potential qualities and benefit the work of the Department.

Q. Since such a program was envisaged in the Act, why wasn't it carried out before?

A. The main reason was that until this year we didn't have

(*Continued on page* 21)

Miss Margaret Joy Tibbetts, Divisional Assistant in the Division of British Commonwealth Affairs, takes oath as the first person appointed under the exchange program. She is going to London. Left to right, Marvin Will, Haywood P. Martin, Miss Tibbetts and Assistant Secretary John E. Peurifoy.

Some Thoughts on Service Morale

By PHILIP H. BAGBY

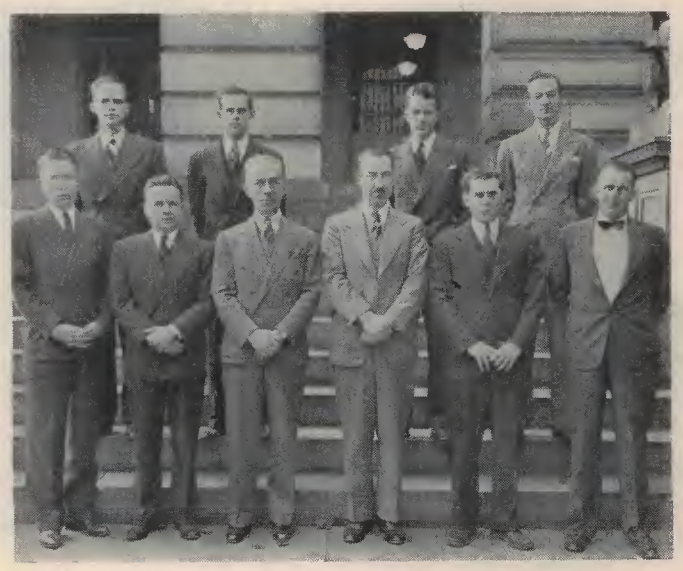
From an academic vantage point a former FSO takes a long look at the Service and suggests: "a full and frank airing of the reasons for discontent . . ."

The July issue of the JOURNAL contained an account of the meeting of the Foreign Service Association on May 24. During this meeting there was a discussion of the recent merger of the administrative offices of the Service with those of the Department, the account of which proceeds in the bland and innocuous fashion characteristic of the JOURNAL (and of diplomats in general) until on page 51 there occurs the following astonishing sentence: "Mr. Ravndal had not been consulted about the recent legislation with respect to the reorganization of the Department prior to its submission to the Congress."

No officer and no one associated with the Service can read this sentence without dismay. That the Director-General of the Foreign Service should not be consulted about legislation intimately affecting the Service is almost incredible. Indeed, I puzzled over the sentence for a long time to see if there could not have been a misprint. But any minor alteration would render the sentence ungrammatical and pointless. I can only fall back on the weak hope that Mr. Ravndal was misunderstood by the officer reporting the meeting.

Whether Mr. Ravndal's remarks were correctly reported or not they will serve to illustrate a situation of considerable gravity which badly needs a remedy. No officer who has served in the Department in the last year or two can be unaware of the numerous rumors which have been circulating regarding the intentions of certain high officials towards the Service. Such rumors have usually taken the form: "So-and-so (for instance, the Bureau of the Budget) is out to 'get' the Service and intends to do such-and-such (for instance, cut the proposed appropriation)." The situation is analogous to that on board a ship when morale is low and "scuttlebutts" are rife in the forecastle. Such rumors are usually untrue or grossly exaggerated, but they do indicate that the officers have lost the confidence of the crew. If confidence is not soon restored, the crew grows listless and indifferent to its work, quarrels break out, accidents happen and sometimes some necessary precaution is not taken and the ship is lost. I do not mean to predict any such catastrophic development in the future of the Service, but the situation has certainly now gone so far that vague and general reassurances are no longer adequate, and a full and frank airing of the reasons for discontent is now necessary.

I propose, with the permission of the Editors, to start off such a discussion with such facts and suggestions as I can muster. (One of the difficulties is the lack of facts available to the average member of the Service.) Before doing so, however, perhaps I should make clear my personal situation. I resigned from the Service a few months ago, not because of any dispute or with any feeling of disaffection, but because a small inheritance made it possible for me to pursue the study of cultural anthropology, which had long intrigued me and which I believe will prove extremely useful for the understanding of international relations. Indeed, I have been luckier than most members of the Service, for all my assignments have been unusually interesting ones and at the time of my resignation I could look forward to another interesting assignment for two or three years. Nevertheless, I would not have thrown away my career so lightly if I had not felt that the Service is no longer the straight and narrow path on which I entered with timid footsteps eight years ago. Perhaps the path was never so straight and narrow as I then imagined, but it is certainly true that personal security and the chances of reaching the top are less than they were before the war.



Would they choose a Service career today? A Foreign Service training class of 1940.

Let me deal first with the question of security. A Foreign Service Officer is paid considerably less than men of equivalent talents earn in industry. Since it is part of his job to represent the United States, he should entertain as widely and as well as his purse permits. If he has children he will have to send them home to school. Thus he has few opportunities to save. Even if he has savings or a little money of his own, he loses through residence abroad those opportunities for profitable investment which come the way of every man in business. More important than all, he loses his

Philip H. Bagby first joined the Foreign Service in 1941. After serving at Casablanca and Calcutta, he was given a brief furlough for military service and then, in November 1945, was assigned to the Department. His last post, prior to his resignation a few months ago, was Dacca. He is now doing graduate work at Harvard University.

roots in the community in which he was born. He no longer has, as most men do, a host of friends and acquaintances to whom he can turn for a job when he needs one. Without savings and without a community to shelter him, an officer must rely on the Service itself. He must have some assurance that he will not lose his job except for some serious misdemeanor and he must also be assured of an adequate, even though small, pension for his declining years.

This is the objective aspect of security, but the psychological aspect is equally if not more important. In order to do his job well a man needs to feel secure. In the absence of religion, most people nowadays put their faith in the society in which they find themselves. It may be an urban or rural community, a business or a profession. The Foreign Service Officer derives his sense of security from the Service itself. It is his profession, his home-town, and often his religion.

Eight or even four years ago, an officer could reasonably count on staying in the Service till the end of his working days. This is no longer true. He may now be expelled at any stage before he reaches the top, expelled not only from a job but from his profession, his home-town and his church. What chance has a man of forty or forty-five who has spent most of his life abroad to acquire a new profession and provide adequately for his wife and children before he is too old? His "selection-out" will be interpreted by any prospective employer as a euphemism for dismissal with cause. He may well have a chronic digestive disorder acquired in the tropics which limits his efficiency. He will carry about in his subconscious the psychological stigma of failure. It will be the rare man indeed who can triumph over these obstacles and acquire before he dies the wealth and position which he would have had if he had entered the law or medicine or a button-factory when he left college.

The "selection-out" procedures which are established in the Foreign Service Act of 1946 are usually justified on the grounds that "we must get rid of dead wood." It is an explanation which I have applauded in my day, out of youth and impatience. But what is dead wood? Are we not all in the process of becoming dead wood sooner or later? The term is used, I believe, to indicate older officers who, because of certain defects in character or (more often) because of long years of drudgery in isolated consular posts, are not qualified to serve as chiefs of mission. Now where there are defects of character they could and should have been detected years ago. The oral examination is entirely inadequate as a means of evaluating character, and I have long urged in the pages of the JOURNAL that some of the modern psychological techniques such as the British use should be adopted for examining candidates for the Service. Any defects which do not show up in the examination will certainly be revealed during the first five or ten years in the Service, and an officer can be "selected-out" in the early part of his career without doing him grave damage. It is entirely unfair, however, to punish an older man for the failure of the Service to determine sooner whether or not he is suited to become a chief of mission.

It is even more unfair, of course, in those cases where an officer's defects derive from the conditions of his service. He may have picked up some disease; he may merely have shriveled up out of boredom and isolation. I have often thought that if I had to spend twenty years in Madras, Dakar and Pernambuco, I would inevitably acquire that reverence for the regulations, that dislike for the public and that fondness for the bottle which are so frequent and so deplorable. But surely this development can be avoided in most cases. If officers are properly selected and weeded out in the early years of their career, and particularly if the amalgamation of the Service with the Department (a subject which I will come to later) takes place, it should be possible to arrange for an alternation of interesting and boring assignments. There will always be some dead wood of course, even in the best planted and best pruned forest, but those few cases which remain can surely be provided for by giving them harmless jobs in some of the odd corners of the Service or the Department.

Those Far Away Places!

Will the Service be able to man them as well as they must be? Or can it be done in some other way?

The Legation at Amman, Trans-Jordon. L. to r., 1st row: Nadia Khoury, FSO Wells Stabler, Frank Dzaugis. 2nd row: Ishaq Jarallah, Thomas Kilcoyne, Walter Wulff. 3rd row: An'on Hallak, Elias Samaan, Hassan Hamdan, Samaan Samaan. Top row: Ahmad Hamdan, Abdullah Zerka. Bottom step: Suzie.

To recapitulate, then, the objectives of the "selection-out" procedures can be equally well achieved and with less damage to the security (real and psychological) of the individual officer by (a) better selection techniques at the beginning; (b) severe weeding in the first five or ten years; (c) better planning of individual careers.

These reforms would deal with the long-range problem. There is of course also the short range problem of what to do with the dead wood which already exists. Surely the only fair thing would be to ask Congress for the authority and the money to pension off fifty or a hundred or two hundred officers in the next five years, and then to appoint an impartial board to review the records of all members of the Service before selecting those to be retired. I stress "all," for it is just as important to get rid of wood that is dying as wood that is already dead. And it is fairer to the individual to let him start a new career as soon as possible instead of waiting until he is "selected-out" five or ten or fifteen years from now.

Such a general review would also be much more satisfactory than the rather haphazard method of encouraging voluntary retirement, which was in use immediately after the war and may for all I know still be in use. The latter method will naturally get rid of as many or more able men as incompetents since the able men will have some resources in private life, while the dead wood will cling to the Service as their only refuge. One of the best chiefs of mission I know was thus induced to retire and now holds an important post as advisor to a foreign government.

A frequent reply to criticisms of the "selection-out" procedure is the statement that only a relatively few members of each class will be "selected-out." I forget whether the last figures I saw were ten or twelve percent. Aside from the fact that "selection-out" in the higher classes is equally unfair whether few or many are affected, is it at all certain that only a few will be the victims? As long as there is no statutory obligation to maintain the strength of the Service or to keep on the payroll those officers who have had five or ten years service, an economy-minded Congress or Bureau of the Budget can (and almost certainly will, sooner or later) so cut the appropriation for the Service that a quarter to a third of the officers will have to be dismissed. As a matter of fact, I understand that even in the last year or two appropriations have been so small that it is only with the greatest difficulty, by making severe economies in other expenditures, that the actual strength of the Service (minus natural attrition) has been maintained. In another year or two, perhaps even this year, if the appropriation continues as small as before, it will become necessary to "select out" officers who are actually needed. This danger was obviously not foreseen by the authors of the Foreign Service Act of 1946, but those in high places should take account of it before it is too late. If drastic economies are needed, they had much better be effected by a general purging under an impartial board with adequate pensions for the victims as suggested above, rather than by reducing the number of promotions and allowing the "selection-out" system to wreak havoc.

It is often said also that the "selection-out" system works well in the Navy. I have never seen any further details as to how it works there, and in any case I wonder if the situation in the Navy is entirely comparable. After all the average Naval Officer does not spend the better part of his career outside the United States and he must be in a better position to maintain his relations with the business and other communities. Moreover, I believe that up to date the regular Navy has never had to undergo a serious period of retrenchment. I may be wrong but I am under the impression that it continued to expand though slowly in the period between the two wars. I do happen to have personal knowledge of a situation which developed in the Army after the first World War—a situation analogous to that which seems to be developing in the Service at present. At the end of the first war a large number of reserve officers were absorbed into the regular Army on the presumption that the Army would continue to be much larger than before. Most of these new officers were captains or majors, with the result that there were a disproportionately large number of candidates for promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel. This blockage or congestion of the promotion system was known as the "Hump," and in the middle twenties reduced appropriations made it necessary to take drastic measures to reduce the "Hump." A "selection-out" system was introduced and special examinations were given. The carnage, as may be imagined, was severe. Even those who survived and became generals in the Second World War cannot look back on those times without a shudder. A number of officers (among whom one was closely related to me) killed themselves in order that their widows should enjoy their pensions and their life insurance. Fortunately unrestrained competition is no longer considered the law of life as it was in the twenties, and I do not imagine that anything quite so drastic will happen to the Service, but there are signs of a hump developing in Class 4 and Congress is anxious to make economies.

Sponsors of the Kee-Connolly Act.

Was the Foreign Service Act of 1946 well conceived in the first place? Has it had a chance to prove its worth? Can it achieve the results aimed at by amalgamation?

Closely related to the question of security there is of course the question of promotions. I do not suppose that it is possible under heaven to have an absolutely fair and just promotion system. There will always be a certain element of the fortuitous. Personalities clash. Opportunity opens her door to some and not to others. You learn to take life philosophically, and if promotion doesn't come this year you can tighten your belt and hope that it will come the next. You can continue to hope, that is as long as you are not in danger of being "selected-out." The danger of dismissal puts an entirely different aspect on the matter, and if you have been in a class seven years, or even six, you had better start considering whether it wouldn't be better to resign at once. You might even start writing your friends and relations to tell them that you are dissatisfied with the Service and ask them if they know of any good openings.

The "selection-out" procedure, in short, makes it urgent to have a promotion system in which the fortuitous element is minimized as far as possible. Great strides have been made in this direction by the establishment of the Selection Boards. The judgments of the Selection Boards must, however, be based on the efficiency reports, and I wonder whether as much as possible has been done to reduce these to a com-

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SUBSCRIPTION RATE INCREASE

Effective January 1, the subscription price of the JOURNAL will revert to its old rate of $4.00 per year. This does not affect the cost of membership in the American Foreign Service Association, which remains $8.00 per year for Active and $5.00 a year for Associate Members. All subscriptions *mailed* on or before January 1, 1950 will be billed at the present rate of $3.00.

THE CONSULATE AT PERTH CHANGES HANDS

L. to r., Vice Consul Rudolph W. Hefti (off for a quickie at Canton), Mrs. Buzbee, and Mrs. Hefti. Consul Robert L. Hunter and Vice Consul Hubert H. Buzbee, Jr., newly arrived, ure taking over.

Service Glimpses

Wild West Party at Rome on occasion of departure for Washington of Mr. and Mrs. Jack S. Williams. Left to right: foreground, Mrs. Earl W. Johnson, Mr. Thomas P. Carroll, Mrs. Albert E. Pappano; rear, Miss Ann Williams, Mrs. Carroll, Mrs. Wiedenmayer, Mr. Joseph E. Wiedenmayer, Mrs. Williams.

AROUND THE WORLD WITH THE FOREIGN SERVICE

1. *At the Moy dinner for CFM Delegates at L'Elysée are (l. to r.) Gen. Sir Brian Robertson, Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, Gen. Chuikov, and Ambassador Robert D. Murphy.* ***2.*** *Kabul, Afghanistan, after Ambassador Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.'s presentation of credentials: 1st row: His Excellency, Mir Mohammed Sediz Khan and Ambassador Dreyfus; 2nd row: Frederick Jandrey, Edward J. Krache, Jr., and Col. Jacob Mynderse; top row: David Wharton and John M. Howison.* ***3.*** *At the Airport in Buenos Aires — l. to r.: Mexican Ambassador Juan M. Alvarez del Castillo, Ambassador James Bruce, 1st Sec. Thomas J. Mileady and President Peron of Argentina.* ***4.*** *Addis Ababa. Ambassador Merrell and staff on the steps of the new palace. Mr. Merrell is flanked on his left by General Abyi Abbeba, Court Chamberlain, and on his right by Ato Tafara Worq, Vice Chamberlain. The staff, l. to r.: Donald F. Bigelow, Glenn W. Russ, Arthur L. Paddock, Jr., and Rogers B. Horgan.* ***5.*** *At the signing of the Air Transport Agreement between the US and the Dominican Republic at Ciudad Trujillo — Ambassador Ralph H. Ackerman signs as Dominican Foreign Secretary Virgilio Diaz Ordoñez looks on.* ***6.*** *Ambassador and Mrs. North Winship welcome Nicholas Monsarrat, British novelist, at the new US Information Library in Johannesburg.*

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The American Foreign Service Association

The American Foreign Service Association is an unofficial and voluntary association of the members of *The Foreign Service of the United States.* The Association 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.

MAP AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

The Military Assistance Program from conception to blue print has been a test of the imagination, the perception, and the constancy of United States foreign policy and those charged with its formulation in the Department, the White House, the Congress, and the Pentagon. When it moves into the execution stage, it will become a challenge for the Foreign Service as well. For the framers of the program have gone out of their way to assign a heavy share of the task to the Service.

It has become a bit unusual in the last decade to entrust key jobs in the administration of special overseas programs to Foreign Service personnel. Too often standard procedure has been to set up a separate authority more or less loosely tied into the Department and the Service. This has been justified by pleading the degree of specialization required for the shiny new model. The number of personnel required is usually more than the Foreign Service can supply. And besides, every one knows that the Foreign Service never met a payroll anyway.

Nor has the Foreign Service always been helpful. Some of our colleagues shy away from the jobs which seem a little out of the chancery pattern. And if our people play little part in planning the new administrations, they can hardly expect to play a big role in running them.

More recently there have been signs of a change in the trend. Foreign Service personnel are in demand for the information program; for work in the occupied areas; and in joint administrations like that in Korea.

Now here is a new program which is vital to the success of our foreign policy. The Foreign Service will supply many, if not most, of the top men at the missions who will do the work in the recipient countries. They will normally also deal with North Atlantic pact matters. They will not be submerged in a vast manpower sea, because another novel feature of the new administration will be its restricted size. Whether they do their jobs well or poorly is of great consequence, not only to the Service but to the country.

The Foreign Service should be grateful for this chance, should put its best men forward and help them deliver the goods.

NEHRU'S VISIT

Possibly not since Lafayette's triumphal tour in 1824 has any foreigner's visit to this country challenged the imagination as does Jawaharlal Nehru's. Of course, Nehru's trip is in its way greatly more significant. Lafayette's journey commemorated the association for freedom's aims of two nations already allied in the Western tradition. Nehru comes on his first visit as the leader of one of the oldest races and newest countries, of fabulous importance in the world's history and for its future, but just as remote as the East is from our own development.

We believe the Americans, whom he will come to know in a month's intensive travel up and down our land, and Nehru himself, will find that the souls of our two peoples are not so remote after all. There are, of course, many stimulating things we have in common. This is not a small country and we can know something of the Indian feeling of membership in a vast planetary community, isolated for long stretches of history from other parts of the world; we know the pains and triumphs of trying to bring diverse stocks and conditions of men into spiritual and economic harmony; and we have gone through the vivifying experience of emerging from a colonial connection.

It is easy to say that this country represents a materialistic way of life and India, the things of the spirit. We wonder if Nehru thought that the other day when he stood by the tomb of our own first President, sleeping by a water as mighty and tranquil as those which drain India's own broad land. We wonder if he saw signs of it when he arrived in the aircraft "Independence" and was met not with bristling military parades but the warm smile and handshake and simple words of a Mid-West American. We know that he could have found no proof of it, had he been present last year at one of the most moving ceremonies ever held in Washington, the memorial service, in a government hall, for Mahatma Gandhi.

In parts of Asia today a struggle looms between a spiritual way of life and a grinding, alien materialist-Communism. The people of India will find their own answers to that challenge in the millenial traditions and in their determination to enjoy their new freedom.

We believe that her example can comfort and reassure the nations just emerging into statehood on whom the threat is pressing down. We wish there were some way in which the fruits of our own kind of materialism could help India's millions cultivate their unique spiritual gifts in peace, freedom and greater prosperity. We are glad that Nehru, who in his own person seems to unite the outlooks of East and West, has come to visit us so that we can know more about India and he can be sure of what America stands for.

THE BAGBY LETTER

The JOURNAL particularly directs the attention of its readers to the first of two installments of an article by Mr. Philip Bagby, appearing in this issue, on the present state of the Foreign Service. We think it is a searching, outspoken but dispassionate review of the factors affecting morale in the Service. We cannot agree with all the points he makes but he is in a position to articulate some of the things which have been troubling us all. In our next issue we publish the rest of the Bagby letter and will try an analysis of it. We believe it affords an opportunity for what Mr. Bagby calls "a full and frank airing of the reasons for discontent."

IN MEMORIAM

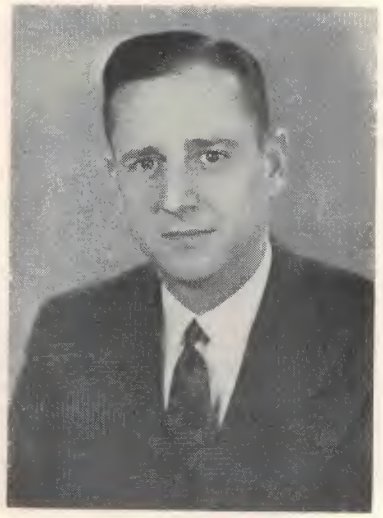
CALHOON. Miss Carolyn Calhoon, FSS, died in Norway on September 26, 1949. Miss Calhoon was a clerk at the Embassy in Oslo.

LEAVENWORTH. Charles S. Leavenworth, formerly vice consul at Nagasaki, died in New Haven, Connecticut, on October 2, 1949.

EXCHANGE PROGRAM

(*Continued from page* 15)

a combined Foreign Service - Departmental budget. Formerly the Foreign Service allocation had to bear the whole burden: the cost of temporary assignments to the field; salaries of officers assigned to the department; and the differential paid to Foreign Service personnel holding down higher paid classified jobs. Now, with consolidated funds, the Department pays for officers assigned here and the Service pays for persons in the field. The new combined Personnel administration of the Department and the Foreign Service makes it easier to administer such a program, although it could have been handled under the old pattern of organization.



Haywood P. Martin

Q. Are the individuals chosen for the exchange really good or merely "dispensable"?

A. I certainly believe they'll be good. In the Department, for example, they are chosen only on the basis of nomination by the geographic and substantive areas. The office directors and the Assistant Secretaries were informed that only nominees of outstanding ability would be considered: that they must have the potential to take on more responsible assignments; and demonstrate that an assignment to the field would enhance their opportunities to be of greater service.

Nominations of candidates are gone over by a combined FP-DP board which weighs up the candidates in terms of background, relative needs of the Department, and whether a tour in the Department would fit in with the training and re-orientation programs of the Foreign Service personnel involved. On the Foreign Service side, requirements will be just as searching.

Q. Do the Departmental people have re-employment rights in the Department?

A. Yes, in the Department, but not necessarily in the same jobs.

Q. Are all the people involved of high rank?

A. Nominations range all the way from P-2 to P-8 in the Departmental service; so far, the average assignments range around the middle grades.

Q. Do you use some yardstick of equivalent ranks in deciding which individuals will be exchanged?

A. In a general way, yes. It's usually a salary-for-salary exchange. No one is supposed to suffer diminution in pay in these temporary assignments. The FSO gets a differential if it's coming to him. The Departmental officer gets the nearest thing to his current pay, plus allowances, subject to normal appointment procedures in the Foreign Service Staff or Reserve. There may, of course, be adjustments in particular cases in which the individual, the nominating office and Personnel will all figure.

Q. Is it a post for post, job-for-job exchange?

A. No. It may happen that an outgoing officer will swap jobs with the incoming man but this is not the rule. The exchange is between one personnel corps and the other on a man-for-man basis.

Q. Doesn't this program conflict with the Foreign Service Officer Replacement program which was supposed to get more officers out of Washington?

A. Yes, I think it does to some extent. The total Washington "overhead" will be greater than a straight replacement program would have envisaged: but we think the gains in mutual understanding between home and field will warrant adjustment of any replacement program. After all, the idea is to get the Department and the Service closer together, rather than to keep them in separate compartments.

My own view is that we must be able to assign the best qualified people in both services to the job where they can make the greatest contribution; no replacement program should be allowed to block that objective; and no interchange program will prevent the assignment to the Department of Foreign Service personnel who are not included in the program.

Q. Mr. Martin, don't you think this exchange program will accomplish most of what amalgamation is supposed to achieve?

A. I think that whether you get amalgamation or not, this program is a step toward building the kind of personnel we need to conduct our foreign relations. For my money, what is important is not the kind of machinery or categories of personnel you set up, but an organization in which people in the field and at home know each other's problems at first hand, in which ideas travel freely back and forth, and there are no iron curtains. I don't like the word particularly, but "cross-fertilization" nevertheless indicates what I have in mind. I also believe that we shall not have seen what the Foreign Service Act of 1946 can really achieve until we have carried out interchange on a substantial scale.

BIRTHS

SOBER. A daughter, Elizabeth Rose, was born on August 31, 1949, to FSO and Mrs. Sidney Sober at Prague, Czechoslovakia, where Mr. Sober is Third Secretary of Embassy.

BARTON. A son, Frederick Durrie, was born on September 5, 1949, to FSS and Mrs. Robert D. Barton at Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mr. Barton is Public Affairs Officer at Rosario.

WELLMAN. A son, Clarke Tewell, was born on September 18, 1949, to FSO and Mrs. Harvey R. Wellman at Mexico City, where Mr. Wellman is Second Secretary of Embassy.

MARRIAGES

WILKINS-BRYAN. Miss Anne Conyers Bryan and FSO Fraser Wilkins were married on August 20, 1949, at Shelbyville, Kentucky. Mr. Wilkins is now on duty in the Department in the Office of African and Near Eastern Affairs.

BATES-MacMILLAN. Miss Louise MacMillan and Mr. George Eugene Bates were married on October 8, 1949, at Boston, Massachusetts. Miss MacMillan was formerly Economic Analyst at Bern.

NEWS from the DEPARTMENT

By
Joan David

REORGANIZATION — INTERIM REPORT

Effective October 3, 1949, the political, economic, and international organization work of the State Department is reorganized in accordance with the Department's plan of reorganization which is based on the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government and the Department's reorganization Task Force #2. The changes in organization are described below.

BUREAU OF NEAR EASTERN, SOUTH ASIAN AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS (NEA)

Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, Mr. George C. McGhee; *Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs,* FSO Raymond A. Hare; *Executive Director,* FSS John W. Jago; *Intelligence Adviser,* Mr. W. Wendell Cleland; *Labor Adviser,* FSS William J. Handley; *Politico-Economic Adviser,* FSO Henry L. Deimel, Jr.; *Politico-Military Adviser,* Mr. David A. Robertson; *Refugee Adviser,* Mr. Arthur Z. Gardiner; *United Nations Adviser,* Mr. Harry N. Howard; *Staff Assistant,* Mr. Alton W. Hemba.

Office of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs (GTI)

Director, FSO John D. Jernegan; *Deputy Director,* Mr. William M. Rountree; *Officer in Charge, Greek Affairs,* FSO Leonard J. Cromie; *Officer in Charge, Turkish Affairs,* FSO C. Robert Moore; *Officer in Charge, Iranian Affairs,* FSO C. Vaughan Ferguson, Jr.; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* _____.

Office of South Asian Affairs (SOA)

Director, FSO Elbert G. Mathews; *Deputy Director,* Mr. Donald D. Kennedy; *Officer in Charge, India-Nepal Affairs,* FSO Joseph S. Sparks; *Officer in Charge, Pakistan-Afghanistan Affairs,* FSO Thomas Eliot Weil; *Officer in Charge, Burma-Ceylon Affairs,* FSO Richard E. Usher; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* _____.

Credit Union Lends 2,000,000th Dollar

Miss Reva T. Fields receives from Assistant Secretary John E. Peurifoy a check for the 11,120th loan. L. to r. Mr. Louis Thompson, FSO Elbert G. Mathews, Assistant Secretary Peurifoy, and Mr. Jesse E. Saugstad.

Office of African and Near Eastern Affairs (ANE)

Director, _____; *Deputy Director,* FSO Gordon H. Mattison; *Deputy Director,* FSO James S. Moose, Jr.; *Officer in Charge, Lebanon-Syria-Iraq Affairs,* FSO Harlan P. Clark; *Officer in Charge, Palestine-Israel-Jordan Affairs,* FSO Fraser Wilkins; *Officer in Charge, Arabian Peninsula Affairs,* Mr. Richard H. Sanger; *Officer in Charge, Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Affairs,* FSO Wells Stabler; *Officer in Charge, Northern Africa Affairs,* Mr. Samuel K. C. Kopper; *Officer in Charge, Southern Africa Affairs,* Mr. Leo G. Cyr; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* _____.

THE BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (EUR)

Assistant Secretary for European Affairs, Mr. George W. Perkins; *Deputy Ass't Secretary for European Affairs,* FSO Llewellyn E. Thompson; *Executive Director,* Mr. Arthur G. Stevens; *Adviser, UN,* Mr. G. Hayden Raynor; *Special Assistant,* Mr. Raymond E. Murphy; *Labor Adviser,* _____; *Intelligence Adviser,* _____; *Staff Assistant,* FSO Boies C. Hart, Jr.

Office of British Commonwealth and Northern European Affairs (BNA)

Director, Mr. Henry R. Labouisse; *Deputy Director,* FSO Livingston Satterthwaite; *Officer in Charge, UK and Ireland Affairs,* Mr. Wayne G. Jackson; *Officer in Charge, Dominion Affairs,* FSO William P. Snow; *Officer in Charge, Northern European Affairs,* FSO Benjamin M. Hulley; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* _____.

Office of Eastern European Affairs (EE)

Director, FSO G. Frederick Reinhardt, (Actg.); *Deputy Director,* _____; *Officer in Charge, USSR Affairs,* FSO G. Frederick Reinhardt; *Officer in Charge, Balkan Affairs,* Mr. John C. Campbell, (Actg.); *Officer in Charge, Poland, Baltic and Czechoslovakian Affairs,* FSO Fred K. Salter; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* _____.

Office of Western European Affairs (WE)

Director, FSO Theodore C. Achilles; *Deputy Director,* FSO Homer M. Byington, Jr.; *Officer in Charge, Italian Affairs,* Mr. Leonard Unger (Actg.); *Officer in Charge, French-Iberian Affairs,* FSO Elim O'Shaughnessy; *Officer in Charge, Swiss-Benelux Affairs,* Mr. Frederick E. Nolting; *Officer in Charge, Economic Affairs,* Mr. Roswell H. Whitman.

Office of European Regional Affairs (RA)

Director, Mr. Edwin M. Martin; *Deputy Director,* FSO Douglas MacArthur, II; *Officer in Charge, Economic Organization Affairs,* Mr. Ben T. Moore; *Officer in Charge, Special Problems Affairs,* _____; *Officer in Charge, Public Affairs,* Mr. Antonio A. Micocci (Actg.).

THE BUREAU OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS (ARA)

Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Edward G. Miller, Jr.; *Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs,* Mr. Willard F. Barber; *Executive Director,* FSS William P. Hughes; *Public Affairs Adviser,* _____; *Economic and Labor Advisor,* FSO Ivan B. White (Subject transfer from Trieste); *Intelligence Advisor,* _____; *Staff Assistant,* Mr. Norman M. Pearson.

OFFICE OF MIDDLE AMERICAN AFFAIRS (MID)

Director, FSO Paul J. Reveley; *Deputy Director,* Mr. Edward G. Cale; *Special Assistant,* FSO Thomas C. Mann; *Officer in Charge, Mexican Affairs,* FSO Paul J. Reveley; *Officer in Charge, Central America and Panama Affairs,* Mr. Murray M. Wise (Actg.); *Officer in Charge, Caribbean Affairs,* Mr. Leonard H. Price (Actg.).

OFFICE OF EAST COAST AFFAIRS (EC)

Director, FSO Howard H. Tewksbury; *Officer in Charge, Brazilian Affairs,* FSO DuWayne G. Clark; *Officer in Charge, River Plate Affairs,* Mr. Rollin S. Atwood.

OFFICE OF NORTH AND WEST COAST AFFAIRS (NWC)

Director, FSO Sheldon T. Mills; *Officer in Charge, North Coast Affairs, (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador),* FSO William L. Krieg; *Officer in Charge, West Coast Affairs, (Chile, Bolivia, Peru),* FSS Harold M. Randall.

OFFICE OF REGIONAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS (RA)

Director, Mr. John C. Dreier.

Personals

Confirmed by the Senate were the nominations of STANTON GRIFFIS as Ambassador to Argentina, ROBERT D. MURPHY as Ambassador to Belgium, JOSEPH SATTERTHWAITE as Ambassador to Ceylon, ERNEST A. GROSS as Delegate to the United Nations and JACK K. MCFALL as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Congressional Relations.

Commended by UNDER SECRETARY WEBB at the ceremonies in his office marking her retirement after 35 years with the Department of State, was MRS. FLORENCE M. CLAYTON. Mrs. Clayton had been Chief of the European Unit of the Division of Communications and Records sinee 1945, the same Division (then known as the Bureau of Indexes and Archives) with which she had started her government service.

Foreign Service Women's Luncheon

The first of the Foreign Service Women's Luncheons of the 1949-50 season will be held at the Wardman Park Hotel, Tuesday, December 6, 1949, at 1 P.M. Tickets are $2.75. If you do not receive a notice by November 25, please call Mrs. Leon LeRoy Cowles, EM. 2038.

Chief of thc Visa Division HERVÉ L'HEUREUX's Prayers for Peace Movement continues to snowball. In the year since Mr. L'Heureux first suggested it more than 630 organizations representing almost every creed have adopted resolutions supporting it. On at least three occasions Members of Congress have taken note of the mass appeal of Mr. L'Hcureux's idea, the most recent being REPRESENTATIVE JOHN W. MCCORMACK's October 6th speech to the House.

Heading the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization conference at Paris is Assistant Secretary GEORGE V. ALLEN. Among his Advisers, according to the press, is lovely film star MYRNA LOY.

On the other side of the world at the Fourth Session of the South Pacific Commission at Noumea, New Caledonia, late this month EDNA H. BARR and MRS. PHYLLIS LEROY of the Department's Division of Dependent Area Affairs were

John D. Hickerson is sworn in as Assistant Secretary in charge of United Nations Affairs. L. to r.: Mrs. Hickerson, Mr. Hickerson, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Undersecretary of State James E. Webb, and Mr. Marvin Will.

Advisers and ORSEN N. NIELSEN, Consul General at Sydney, was Acting Commissioner.

Host to President Truman and his aides one weekend early in October was the Department's Chief of Protocol, STANLEY WOODWARD.

JAMES BRUCE, who had just completed a two-year assignment as Ambassador to Argentina, has been appointed by the President as Director of Foreign Military Assistance.

Here for a quick consultation in anticipation of next month's visit to the United States of the handsome young Shah of Iran, was GERALD F. P. DOOHER, Attaché at the Embassy at Tehran. Mr. Dooher, one of the first area specialists in Arabian countries, reports that Persian is a fascinating challenge. The language has no grammar at all and the speaker is free to make up words.

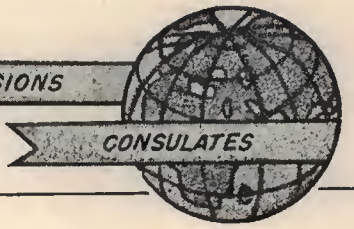
Dr. W. HUGH RIDDELL, from 1945 to 1948 Agricultural Attaché at The Hague, has been decorated Commander of the Order of Orange Nassau in recognition of his contribution to the agricultural reconstruction and recovery of The Netherlands.

News accounts of MME. MESTA's swearing in, arrival and presentation had scarcely simmered down to an every third day reference in the daily press when *Newsweek* aired a report that the President would soon name a lady Ambassador. A few weeks later Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, Democratic committeewoman from Minnesota, was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Denmark.

Former Secretary of State GEORGE C. MARSHALL became on October 1 President of the American Red Cross.

On hand for the signing of the two-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was former Secretary of State CORDELL HULL.

(*Continued on page* 34)



Letter from Hamburg

(Story of the Month)

August 17, 1949

On the basis of an ample stock of clippings forwarded by friends and relatives it appears that the most startling news to come from Hamburg in recent weeks has already been amply covered by the American press—we refer, of course, to the capture of Vice Consul John Perry and "seine drei Begleiterinnen" (FS Clerks Mona Meier, Katherine Davis, and Anne Coombs) by the Russians. Perry and the three girls were out for a sail in a boat borrowed from the British Country Club at Travemünde, when a strong wind blew them ashore in the Russian Zone across the bay. According to Perry the Russian troops who took the party into custody seemed most impressed by the fact that none of the four "capitalistic fascists" was wearing shoes. We here were most impressed by the fact that Perry, sans shoes and sans passport or identity card, still was carrying two engraved calling cards with which he satisfied the Soviets that he was indeed an American Vice Consul.

Pictured above is the small boat in which Vice Consul John Perry and three Foreign Service clerks were blown ashore in the Russian Zone of Germany. The photograph shows Perry (far right), FS Clerk Anne Coombs, and a German attendant just before the party set out for their ill-fated sail on the Baltic.

The Russians seemed satisfied that the party had not come to spy, but Perry was subjected to extensive questioning concerning conditions in the United States and in Western Germany and concerning his work in the Displaced Persons program. (Perry states somewhat ruefully that when told the salary of an American FSO-6 the Russians seemed unimpressed.) Following the questioning Perry and the girls were promised that they would be taken to the zonal boundary and released, but they were eventually held overnight. Finally after valiant efforts on the part of Consul Richard Huestis (then acting Consul General) the four argonauts were released just about twenty-four hours following their capture. Even this appears to be something of a record among those who have strayed into Russian hands.

Despite the unfortunate experience of Perry and the girls, Travemünde remains one of the most popular weekend Meccas for those stationed at Hamburg; and again this week several of the staff are complaining about weekend sunburns acquired on the Baltic's shores. However, lest some readers begin to wonder whether Hamburg can compete with the Foreign Service's more tropical posts, we hasten to add that this summer in northern Europe has been a most cool and rainy one.

American personnel generally have had to be content with indoor entertainments, and the music lovers are currently enjoying the summer season at Hansestadt, Hamburg's excellent opera. As the principal city of the British Zone of Germany, Hamburg, of course, also offers many English movies and stage productions. The city has increasingly taken on an American air with the appearance of a contingent of Air Lift pilots and their families; and now there is even a U. S. Army PX next door to the British Officers' Club. Naturally with the curtailment of the Air Lift it is now rumored that the American families will be withdrawn.

Hamburg has also been the scene of numerous arrivals and departures among Foreign Service personnel and of the attendant series of parties. Consul General Edward Groth, having been transferred to Nairobi, was among the first to leave. At a farewell party which included all the staff he was presented with gifts of photographic equipment by both the Germans and Americans. Mr. Groth's successor, Robert T. Cowan, arrived in time to greet the staff and the rest of the local American colony at the traditional 4th of July reception. Meanwhile, Mr. Cowan was earlier welcomed at a cocktail party given by Consul Halleck L. Rose, chief of the displaced persons program at Hamburg's sub-office in Wentorf.

The Displaced Persons program itself has brought many new people to Hamburg (and to other posts in Germany) and in some cases has been the occasion for renewing old acquaintances. It was an interesting coincidence that for a time five vice consuls all from the same class at the Foreign Service Institute were assigned to Hamburg. The five who were once designated as members of FSI Class 47-IX, consisted of Vice Consuls John Dennis and John Conway, who arrived in Hamburg in December, 1947, and Abbott Judd, Melvin Sonne, and John Perry, who came to Germany this spring with the opening of the DP program. While Mr. Judd has since been transferred to Salzburg, the group had time to hold a class reunion before his departure.

C. Melvin Sonne, Jr.

● **The *Journal's* appeal for Field Correspondents has more than doubled our previous list. When it is more nearly complete we will publish all the names.**

BANGKOK

The end of May is the beginning of our monsoon, or rainy season; therefore, our British friends can *almost* safely celebrate their King's Birthday, June 9th, in the garden; we are always jealous of that fact.

Gradually, throughout June, the rains gather force, until at the end of the month, one can be *almost* certain it will rain some time during the day.

The first, second and third of July it rained torrentially; if the sun would only come out on the afternoon of the third —shine all day on the Fourth—we could use our garden. Should we get more garden chairs? Shall we string lights on the trees? How many official cars can we park within our compound? We sent invitations to 200 Siamese officials and Royal Princes, and to the Diplomatic Corps. To the rest of Bangkok, we were "at home," as announced in the newspaper. How many people can we then expect? How many glasses must we use? How many serving boys? How many cakes and curry puffs and other eatables must we order? How much liquid refreshment? If it rains there will be fewer, but *how many*? It is impossible to guess.

For two days our chauffeur, Chin, and his wife made votive offerings—fresh coconut with a candle to placate the rain gods, and candles floating on the water to bring us good weather. Ah Ngee, our faithful boy-butler, who has worked for American Chiefs of Mission for twenty years, was just as anxious, perhaps more so, than were we. Rain would flood our porte-cochere from the overflowing of too small drain pipes. Our patio would be wet too. The whole household was tense. It rained the night of the third. We heard it and our hearts sank—No garden for tomorrow, but if only it won't flood.

The morning of the Fourth the whole household was up bright and early. The sky was gray, heavy and uncertain. The sun unsuccessfully tried to edge its way through. An exciting morning, fixing flags, arranging flowers, testing the champagne punch—people driving in and out, in and out, signing the book, leaving cards.

The weather became a little more settled, but the garden was soaking wet. We had long since given up using it; now our only prayer was for no torrential down-pour. A hasty lunch and an attempted siesta after, but little chance for that with delivery trucks arriving, crates of soda water, orange crush, ginger ale, coca-cola being unloaded, shouting boys giving orders, more cars arriving, everyone giving directions for setting up the tents for the Navy band, and over all the atmosphere of tense excitement, while the weather remained steady.

Five o'clock—the arrival of the Naval band, smart in their white and blue uniforms—our Embassy family dressed in its best, eager and ready to help with our common party, and the twenty borrowed Embassy servant boys.

Now here come the guests. We received them by the side of the American flag, which was raised on a dais. At first a scattering of people, but later so thick and fast did they appear, we only had time for a handshake and passed to the hand of the next arrival.

Since the guests numbered double those we had expected, we felt very happy and gratified, even though foot-sore, hand-sore, hoarse and weary. Not until 6:45 was it possible to pause in order to propose the toast of the day. John Stone beat on our Karen bronze drum; the Ambassador stepped onto the dais:

"Your Royal Highnesses, Highnesses, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the 173rd anniversary of the Independence of the United States, I invite you to join in a toast to the very good health of the President of the United States."

Lieutenant Curts gave the signal to the band for the "Star Spangled Banner." And then a thrilling thing happened! For the first time in our experience in Bangkok, the strains of the anthem were taken up, and singing slowly spread throughout the crowd in a very spontaneous demonstration of heartfelt emotion.

The Prince Regent took his departure immediately after the toast and others followed slowly. But with five hundred cars parked in the garden and its vicinity, there was a considerable wait for them.

"Good-bye, how nice of you to come."

"Good-bye, good-bye, thank you very much," and on and on and on.

At nine o'clock guests were still with us, lingering to enjoy the delicious sense of space and coolness after the departed crowd. We left them lingering, and tired as we were, but happy, made an appearance at the reception given by the Philippine Legation to celebrate its own Independence Day, the first celebrated in Siam.

July Fourth, 1949, was a very full day.

JOSEPHINE STANTON.

TUNIS

Not far from Tunis, overlooking the bay and hills of ancient Carthage, is Sidi-bou-Said, the fabulous palace of the Baron and Baroness d'Erlanger. For GI's and diplomats alike, the gracious welcome of their host and hostess is as unforgettable as the elaborate oriental garden, the marble terraces and the fountains playing in the gold and marble patio.

Favorite among the stories the Baroness tells her visitors is the tale of the Bedouin beauty Kakenna, who led a revolt of her tribe against the oppressions of the Bey of Tunis some 300 years ago. As they pressed northward across the desert, the fleeing nomads came to the ancient Colosseum-like Roman amphitheatre of El Djem just as they sighted the Bey's army marching in pursuit. Kakenna directed her people within its sheltering walls.

(*Continued on page* 40)

Ecosoc in Action

Ninth Session at Geneva, July-August, 1949

"We got things done"—*but*—"From the lips of the Soviet delegate, the Council learned about a system for forcily 're-educating' individuals who oppose the political views of the Stalin regime."

By WILLARD L. THORP
Assistant Secretary of State

The lights burned late in one corner of the Palais des Nations in Geneva early in August this year. Through curtained windows they cast dim shadows toward the outward darkness. Inside they reflected on highly polished marble floors. A gavel fell and a meeting of one of the committees of the Economic and Social Council was adjourned at 11:15 p.m. A delegate moved toward a group of his colleagues near the door and remarked, "I'll see you in a few minutes." The representatives then sauntered wearily into another room to a meeting of a sub-committee working out one phase of the expanded technical assistance program for underdeveloped areas. That committee finished at 2:30 a.m.

The ninth session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was filled with such undramatic but business-like incidents. In a final effort to conclude the session with its agenda of over fifty items, the delegates worked for eight consecutive days, which included several after-midnight meetings. Most of the meetings over the six-weeks period were conducted without publicity. Sensationalism was absent although the work of the Council made the front pages on a few occasions.

We got things done at this Council.

We blueprinted plans and machinery for increasing technical assistance to backward countries, undoubtedly the Council's outstanding achievement in its four-year history; we pushed forward the social program of the UN; and we prepared campaigns against unemployment and depressions.

The United States delegates also wanted to get the Soviet Union to let the UN look into the conditions of forced labor in its territories; we did not succeed but the Council heard the Soviet delegates admit its existence.

The World Economy and Soviet Propaganda

The economic backdrop for the Council session was a certain amount of concern over the world economic outlook. Increased unemployment in the United States, some fairly sharp price declines, and the passing of the post-war seller's market had sharpened apprehensions over the business situation in the United States, which already was viewed with alarm in many quarters of the globe. The disappearance of the seller's market for foreign goods in the United States had precipitated the first sharp drops in the British exports to the dollar area. In several European countries unemployment was at the highest level since the war.

All these circumstances seem made to order for a Marxist propaganda drive. The Council got it in full force. The World Federation of Trade Unions, a Communist-dominated organization, alleged that capitalist countries were concealing the true state of affairs, that unemployment was far greater than admitted, and that mass joblessness was inevitable. The representatives of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine and Poland hammered the theme.

It was imperative to set the record straight. Nearly every member country spoke on the question. The principal thesis of my own statement was that it was grossly misleading to compare the present economic status with the peaks of post-war employment and production, unmatched at any time in the history of the world. US production and employment are nevertheless continuing at very high levels with many industries showing upturns in business following brief declines. I pointed out further that strong stabilizing factors were at work within the economy: the total of personal incomes disposable for spending and saving was high, and at the other end of the balance there was an absence of factors which customarily contribute to a deflational spiral, such as excessive speculation in commodities or securities, and over-expansion of bank credit.

To combat unemployment and economic deflation at the international level the Council took two steps. First, it agreed on the appointment of a small group of experts who could diagnose the current world situation, and write out a prescription for national and international remedies to establish and maintain healthy full employment. To help countries ward off internal slumps, the Council arranged to publish up-to-date reports on measures taken by the various countries to achieve and maintain high levels of employment.

Forced Labor

The question of forced labor in the Soviet Union was a burning one at Geneva. The Soviet representatives disclaimed an allegation in terms of outrage but they gave no adequate replies to the charges, nor have they been willing to open their doors for the world to see the exact state of affairs in their country.

The question had been raised at an earlier session by the American Federation of Labor. At Geneva the tempestuous debate took a new and significant turn. The British delegation offered to the Council a photostatic copy of the Russian labor code setting forth the

After receiving his Ph.D. at Columbia in 1924 Mr. Thorp taught economics at Michigan and then Amherst. Turning to government work he served, among other positions, as Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Chairman of the Advisory Council of NRA, and Director of the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council. Then followed ten years in the business world before he returned to government in 1945 as deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State. A year later he became Assistant Secretary and since then has represented the U. S. on many important international committees.

principles of the Soviet forced labor system and the administrative machinery for carrying it out. In presenting it to the Council, the British Delegation used no soft pedal in condemning the system.

Confronted with this bill of particulars, the Soviet reaction was quick and furious. The Soviet delegate cried out against the "lies and slanders" but at no point did he deny the existence of the system. He merely claimed that this peonage was conducted in a humane manner and was a necessary form of "re-education" in creating a socialist society.

This debate, I think, provides one answer to the critics who call the United Nations "nothing but a debating society." Here is one of the most controversial aspects of the so-called East-West struggle—the existence, or non-existence, of a system of labor and confinement forced upon individuals in the Soviet Union because of their political beliefs. From the lips of the Soviet delegates, the Council learned about a system for forcibly "re-educating" individuals who oppose the political views of the Stalin regime and who dare to let that fact be known. It is now an unquestioned fact, admitted by the Russians themselves, that for holding certain political opinions a person can be taken from his family, forced into work not of his own choosing and for pay which he has no voice in determining until he "changes" his political thinking. This admission is a major contribution to world understanding of the political choices before the world today.

Willard L. Thorp

The United States wanted the United Nations and the International Labor Organization to undertake a thorough investigation of forced labor wherever it may exist in the world, adducing such evidence as was obtainable with regard to the Soviet Union even though the Russians refused to cooperate voluntarily. This seemed to us the only forthright step on an issue involving fundamental human rights.

To our disappointment the Council decided to ask its member countries once more whether they would cooperate in an impartial investigation . . . of course the Soviets have never said yes. Thus, the question is not ended and will almost surely come up again at future Council sessions.

On another labor question, building upon earlier action by the International Labor Organization, the Council adopted a resolution introduced jointly by the United States and the United Kingdom in support of the establishment by ILO of a fact-finding and conciliation commission. This body, acting on behalf of the UN as well as the ILO, will supervise the international right of freedom of association and when disputes and doubts arise, it will endeavor to ascertain the facts and conciliate the differences between workers and their governments.

The Technical Assistance Program

Setting up a mechanism to exchange "know-how" and extend technical aid to undeveloped nations may sound humdrum and prosaic, but it is no small task. There are no precise guide posts to follow. The Council was pioneering in international public administration.

Any administrative mechanism forced to deal with a group of independent sovereignties is inevitably complicated. The support of the 59 member countries of the UN for a given program can be enlisted only by voluntary cooperation and agreement. Similarly, the specialized agencies associated with the United Nations—in this case, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization—are sovereign international agencies in the sense that each has its own membership, its own international charter and its own secretariat, and they are bound to the UN only by a rather loose agreement providing for cooperation rather than actual integration.

Some delegates felt that technical assistance should be directed through a central authority with strong powers, including the allocation of funds and the power to approve or disapprove specific technical assistance projects. Another school of thought, to which the US adhered, felt that the best results could be achieved through a system of close coordination and cooperation. The Council was closely divided on this critical question but finally chose the latter course.

As it now stands, the specialized agencies will have full discretion in approving and executing specific projects for technical assistance. A country seeking help in eradicating malaria for instance, will be able to go directly to the World Health Organization and get action on the request without administrative processing within a superior policy control body of the United Nations. At the same time a system of coordination among participating specialized agencies prevents duplication of projects.

The heart of this organization will be the Technical Assistance Board, presided over by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and composed of the Directors-General (or their representatives) of the five specialized agencies participating in the expanded program. This board will have a staff equipped to analyze projects, to check on their urgency and extent of the need of requesting countries, and to spot instances of overlapping, duplication or wasted effort.

Policy control over the program will remain with the Economic and Social Council, subject to review by the United Nations General Assembly. The Council will set up the guideposts within which the specialized agencies must carry out their programs. It will have the power, in effect, to enlarge or diminish the proportion of total funds available from voluntary national contributions which shall be allocated to each specialized agency. Its role will be that of a post-auditor of operations, checking their effectiveness and conformity with basic policy, and adjusting the purse-strings on future expenditures accordingly. The allocations voted by the Council at Geneva gave the UN itself 23 percent of the total funds, the ILO 11 percent, the FAO 29 percent,

UNESCO 14 percent, WHO 22 percent and ICAO one percent.

The Council also drew up a set of provisional principles to guide the specialized agencies in administering their assistance programs. The primary objective was "to help those countries to strengthen their national economies with a view to ensuring for their peoples the attainments of a higher level of economic and social welfare." Such aid shall not be the means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the countries concerned and shall not be accompanied by any consideration of a political nature.

Governments requesting assistance must show that they are giving major consideration to capital investment or large continued governmental expenditures which may be needed as a result of the technical assistance; aid is not to be frittered away in casual projects, the benefits of which might rapidly disappear. To be eligible for help, countries must systematize their own planning and development programs.

The program worked out by the Economic and Social Council will, of itself, build no steel mills, construct no vast hydroelectric dams and probably not many school buildings. These are expenditures which by their nature must follow—though sometimes they will accompany—the preparation of a population to support modern techniques. A steel mill requires expert management and skilled labor. A hydroelectric project requires not only skilled workers on the site but skilled and equipped farmers who know how to utilize costly new acreage. The training of teachers should precede or keep pace with the building of schools.

The emphasis of the program is on the development of *people*—the development of the fundamental intellect, the development of skilled hands, the development of healthy bodies so that people may develop themselves.

Nevertheless an adequate flow of investment capital remains the essential lifeblood of a developing economy. The Council did not go deeply into the means of providing it at this meeting. The problem involves the basic conditions under which international investment may revive; the means of increasing domestic savings and putting them to productive use; and the effect on the capital flow of the Technical Assistance Program itself and of President Truman's Point IV Program. The Council put study groups to work on these problems in preparation for fuller consideration at its next meeting in February 1950.

Advancing the Social Goals of UN

The social program of the United Nations is achieving gains in many fields, old and new. At Geneva we reviewed many heartening results and challenging plans.

The Council decided to make a special study of tropical housing needs affecting millions of people; it sent to the General Assembly a draft convention for suppression of traffic in women and children; another convention to facilitate legal declaration of deaths for the millions of victims of war and genocide who disappeared from 1939 to 1945. It asked the Secretary General to investigate slavery, which still exists in dark corners of the world; and launched a study of coordinated international action to fight crime.

An interesting aspect of the debate on "social" items was the way it reflected the attitude of the Soviet Union. The Russian viewpoint is best known through the more dramatic, headline-making political issues that come before the Security Council and the General Assembly. The narrowness of the Soviet concept of international cooperation is more fully outlined by Russian opposition to nearly every item on the UN social program. Here is an illustration:

Scientists believe that chemical analysis of opium seized in illicit international traffic would aid considerably in determining its source and in combatting the illegal opium trade. Since international agencies have no laboratory facilities for that purpose, the United States offered to make them available to the United Nations in New York, free of charge. The Soviet representative opposed the resolution accepting the offer. When questioned he merely replied that the Soviet Union preferred purely national action to restrict the drug traffic. This was the pattern of the Soviet attitude toward other items on the social calendar.

A Future for Refugees and DP's

Several major issues arose over UN activities growing out of immediate after-effects of the war. One was the question of refugees. After the completion of the work of IRO there will remain perhaps hundreds of thousands of displaced individuals, too old, too sick, or too unskilled to be moved from their present country of refuge. Others will not yet have found permanent places of settlement. The Council set machinery in motion for the preparation of a consolidated convention relating to the international status of refugees and stateless persons and the enactment of measures to eliminate statelessness as well as continuing the legal protection of refugees.

A second post-war emergency problem is the care of children through the International Children's Emergency Fund. The nature of the continuing needs of children and the international program necessary to take care of them is being investigated.

ECOSOC's' Most Successful Session

This was the kind of ECOSOC session which will do most to combat criticism that the Council is a "talk" organization and not a "do" organization. The Council was not set up as an operating organization but it showed it could *get* things done. This session was undoubtedly the most constructive and businesslike in United Nations history. The product of its decisions in terms of human values will be greater than the results of any previous Council meeting.

By PARK F. WOLLAM

It's the ALTITUDE

This is not a scientific treatise on the effects of high altitude upon human life. It is merely an attempt to dispel the unfounded fears of many who seem to be afraid of the altitude and shy violently away from an assignment to one of the several Foreign Service Posts which are above the level of any city in the United States. These observations are based on the author's three-year stay at La Paz, Bolivia, the highest Foreign Service post by at least three thousand feet.

The altitude of La Paz ranges from 13,404 feet at "El Alto" airport to lower than 11,000 feet in the suburbs of Obrajes and Calcoto. The business section is between 12,000 and 12,5000 feet, but the exact level depends on where you stand. The terrain is rugged. At this height the amount of oxygen in the air is asserted reduced by a third compared with sea level.

One is inclined to be impressed on arriving at the airport. It is higher than all but the highest mountain peaks of the United States. It is so impressive, in fact, that some persons descending from the plane see the sign listing 13,404 feet and immediately turn green. Some even have to be taken down to the "heavier" air levels of 11,000 feet before they feel like sitting up again. It is the same with air passengers who enjoy the rugged scenery enroute to La Paz until they find they are flying above 19,000 feet. Such sudden knowledge makes otherwise healthy persons ring immediately for the steward.

An American mining engineer, who had worked for years in the loftier parts of Bolivia, was returning from a vacation in Argentina and, as the only passenger on the plane, decided he could disregard the "No Smoking" light. He was quietly having a cigarette when the co-pilot came back in considerable consternation and told the mining man that they were flying at more than 15,000 feet and that it was most unhealthy to smoke under the circumstances. The engineer pointed out the window to a peak towering well above the path of the plane and showed the co-pilot a road winding upward to some diggings near the top. He said in effect, "Pilot, that's where I work and live, and I smoke when I feel like it." The pilot hastily retreated to his oxygen mask. As a matter of fact there are many mines in Bolivia where you can be home hundreds of feet below the surface and still be above the highest of the Rockies.

Courtesy Pan American Union

Street scene in mountainous La Paz.

Somewhere between the two extremes—the passenger who turns green at the airport and the acclimated natives and old-timers, lies the medium in which the rest of us fall. One can never predict how the altitude will affect a given person.

Those who arrive with the "It can't affect me" attitude may find themselves calling for oxygen in the middle of the night, as happened recently. (Note: The hotels do not stock this commodity.) Others may find that except for a shortness of breath life proceeds normally.

The populace of La Paz has had considerable amusement from some American officials who have driven around La Paz holding oxygen tanks. The most amusing, perhaps, have been some of the visiting Air Force people who, thoroughly indoctrinated with the necessity of using oxygen in flight above 10,000 feet, have no instructions on what to do when they are much higher than that on the ground.

The extreme altitude often causes a variety of symptoms of high altitude sickness or *soroche*. This is by no means an imaginary ailment and in extreme cases the painful symptoms may make it impossible for a person to live comfortably in La Paz. The symptoms of *soroche* are as numerous as there are individuals and provide a steady conversational gambit for all foreigners. There is *soroche* of the head, neck, stomach, back, liver, and so on. What is not *soroche* can usually be blamed on it and no one knows the difference. Some *soroche* is undoubtedly a mental state induced by the fear of having it. *Soroche* can hit at any time in an unpre-

Park Fields Wollam was born in Indiana in 1917. He has a Master's degree from the University of California. Appointed a Foreign Service Staff officer in 1943, Mr. Wollam's first post was Cali. After a 1945-46 furlough for military service, he was sent to Tijuana as Vice Consul and then to La Paz where he was Vice Consul and Administrative Officer. His next post, scheduled for October, is Buenos Aires.

dictable manner, although it is usually experienced soon after arrival.

On occasion *soroche* may be nothing more than over indulgence on the previous evening. The symptoms can be the same. Other exotic areas have their own special amœbas or bugs which account for inside upsets. In La Paz this may well be *soroche* of the stomach. The all-inclusive word *soroche* is immediately accepted for everything by all members of the community. That *soroche* cannot be lightly discounted can be vouched for by a number of visitors who have spent their short visits in bed or asking for the next transportation "down."

Native Bolivians may have *soroche* in reverse when descending to lower countries or returning to the altitude after a sojourn out of the mountains. North Americans who have been "up" for a while also have symptoms for a month or two after leaving the mountains.

Coupled with the term *soroche* is the old phrase "It's the Altitude," and most anything can be explained by these two versatile scapegoats. The altitude is supposed to affect the memory over a period of time. One blames it when both members of a couple completely forget a formal engagement. This most unpardonable of social crimes has been pardoned on occasion in La Paz because it has happened to so many foreigners from the rank of ambassador on down the scale.

North Americans are supposed to become more irritable in the altitude, giving a good excuse for shortness of temper as well as wind. Any of the usual human weaknesses, idiosyncrasies, and mental aberrations are supposed to be emphasized and increased by the altitude, with or without any scientific basis. So the phrase, "It's the altitude" is an accepted explanation for almost anything.

La Paz is considered a short-term post and is on the differential list. It is not, however, as frightening as it sounds. There are always some North American old-timers with decades of residence in whose attitude a sneer may be detected when Foreign Service people mention their short assignments.

Automobile engines are said to lose a third of their power at that height and perhaps humans lose some, too. But life can go on quite normally despite the reduced oxygen ration. People play golf and get more distance from drives than before because of the lightness of the atmosphere. Others play tennis although doubles are more popular than singles for reason of hreath. The Embassy has had soft hall competition although the games may slow down after a few innings.

Others go skiing on the spectacular Mt. Chacaltaya run which begins on the top of a peak at about 18,000 feet, goes past the ski lodge at 17,500 and on down to a mere 16,500 or so. There are a few swimming pools and a yacht club has been started on Lake Titacaca two to four hours distance. People go dancing and night clubbing, and there is a standing argument in some circles as to whether one can imbihe, without undue effect, more or less spiritous beverages than at lower levels.

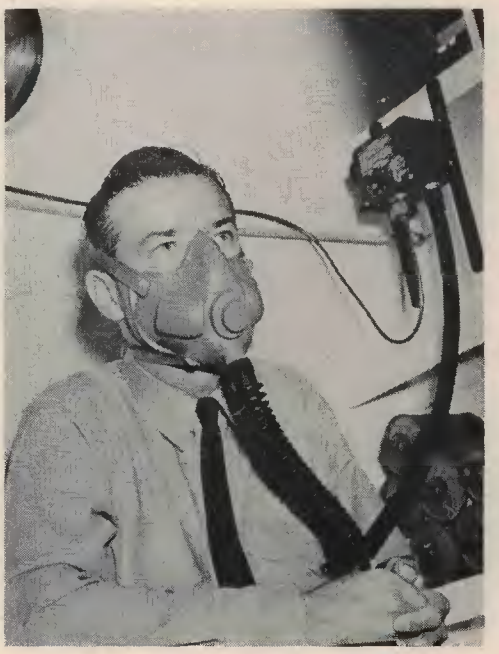
These activities may be carried on at a slower tempo, but they can be done and enjoyed. Native Bolivians indulge in most of these sports as well as in soccer, a very active favorite, without thought of the altitude.

There is one field, however, which calls for extensive scientific research for the benefit of the Embassy and the harassed officials of Foreign Service Personnel. Is it the altitude that causes the exceptionally high rate of matrimony at La Paz?

The Embassy normally has a staff of about fourteen American female employees. In less than two and a half years, however, twelve have been married and three more are engaged to be married in the near future. It is believed that this is an all-time record and that it far surpasses the claims of Asuncion in a recent copy of the JOURNAL. It is obvious that Cupid is equipped with high altitude gear and perhaps an extra oxygen tank, for he has made most frequent visits to La Paz. Authorities would do well to investigate this phenomenon before there is a perhaps unjustified run on La Paz. Perhaps the Department should create a new position of Matrimonial Attache to handle such problems and let nature take its course.

In any case persons assigned to the altitude should take a liberal sprinkling of salt with the gloomy stories frequently heard in Washington or en route to La Paz from persons who have never been there or who have merely stopped there for a few hours or days.

The high altitude is not as forbidding as it sounds and there is no reason why most cannot have an enjoyable tour of duty at this highest Foreign Service post or at the other altitude posts "down in the swamps" from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.



U. S. Navy photo

Altitude testing

(We were all set to reach for the oxygen ourselves when Herbert Olds, en route from Rotterdam to Bogota (a mere 8,563 feet in elevation) stopped in at the JOURNAL *office and enlightened us on the esoterica of altitude tests. Mr. Olds had reported, as ordered, at the Naval Dispensary. There he was ordered to strip to the waist and his palms and legs were moistened and metal bands fastened thereto. Except for the fact that he was not shaved, he might have been being prepared for electrocution. But these ominous preliminaries proved to be merely standard procedure for an electrocardiogram.*

Next Mr. Olds had to put on a rubber half mask which covered his nose and mouth. Through this for the next twenty minutes he breathed air rarified to the equivalent of 8660 feet. Meanwhile his blood pressure was taken and an electrocardiogram made every two or three minutes.

When told that he had passed the test, Mr. Olds was warned that despite the exhilarating feeling he would experience in Bogota, he must avoid overtiring himself for at least a week. Children, he learned, need take no tests as they adjust perfectly to changes in altitude. Undaunted by soroche, *oxygen tanks, or rumors of the Foreign Service's need for a Matrimonial Attache, the Olds family was soon Bogota-bound.)*

Documents On German Foreign Policy

From Neurath to Ribbentrop

(The JOURNAL *continues its symposium on Nazi foreign policy, based on the captured Foreign Office documents now being released by the Department, and the British and French Foreign Offices. Subsequent issues will cover German-Vatican and German-Soviet relations in 1937 and 1938, and the latest volume of the papers covering the Czechoslovakia crisis.)*

Germany and The Far East

July 1937—September 1938

By STANLEY K. HORNBECK

On the night of July 7, 1937, there began at the Marco Polo bridge, the renewal of the Japanese armed advance in China which, initiated at Mudken in 1931, was an expression of error number One in the most momentous series of miscalculations—made by Japan, Germany and Italy—that is to be found in the annals of international relations.

The documents presented in Chapter IV* tell a story of German opportunism, shiftings and frustrations in relations with Japan and with China during the first year of Japan's ensuing onward march in China. The editors have indicated with sub-captions that emphasis in the German effort went through five phases: "Neutrality," "Divided Counsels," "Mediation," "Concessions to Japan," and "The Search for a Preferential Position in North China."

On July 20, 1937 the Foreign Office informed the principal German diplomatic missions that "The German Government will observe strict neutrality in the Far Eastern Conflict;" it "earnestly" desired a peaceful settlement "for the sake of our economic interests in the Far East and . . . in view of our anti-Comintern policy;" it was of the opinion that "The Soviets are stirring up conflict . . . in order to divert Japanese pressure from the Soviet Union."—The German Foreign Office was thinking clearly.

The German Ambassador in China and General von Falkenhausen warned the Government against any assumption that Japan surely would win. The Ambassador went so far as to say that the Japanese would have no chance unless they employed their entire army.—Those Germans in China were thinking clearly.

Chiang Kai-shek pointed out to the German Ambassador that if Japanese aggression continued one would have to expect hostilities that would involve all of the Far East and, replying to a question, said that the possibility of Russian intervention ultimately occurring must be considered.—Chiang was thinking clearly.

At an early moment, the Japanese began to protest against German shipments of arms to China. German officials gave the Japanese to understand that the German Government had ordered these shipments stopped. The Japanese forthwith raised question regarding the German military advisers in China. The Foreign Office affirmed that recall of those advisers would "at the present juncture mean taking sides against Nanking" and was therefore out of the question. Soon, and repeatedly, the Japanese urged that Germany should support them in the light of the Anti-Comintern Pact, and the Germans contended that the Pact had no such implications. Throughout, the Japanese insisted that victory over China was "just around the corner."

On August 17 von Neurath (Germany's Foreign Minister) recorded that the Führer had stated to him that Germany must remain neutral, deliveries of arms to China should continue (under camouflage), but further Chinese orders for arms should not be accepted. On September 22, in reply to a suggestion by the Japanese Ambassador that the German Ambassador in China be recalled, von Neurath replied that the Ambassador would remain in Nanking.

*Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945. From Neurath to Ribbentrop. Series D, Volume 1, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Before coming to the Department of State in 1921, Stanley Hornbeck had taught at the University of Wisconsin and in China; had served with the U. S. Tariff Commission, in the Army, at the Paris Peace Conference and on the Harbord Military Mission to Armenia; and had written extensively on commercial policy and Far Eastern affairs. Thereafter, he served at the Washington Conference, in the office of the Economic Adviser, at the Peking Conference on Chinese Customs Tariff, as Chief—for ten years—of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, at the Brussels Conference, as Adviser on Political Relations, as Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, as Special Assistant to the Secretary, and (1944-47) as Ambassador to the Netherlands. Along the way, he was a Rhodes Scholar, was for some time on the Harvard faculty, received numerous honorary degrees, and became widely and well known among serious students of international relations and United States foreign policy. Retired in 1947, he continues, as writer and lecturer, his preoccupation with those subjects.

German official thought regarding the Brussels conference was from the outset skeptical; but on October 16 the German Ambassador in China reported that, in view of statements by President Roosevelt and Mr. Eden, he considered it advisable that Germany participate. The Führer decided, on October 27, that Germany should decline—which greatly pleased the Japanese.

At the end of October the German Goverment committed itself to the role of a "channel of communication" or "letter carrier" for peace negotiations between the Japanese and the Chinese. Thereafter for nearly three months German diplomacy performed, faithfully, in that role. To the first Japanese proposals (November 3)—which included a provision that the Chinese should agree to fight in common with Japan against Communism—Chiang Kai-shek said acceptance would result in his Government being swept out of office; if the Japanese continued fighting the Chinese would continue; if his Government were to fall the only result would be that the Reds would gain the upper hand in China and they never would capitulate; his Government intended to work for peace on the basis of the Washington (Nine Power) treaty. But by December 3 Chiang had declared himself prepared to accept German mediation on the basis, for discussion, of Japanese proposals. The German Ambassador in Japan urged that the present was the psychological moment: Japan had achieved her military aims and China had not been defeated; Germany desired "no weakening or pinning down of Japan in view of her mission against Russia;" speed was necessary.

The Foreign Office acted at once and with precision. But on December 7 the Ambassador reported that Hirota (Japan's Foreign Minister) had backed away from the terms offered in November, on the score that the military situation had changed. However, on December 23 Hirota offered a new set of terms, drastic, said to have been approved by the Emperor; and, reporting, the Ambassador said that he had heard that a considerable part of the Japanese Cabinet thought these terms too mild and hoped they would be rejected by the Chinese so that the war of annihilation against Chiang Kai-shek could be continued. The initial Chinese comment was to the effect that nobody could accept such terms and that if the Japanese drove China into the hands of Russia, that country would be the victor in the war.

Nevertheless, China's leaders having conferred, China's Foreign Minister gave the German Ambassador on January 13 an "oral" request for more details from the Japanese. On January 16 Hirota handed the German Ambassador a text giving the Japanese Government's reply—a reply which, as the Ambassador said, "cut off all further discussion"—and thanked the German Government for the effort which it had made. On the next day the German Foreign Office instructed its Ambassador in China to inform the Chinese of this and to indicate that the German Government considered its "role of letter carrier ended for the time being." Japan had, the German Ambassador in Japan said, after "many hours of bitter debate" among her leaders, "incurred the onus of breaking off discussions."

The attempt at mediation having thus been cut short, the German Ambassador in Japan suggested on January 26 that his Government re-define its position *vis-a-vis* Japan. He advocated "general recall of all German military advisers still active in China"; suspension of deliveries of war material to China"; early recognition of Manchukuo, as a "friendly gesture toward Japan"; and that in "our China policy we . . . give stronger economic and political emphasis to North China."

U. S. Army Photo

Ribbentrop takes time out from his writing at the Nurnberg city jail.

On February 4 von Neurath was replaced by von Ribbentrop as Germany's Foreign Minister. The tenor and tone both of German and of Japanese diplomacy in the relations of the two countries at once changed. Germany favored Japan and expected favors. Japan took but did not give. Ribbentrop talked "musts." The Japanese offered, hedged and finally said "we cannot." Both were intent on exploiting developments and opportunities in China, apparently with little concern regarding possible solicitudes or action of other powers, including Russia.

Japan's Foreign Minister requested on February 5 that the German Government take measures to put an end to the German export of war materials to China, suggested that Germany recognize Manchukuo, asked for information on Germany's attitude on the colonial question, stated that Japan had no fear with regard to Russia, and suggested termination of the activities of the German military advisers in China.

Although German officials in China argued cogently against recognition of Manchukuo, Hitler announced on February 20 in a speech before the Reichstag that Germany would give that recognition. Two days later, Ribbentrop reminded the Japanese Ambassador that in an earlier negotiation he, Ribbentrop, had stated that in case of cooperation in China he expected Germany to have complete equality with Japan in business transactions. On March 8 the German Ambassador in China submitted a devastatingly logical criticism of the suggestions made on January 26 by the German Ambassador in Japan for "adjustment" of German Far Eastern policy. He combatted the assumptions and assertions of fact on which those suggestions had been made. He contended that "if Bolshevism has better chances in the Far East than formerly, those chances were brought about by Japanese policy alone;" that Japan needed Germany as her only support in the world and that by granting her demands one after another without anything in return Germany herself would be releasing Japan from that need and enabling her to adjust her relations with England and Russia, after which Japan would have even less interest in Germany than before. He said that any Japanese regime in China would shut the door to foreign trade regardless of official assurances—and he cited developments in Manchukuo as an example. In conclusion he recommended re-reading of the files.

In April, apparently, the German Government issued orders forbidding further exportation of war materials to China, appointed Major-General Ott to succeed Dr. Dirksen as Ambassador to Japan, and decided to withdraw the military advisers from China. Chiang Kai-shek personally made strong representations to the German Ambassador on the

(*Continued on page* 42)

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

(*Continued from page* 23)

Evening Seminars at the Institute

A number of evening courses for personnel on duty in Washington, mostly of a lecture-seminar nature, are being planned by the Foreign Service Institute for the fall months. A seminar course on "Cultural and Psychological Factors in International Relations," dealing with the analysis and interpretation of foreign cultures and peoples, will get under way on October 13, under the direction of Dr. Edward A. Kennard, the Institute's professor of cultural anthropology. Guest lecturers will include nationally known anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists from Harvard, Yale, Columbia and other universities. Among those enrolling so far are several division chiefs and one top official of the Department. The bulk of the class will be made up, however, of middle-grade Foreign Service and Departmental officers.

Other courses planned include a repetition of the Institute's public speaking instruction, which was given twice last year, and several courses in economic and politico-economic subjects, one of which will deal with the economics and politics of agriculture while another deals with the economics and politics of labor.

Late shifts in the Institute's program for advanced training in economics will send W. Stratton Anderson, Jr., FSO-4, recently in London, to the University of Chicago, and Quentin R. Bates, FSO-5 from Ottawa, to Harvard University.

Commerce Courses

Completing the tenth in-service training course at the Department of Commerce are FSSs ARTHUR S. ABBOTT, K. GUNNAR ASPELIN, CHARLES K. BEVILACQUA, FRANCES D. HYLAND, TERRENCE LEONHARDY, and JOHN G. OLIVER, FSR JOHN A. BIRCH, and FSOs THOMAS A. DONOVAN, JOHN C. FUESS, and AUBREY LIPPINCOTT. After two weeks in Washington, the members of the group started off about September 20 for a month's work-study at a Commerce Department Regional Office, with no more than two persons going to the same city.

About two weeks later another group of trainees with at least two years' service in the field started in at Commerce. Those in this second group are: FSOs WALTER BIRGE, MILNER DUNN, OWEN T. JONES, and FSSs HYMAN BLOOM, KATHRYN DILLABOUGH, WILLIAM B. DOZIER, BERNICE HEMMINGSEN, RALPH H. HUNT, ROLAND JACOBS, JAMES A. NEIDERJOHN, RICHARD B. PETERS, WILLIAM B. SNIDOW, and BENJAMIN SOWELL.

(*Continued on page* 36)

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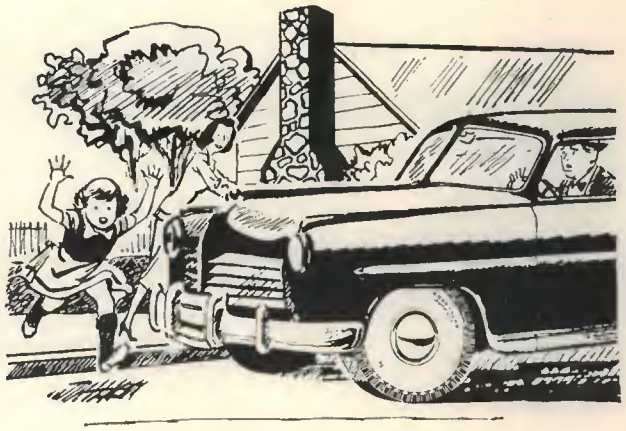

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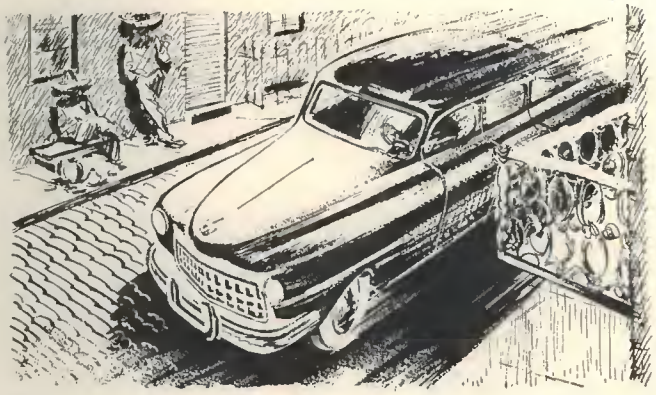

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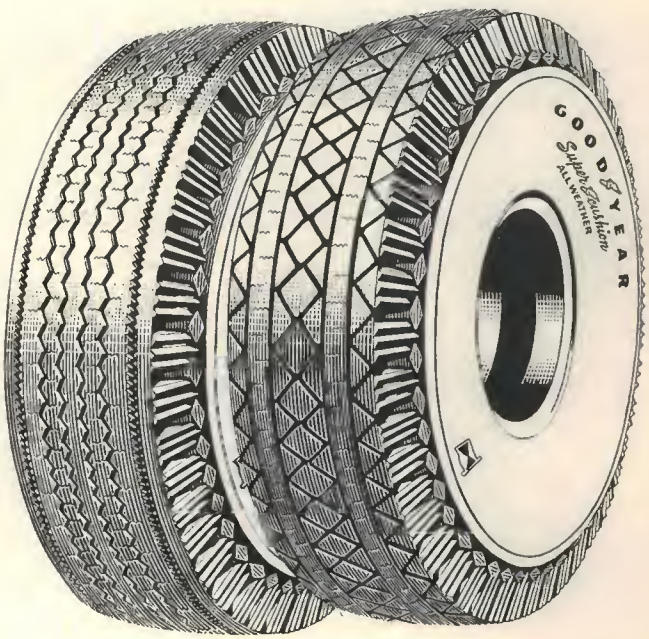

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MORE PEOPLE, THE WORLD OVER, RIDE ON GOODYEAR TIRES THAN ON ANY OTHER MAKE

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

(Continued from page 34)

A Footnote to the Chinese War

Posts behind the bamboo curtain were cut off from pouch service when occupied. While mailing addresses were changed six times in four days bags piled up at Hong Kong until overworked Consulate General staff couldn't get in the office for pouches stacked around the walls. Space was hired in a godown, where, amid assorted oriental merchandise, clerks and couriers worked like coolies sorting mail.

Most backlogged mail has now been returned to Washington. Official letters from other agencies were sent back as undeliverable. Departmental official mail is held. Personal letters and parcels, forty or fifty sea pouches full, will be forwarded to addressees when possible.

Courier routes were kept open to the end, and still reach Kunming, Chungking, Canton and, of course, Taipei and Hong Kong. Two couriers stood by for months to go to Dairen. Plans were made, torn up, and made again. Negotiations dragged on. They didn't go.

Inquiries from anxious families are met by the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, which is in daily cable contact with all posts. Information current within a day or two is furnished. Posts were instructed to cable FP developments of interest to families, which FP passes on. Circular letters to all families may be sent on occasion. Families were informed that they may cable through the Department and that, for the present, failure to receive letters simply means "no news is good news."

News of Retired FSO's

In a recent 17,000-mile motor trip Mr. and Mrs. RICHARD FYFE BOYCE skirted the perimeter of the United States. Going south first to Key West, they continued on into Mex-

ico where there were old friendships to be renewed at almost every Foreign Service post. After driving up the Pacific Coast they saw Glacier National Park and then continued eastward.

Retired FSO's LESLIE DAVIS and ROY BOWER, whose paths had never happened to cross during their active service underwent identical eye operations on the same day and by the same surgeon at New York's Presbyterian Eye Hospital.

Mr. and Mrs. CLAYTON LANE spent a few days in Washington last month in connection with Mr. Lane's work as Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Pacific Relations. Upon retiring from the Service in 1947 the Lanes bought a ranch in California which they sold when Mr. Lane was appointed to the Institute. They now live in New York City where the Institute has headquarters.

Shop Talk

We had just begun to learn who was who and what was what in our new job when PERRY CULLEY, assistant to the *News Letter's* Editor, PETER VISCHER, announced that he was due for a transfer to Montevideo and that former FSO DONALD H. ("MIKE") ROBINSON would be taking over. Mr. Robinson was in the Service from 1930 to 1934 and has served at Windsor, Toronto, Calcutta and Colombo. Since then he has done public relations, motion picture and radio work.

A meeting *à trois* was arranged at which Mr. Culley filled us with hope at the talk of the articles he would send the JOURNAL from Montevideo, while Mr. Robinson filled us with alarm at the suggestion of a more lively, more inclusive News Letter. Despite an occasional overlapping, however, we are sure that both the JOURNAL and the News Letter fill Service needs, and we wish Messrs. Culley and Robinson the best of success in their new assignments.

REPORT ON JAPAN

(*Continued from page* 11)

that Japan ought to be allowed to have her dependencies back to exploit the subject peoples; or that Japan should be permitted to have an army and a navy that can take charge of Japan's economic promotion and assure her a preferred position in China; or that Japanese shipping interests be enabled to violate international conference rates and to give secret rebates so that Japanese merchant vessels would have the advantage over competitors. I am merely setting forth objective fact in order to make clear what the problem is today. Perhaps with the elimination of these reprehensible features of Japan's economic activities, there will eventually be dispelled prejudices in near-by countries against Japan that will contribute in the future to a freer flow of trade with her.

Today Japan's merchant marine has been reduced to one-fifth of its pre-war tonnage. There are loud objections in allied quarters against allowing Japan to rebuild, on the ground that this would be a first step to Japan's revival as a naval power, but the real fear, I suspect, is Japan's shipping competition. We need to be reminded, however, that part of the $400,000,000 deficit in Japan's economy that the American tax-payer is meeting goes to pay the high cost of moving cargoes across the Pacific in American vessels. Even if there should be no restrictions imposed by the allies on the rebuilding of Japan's merchant marine, it will be years before the country can find the resources to provide itself with a tonnage adequate to its needs. It will be years also before Japan can rehabilitate her industrial plant, and reorganize, re-man and re-equip her trading and foreign exchange banking facilities for servicing exports and imports. Her dividend paying properties abroad have, of course, been forfeited.

Another obstacle that Japan faces arises out of the fact that many of the allies perceive in the revival of Japan's industries both a military and an economic threat. China and the Philippine Republic have been clamoring for large reparations out of Japan's existing plant capacity, not only because these would help pay for the enormous war damage caused by Japan but because it might cripple Japan's ability to compete with their infant industries. Much as these countries are deserving of our sympathies, it is plain that Japan will never be able to pay and at the same time achieve self-support and that therefore such reparation as is exacted will ultimately be a charge upon the American tax-payer.

Even if there are no reparations and no allied restrictions on the revival of Japan's peaceful industry and commerce, and even if liberal financial aid is forthcoming from the United States to help Japan's economic rehabilitation, there is still the problem to be faced of where the country is to find the raw materials, the food-stuffs and the markets that it needs. Japan's cheap wares were suited to the pocketbooks of the Asian customer, and Japan could buy in return what she needs. Today much of East Asia is in political and economic chaos, and the restoration of stability may be long delayed. Japan's foremost pre-war export item was raw silk, nearly all of which was taken by the United States, and we have always let it in free of duty, but today American women prefer nylon.

To add to all Japan's troubles—and to throw a spoke in our efforts there—our manufacturers are now coming along and objecting to the revival of Japanese industries that will compete with their products. How will we deal with this question? If we accede to the American manufacturers, what will the Japanese think? Will not all our efforts to

(*Continued on page* 52)

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NEWS FROM THE FIELD

(*Continued from page* 25)

After a month's-long siege, the attackers were startled to have fresh fish hurled over the walls at them. Kakenna had discovered a secret underground passageway linking the amphitheatre and the shore through which the Romans had brought wild beasts from the galleys to the arena. Perhaps it was the realization that their siege was useless that spurred them on. At any rate the Bey's soldiers staged a final furious assault, breached the fortress, slew its defenders, and then proceeded to destroy enough of the walls so it could never again shelter a rebellious tribe.

Today the ruin still dominates the Tunisian desert. To Foreign Service Officers stationed in Tunis the sight of El Djem is doubly interesting once they have heard from the Baroness the story of Kakenna.

AMBERG

Cabled orders containing the words "proceed immediately" sent FSO's and FSS personnel hurrying, as if to the rescue, from posts near and far into Germany and Austria last autumn. The cause—implementation of Public Law 774 of the 80th Congress, the Displaced Persons Visa program! Marshalled by the Immigration Coordinating Officer, Consul General Vance in Frankfort, vice consuls and clerks fanned out, generally not into the German cities to which they had been assigned, but to "visa sub-offices" (something new in the Foreign Service) in Amberg, Augsburg, Butzbach, Ludwigsburg, Salzburg, Schweinfurt and Munich. These offices, administratively supervised and supported by regular consular offices in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich and Vienna, concern themselves solely with the issuance of visas to eligible displaced persons whose names and dossiers are presented by the field offices of the United States Displaced Persons Commission. They have been joined recently by Rastatt, in the French Zone of Germany and supervised by Stuttgart, and Wentorf, near Hamburg.

The 5,000th DP visa is granted at Amberg. L. to r., Joseph Kotowiez (the applicant), his wife and children; Augusta Mayerson, Mary Matthews, Irma Turnamis, Norma Knutsen, Ruth E. Brnton, Wayne E. Snyder, Elizabeth R. Case, Edwin H. Moot, Jr., Edward H. Mnleahy and John F. Leich.

The establishment of the Amberg sub-office is probably typical of the rest. After hastily departing from short assignments in Warsaw, FSO's Cashin and Leich were plunged on November 1, 1948, into a chaotic situation which is best

(*Continued on page* 42)

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NEWS FROM THE FIELD

(*Continued from page* 40)

described by the Biblical phrase "without form and void." By dint of toil and sweat, if not of blood and tears, a barely viable sub-post had been created by the time Ruth Fowler and Ruth Bruton, FSS girls from Jidda and Beirut via the Department, arrived to assist in the organization of the office. The build-up continued with the arrival of Vice Consul Edwin H. Moot, Jr., Elizabeth Case and Mary Matthews—all fresh from FP on their first posts abroad. Last to arrive was Vice Consul Roy L. Davis, Jr., a veteran of Lima and Bordeaux.

Amberg itself is a picturesque, medieval walled town in the Oberpfalz—a little-known corner of northeastern Bavaria. The site of IRO Area 4 Headquarters, Amberg houses in former *Wehrmacht* barracks thousands of resident D.P.'s and a resettlement center from which emigrants start hopeful voyages to America, Australia, Canada, Brazil and other nations. On the third floor of the Resettlement Center headquarters building, the office of the Displaced Persons Commission is located, and immediately adjoining, a rather unconsular-looking suite is occupied by the Amberg sub-office.

In addition to the four Vice Consuls and four American clerks, sixteen aliens (D.P.'s and Germans) comprise the staff. The Public Health Service is represented by a small staff of local employees. Similarity to regular Foreign Service establishments is lessened by numerous factors such as German authority over alien salaries, Army authority over office transportation and the minutiae of daily life and IRO authority over office space.

The American staff is lodged in two adjoining requisitioned buildings (in which adequate plumbing was installed only after earnest and prolonged negotiations!). The first grim prospects of life in Amberg were later mollified by Army concessions—notably commissary cards (the "corner grocery" is 30 miles away!) and sleepable beds. Later, the arrival of furniture belonging to three of the officers eased the situation in one house at least. However, those in Amberg may be the envy of some other FS people in at least one respect—we have competent cooks, maids, housemen, chauffeurs—at negligible cost to ourselves!

All offices must have some complaints, or they are hardly normal. The big complaints in Amberg are that the town is at least an hour away from starting points to locations south and west, and, more serious, the monotony of the simple job to be done here.

ROBERT E. CASHIN.

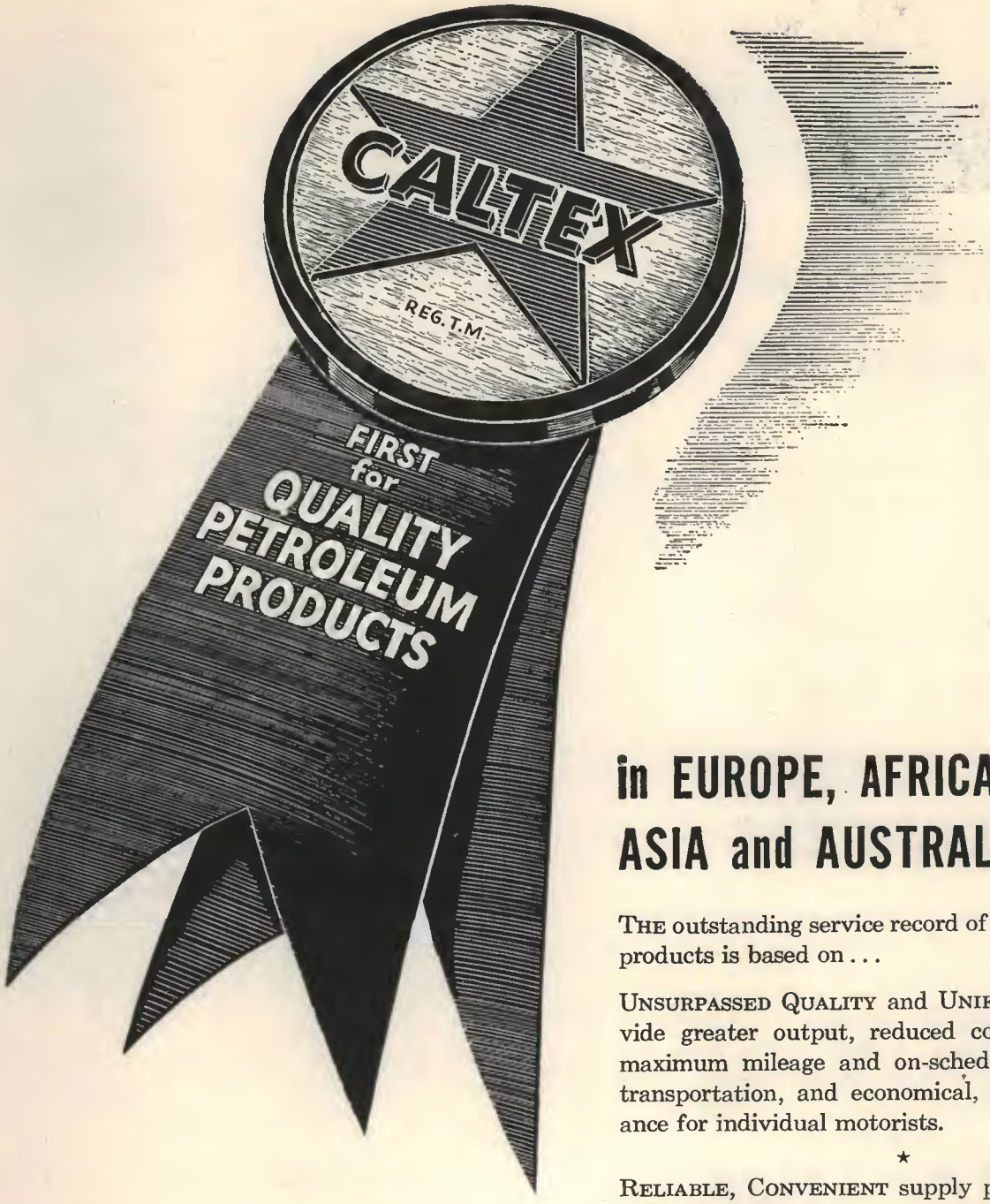
GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

(*Continued from page* 32)

subject of war materials and the advisers, and the Ambassador reported on May 9, "we are risking all our constructive work in China since the war and perhaps in the future if we now act abruptly in regard to these matters."

Notwithstanding much argument before and after, peremptory orders were issued on May 17 for withdrawal of the advisers, and these were repeated on June 13 with mention of the Führer's wishes and on June 20 with dire threats for China (severance of diplomatic relations) and for the advisers (revocation of their German citizenship and confiscation of their property) if the German Government's previously expressed wishes were not forthwith wholly complied with. After still further exchanges, in the course of which the German Ambassador in China ventured, "I am of the opinion that we should be generous to a country

(*Continued on page* 44)



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GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

(*Continued from page 42*)

which is at the most dangerous moment of its battle for existence against a far superior foe." Ribbentrop on July 24 ordered the Ambassador immediately to leave China, with instruction for the Chargé to proceed, in effecting the departure of the advisers, in accordance with the Ministry's instruction of June 20. The Foreign Office telegraphed further on June 29 that the German Government had stated its "agreement to have the military advisers leave Hankow on July 5 on the special train placed at their disposal by the Chinese Government." There, insofar as these documents tell it, the story ends. It is known, however, that the advisers—all but one or two of a group of some thirty plus—left China as indicated.

In a memorandum for the Führer on September 19, 1937 Ribbentrop made mention of a proposal by General Oshima (the Japanese Military Attaché in Berlin) for an early Japanese-German agreement on a joint economic program in China. On April 8, 1938 Ribbentrop told the Japanese Ambassador that in regard to commercial matters in China Germany "insisted on a measure of equality with Japan and a privileged position as compared with other countries." On May 20 the Ambassador proposed that a *Pro Memoria* in record of oral statements previously exchanged should serve in place of a formal treaty for regulation of economic cooperation in North China. Thereupon Ribbentrop held forth at length on Germany's services to Japan, Germany's losses in China, the inadequacy of Japan's cooperation, and the German Government's expectations. In a subsequent discussion of the *Pro Memoria* with German lesser officials, the Ambassador "stated emphatically that the Japanese Government would not agree specifically to preferential treatment."—Obviously the Japanese Foreign Office was laboring under difficulties at home.—On June 22 the Ambassador was informed that Ribbentrop had come to the conclusion that the *Pro Memoria* did not express what long had been the subject of the negotiations, and it was pointed out to him that the original negotiations had envisaged Germany being placed on a position of parity with Japan; that the Japanese had later taken the position that Germany must occupy a position between Japan and all other States; and that now the Japanese were proposing that Germany receive merely "the best possible treatment."

The Ambassador brought Ribbentrop on June 29 another draft. On July 5 Ribbentrop stated to General Oshima that he did not agree to the formula which the Ambassador had transmitted; he would have to insist on a more favorable position for Germany as compared with all other Powers; Germany could not be satisfied with a mere most-favored-

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SOME THOUGHTS ON SERVICE MORALE

(*Continued from page* 18)

mon standard of valuation. My information on this subject is not up to date, but I understand there is in force a system of automatic reduction of the ratings given by reporting officers who consistently overvalue their subordinates. As far as I know, nothing has been done to adjust ratings given by officers who consistently undervalue their subordinates—a category which is perhaps not so numerous as the overvaluers, but equally important.

Most officers, like most human beings, are not consistent in their judgments. They have prejudices and tend to evaluate other officers in terms of these prejudices, perhaps without reference to their value to the service. It is important therefore to have some means of ascertaining and discounting these prejudices. This might be done merely by a careful study of the efficiency reports sent in by each officer, or perhaps it would be useful occasionally to have subordinates report on their chiefs. Inspectors do, of course, learn a good deal about a chief of mission from his subordinates, and this procedure might be extended and systematized. Until it is, a subordinate officer will be afraid of making even a moderate criticism of his chief for fear of being classed as a malcontent.

In general, it may be said that the present system of efficiency reports tends to give undue stress to an officer's relations with his superiors and not enough stress to his relations with subordinates, with the officials of other governments and with the public. I have run across at least two officers who tend to treat the public with a sort of cruel malice, delighting in giving them misinformation or no information at all. This symptom is certainly pathological and does the Service as a whole a great harm, but there is no way in which it can be brought to the attention of the Department. Another officer whom I know quite unintentionally encourages tale-bearing among his subordinate officers with the result that in at least two posts in which he has been chief violent quarrels have broken out among them. Without realizing that he is to blame, he dutifully reports these disputes to the Department where his reports in the natural course of events become part of the permanent record of his subordinates. To my certain knowledge at least five officers have had their careers damaged, including one to whom the chief of mission professed to be devoted. Of course some of these junior officers were to blame for allowing themselves to cater to their chief's unfortunate propensity for gossip, but others were entirely innocent victims.

It is this sort of thing which might be greatly reduced

(*Continued on page* 48)

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SOME THOUGHTS ON SERVICE MORALE

(Continued from page 46)

if there were some means of getting reports about officers from their subordinates (perhaps even their stenographers) and from the public. How this can be done without developing a complicated interlocking spy system (such as is used by the Jesuits or by the NKVD) with all its undesirable consequences I do not know, but the problem is worthy of careful study.

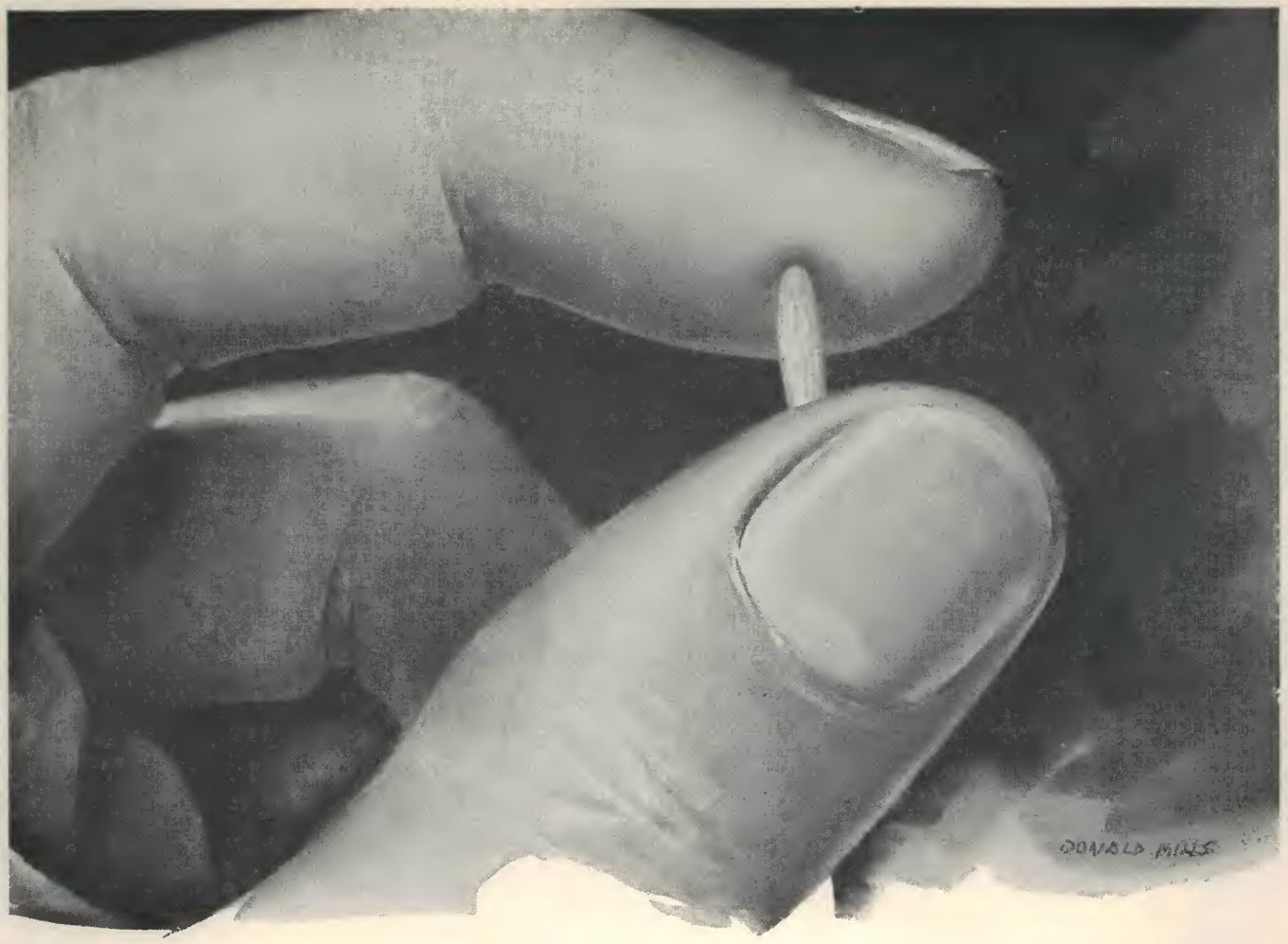
"If you'd take it easier like Mr. Wilton, you'd live longer!"

Another problem closely related to those of security and promotion is the problem of the meaningful career. Many officers feel that they are mere pawns shifted about from one hot unpleasant seaport to another without plan or purpose. Is it any wonder that they develop pathological symptoms such as we have described above or that they turn into dead wood? Yet FP, continually harassed by the effort to spread too few officers over too many urgent and necessary jobs, is forced to try to treat officers as if they were interchangeable cogs, without personality or need for growth. Noble attempts have been made by various chiefs of FP to humanize their operations, but they have always been defeated by the inherent necessity of the situation.

Of course no community can remain without some sort of internal structure, and so the Service has developed a structure which may be described as half feudal, half tribal. Let us be frank about what goes on so that we can remedy it. Some officers by chance happen to be assigned to a legation or embassy where they catch the eye of their chief, sometimes by the display of genuine ability, sometimes by flattery and running errands for him, often both. If he is willing they attach their fortunes to his. When he is transferred they go with him. Of course, this cannot last forever as the best of chiefs grow old and retire. But before that happens, the vassal will usually have seen to it that his chief calls his virtues to the attentions of some geographical office and sooner or later he will get an assignment to the Department.

In Washington the process is different. Each geographical office (and perhaps also the Economic and Information Offices and OFS) is organized like a tribe. The chiefs come and go but the tribe remains and is recruited partly by chance, partly by calling in officers who have had the opportunity to develop some ability in the field, and partly from the feudal retainers of chiefs who are now in the field. The tribe protects and helps its members, provides them with the social relations which every human being needs, and even gives them an ethos or religion in the form or some generalized principles of policy, such as Pan-Americanism. Aid to

(Continued on page 50)



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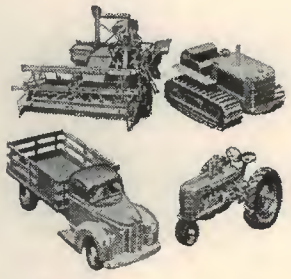

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SOME THOUGHTS ON SERVICE MORALE

(Continued from page 48)

Europe, Point Four. There are feuds between tribes and allianecs. Before the appointmcnt of the Seleetion Boards, the tribes (and the feudal chiefs) could even arrange promotions and they still got good posts for mcmbers whose term in Washington has expired. Cabot Coville in a recent letter to the JOURNAL has pointed out how frequently promotions even under the present system go to officers who are serving or have rccently served in Washington. This cannot be due to any sort of pressure or favoritism. It is merely the natural result of the expanded opportunities for distinguishing himself which are open to any member of a tribe.

I do not think the tribes are bad. On the contrary, they are necessary and inevitable. When I was in Washington I was assigned not to a geographical office but to an office which contained only one other FSO. I was instinctively impelled to attach myself to one of the tribes, not with any sinister motive, but simply beeause I had to have some friends with whom l could talk over my problems. It was only a year or two later that l realized what I had done.

Even if FP had all the officers at its disposal that it could possibly need and could allow each officer great liberty in planning his own career, it would still be necessary to have some grouping on geographical or functional lines. The only harmful aspect of the tribes is that somc officers by chance or because of their own timidity never beeome members of any tribe. Therefore, I would not suggest abolishing the tribes, but institutionalizing them. Something of this kind has already been done by dividing FP into geographical sections. But the geographical officers in FP are too busy to give each officer thc pcrsonal attention he needs. I would suggest that FP be divided into seven sections: four geographical, one economic, one informational, and one administrative (thus more or less reproducing the organization of the Department).

Each of the seven sections would have a number of Personnel Counselors who would be permanent officials without executive functions. Their only task would be to take a personal interest in the career of officers who came to talk to them. Each officer entering the service would be obliged (either before or after his first assignment) to choose one of the sections. Most staff officcrs would of course be in the Administrative Section. Each officer would be obliged to spend ten years in his chosen section, after which time he would be free to ask to be transferred to another section if he wished. The Personnel Counselors would be expected to learn to know well the officers assigned to them, to talk and correspond with them about their personal problems, to help them to plan a career as far as that is possible, to refer them to the Departmental officials interested in the work they will be doing, and (most important of all) to explain to them why their personal convenience must be sacrificed to get some boring job done. There are few men who are unwilling to undergo profound sacrifices and to endure drudgery for many years if they feel that some desirable goal is being achieved and that someone somewhere appreciates and values their efforts.

This is the first installment of Philip Bagby's article on Service morale. Next month, when the concluding section appears, the *Journal* will eomment editorially on the issues raised here. Meanwhile we are eager to learn our readers' views on this important subjeet.

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REPORT ON JAPAN

(*Continued from page* 38)

make them peace-loving and democratic be wasted? And might we not as well abandon that part of our program? These questions call for serious reflection. One might have thought that in this great land of ours with its boundless resources and its countless skills we ought to have a comparative advantage over other countries in the production of a vast range of products, so that we need not fear lest by allowing Japan to make and to sell us the relatively few things that she can produce more economically than we the bread would be taken out of the mouth of the American workingman. Perhaps we should consult the American consumer, who is trying to cut his high cost of living, and the American tax-payer. Perhaps it would be cheaper, after all, for us to subsidize the complaining manufacturers to convert their plants to lines in which they are in a better competitive position than to go on indefinitely making up the deficit in Japan's economy. But seriously speaking, there can be no doubt that it would be cheaper to help Japan lay the foundations for the permanent solution of her problem of national survival than to get ready for another war in the Pacific.

It is pertinent here to recall two episodes in Japan's history. At the time of the collapse of the Tsarist regime in 1917 the Japanese Army saw in the situation a golden opportunity to bring Siberia east of Lake Baikal under Japanese control. A nation-wide propaganda campaign was launched to enlist popular support for intervention. The proposal was debated in the Diplomatic Advisory Council, but was defeated by the pleading principally of one man, Kei Hara, President of the Seiyukai party, which largely represented the agrarian classes. What he said is not of public record, but I was told that it was to the following effect:

> "I would agree to such a proposal only on condition that we consult the United States and it concurs. We cannot afford to disregard that country; it holds the key to our national prosperity; it takes nearly one-half of all our exports and supplies nearly one-third of our imports. Consider the fact that 96 per cent of our exports of raw silk go to the United States. Not only is raw silk our most important export, but it provides a secondary occupation for one-third of all our agricultural households and enables them to make ends meet."

The United States was consulted, and out of this approach there came an American counter-proposal for an inter-allied expedition, not for the purpose of detaching Siberia from Russia but to conserve for the Russian people its heritage there. This counter-proposal was accepted by Japan and the other allies and was acted upon. The fact that the Japanese army violated the agreement by despatching ten times the agreed number of troops does not destroy the moral of the story, and in any case Siberia continued to remain in Russian hands.

In 1929 the New York silk market collapsed. The price of raw silk fell by one half. Acute distress followed in rural Japan. The country, which had theretofore looked across the Pacific for its most profitable trade, now turned to Asia. The army made preparations for its Manchurian adventure and struck there in 1931. This time, so far as we know, there was no proposal that the United States be consulted, and if there was it was not heeded.

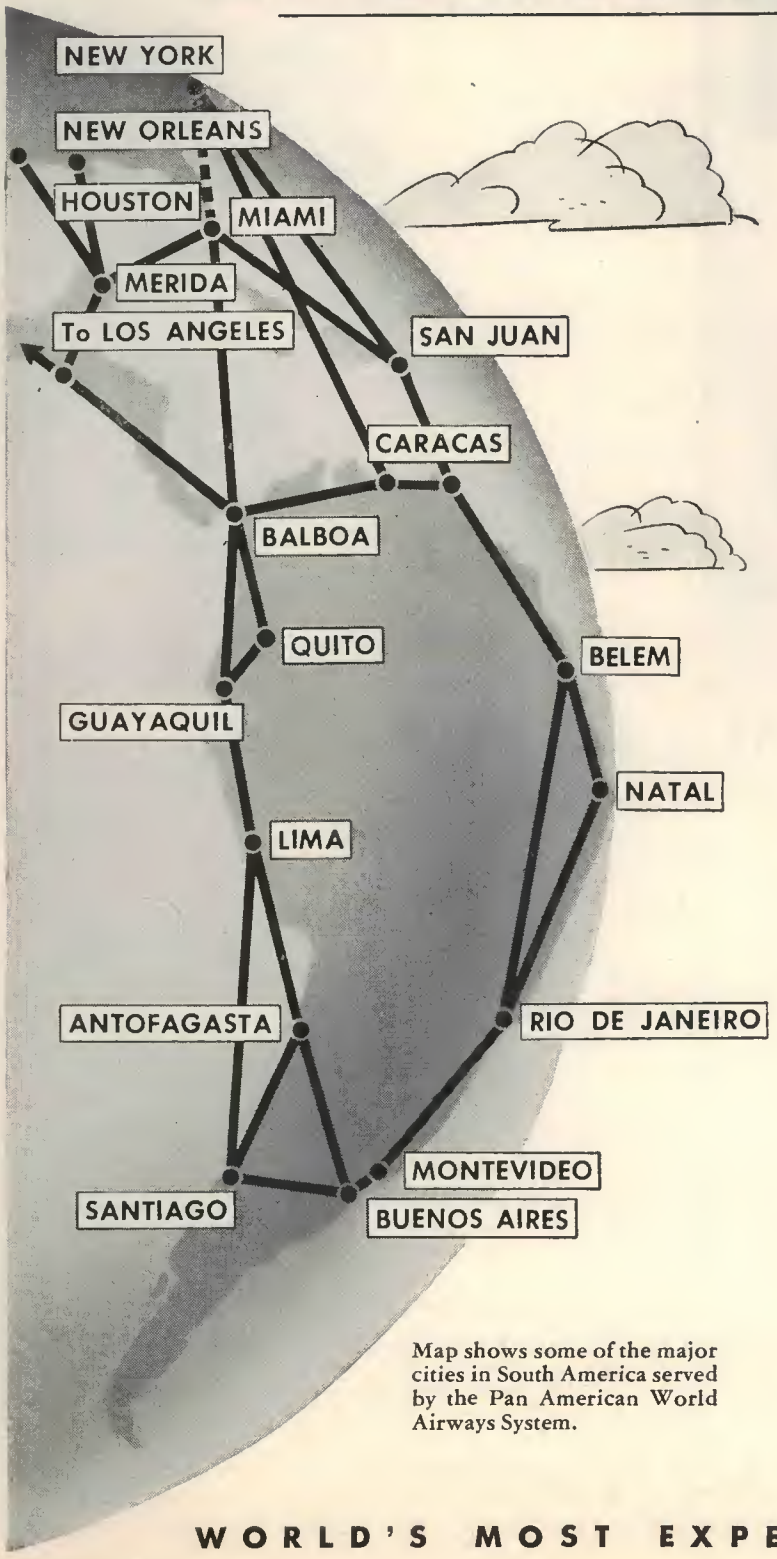
The Japanese people are able and willing to work. The world desperately needs the goods that they can produce and the services that they can offer. Will it refuse to accept their goods and their services and thus deny them the means to buy the food and the raw materials that they need? If

(*Continued on page* 56)

FLY TO ANY MAJOR CITY IN

South America

ON THE SWIFT WINGS OF PAN AMERICAN



Map shows some of the major cities in South America served by the Pan American World Airways System.

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BEFORE AND AFTER

(*Continued from page* 13)

she makes herself out to be in the second. There are dark days when she spanks her child, deliberately neglects the dust under the what-not, opens a can of tomato soup for dinner instead of creating a vichyssoise, and leaves the laundry on the line to moulder. But on the whole she is a fair testimonial to the morale-building qualities of life in Washington. It has gotten so that she sometimes wonders what on earth she did with her time in the old days.

I fear my confessions are almost frighteningly moral in tone. Change a few details and I'll admit you'd have Horatio Alger on your hands. I can't help that; I've been as factual as I could. Is it my fault if all this experience, so desperately avoided and so ill prepared for, has made a finer and a better woman of me? Other people may not notice any difference at all, but my story is that they just aren't the sensitive type. I'm convinced that I'm now one of the most reformed characters in forty-eight states and, of course, the District of Columbia!

After!

GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

(*Continued from page 44*)

nation arrangement. Oshima promised to bring the matter to the attention of the Japanese General Staff. There followed on July 6 a conversation between Ministerial Director Wiehl and the Ambassador regarding the *Pro Memoria* and the treatment actually accorded German trade in Japanese controlled areas in China. On August 9 the Foreign Office sent to the German Ambassador in Japan an instruction directing him to bring these matters to the attention of the Japanese Government, and there were added comments in the course of which Wiehl referred to "confidential reports . . . that Japan has promised Britain that she will not grant any country a preferential position" and stated, "the observations of our Mission in China do not justify us . . . in expecting that the *de facto* preferential position promised us by the Japanese even remotely corresponds to the *status quo ante*. Thus far we have not been able to discover any signs of consideration corresponding to the sacrifices that Germany has made to advance Japanese interests in China." Eloquent testimony to the soundness of the prognostication (March 8) of the German Ambassador in China!

Here and there in the documents there is recorded mention, mostly by the Japanese, of Germany's concern for restoration of her lost colonies. The Japanese professed sympathy and proffered support. The one thing made clear, however—and so sensed by the Germans—was that the Japanese did not intend under any circumstances to relinquish their hold on the Islands which had gone to them under mandate in the Pacific.

The exhibit ends with a telegram and a memorandum which seem to suggest that the Japanese were again taking

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GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

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uneasy account of Russian capabilities. These bear September (1938) dates.

By that time—seven years after the "Mukden incident"—Japan had become fully committed to the objective of destroying Chiang Kai-shek and his National Government and establishing in and with China a Japanese dominated "new order"; and Germany had become fully committed, by the Führer and Ribbentrop, to service of the confident assumption that Japan would win and Japan's victory would profit Germany. Seven years later, neither Japan nor Germany possessed even so much as the power of self-determination.

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so, we can expect them to turn to Soviet Russia, a menace to world peace more sinister and more dangerous than Japan ever was. This would be a sorry return for the war sacrifices that we made.

We cannot expect to keep Japan down permanently by force. The cost would be prohibitive. What price will we have to pay to keep Japan on our side? We might consider the following: let bygones be bygones; relax the pressures of the Occupation upon the Japanese government, and rely on moral influence and on promoting a community of interests, material and spiritual, to bring Japan along with us; if Soviet obduracy precludes a general peace settlement now, restore Japan at least in fact to normal intercourse with nations that see alike with us; and help Japan find ways to make a decent living. Is this price too stiff? Is peace in the Pacific not worth this further sacrifice on our part?

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