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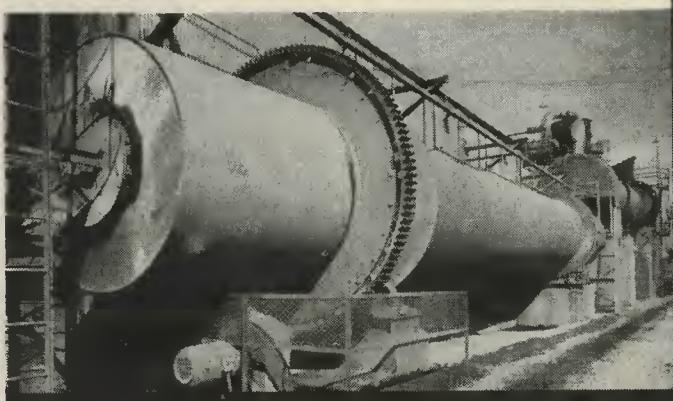
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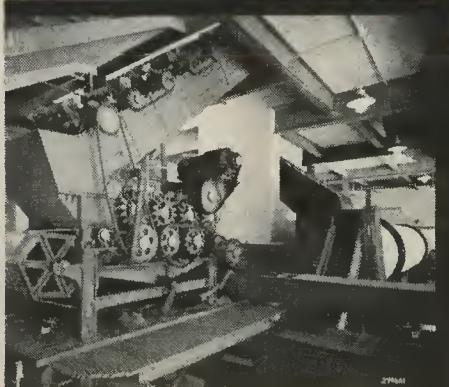
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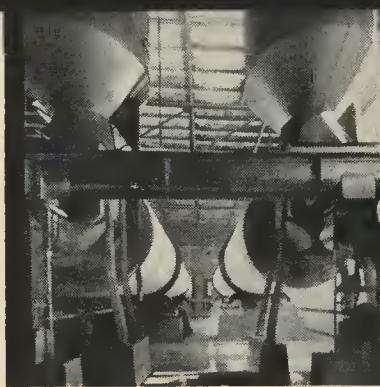
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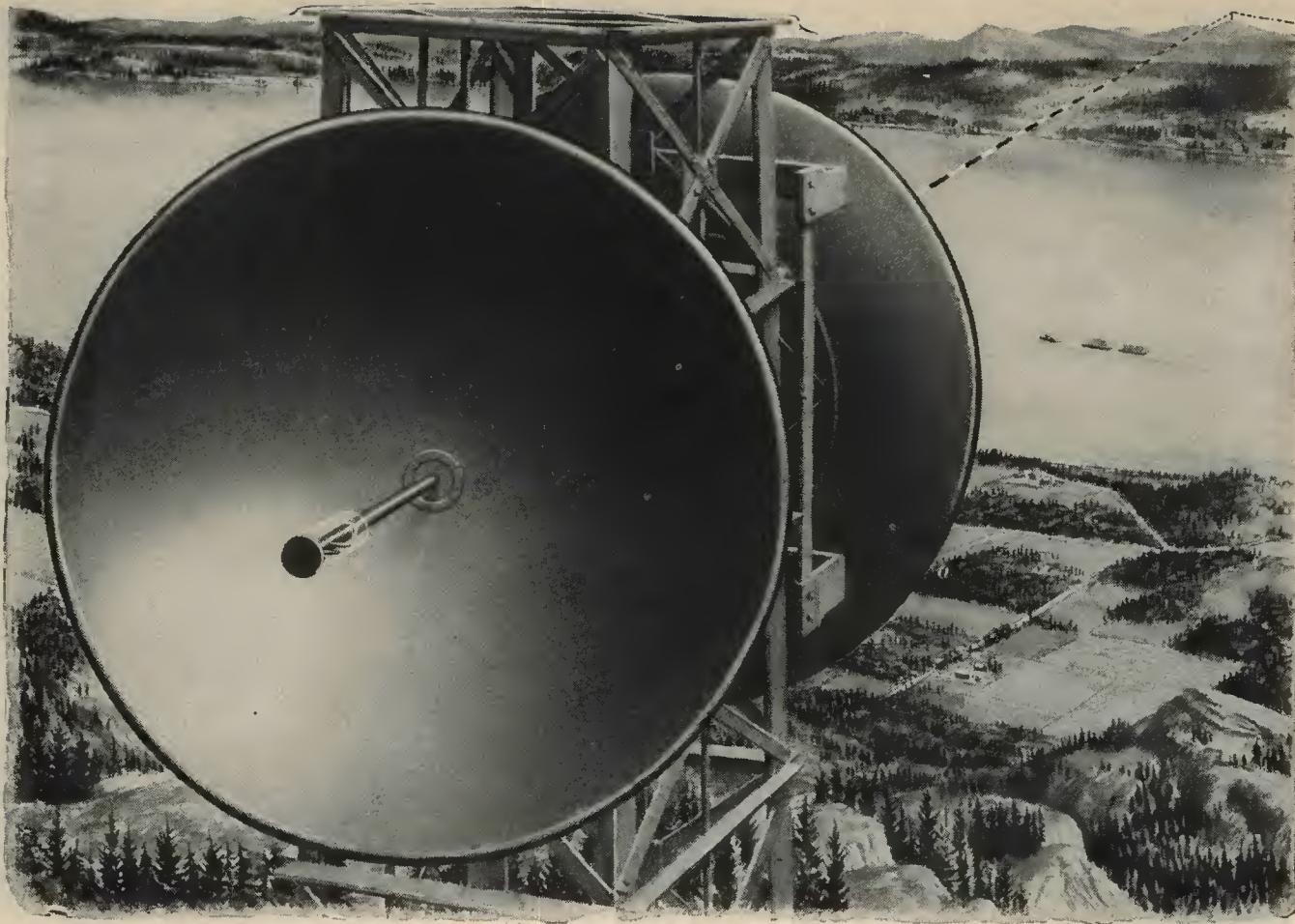


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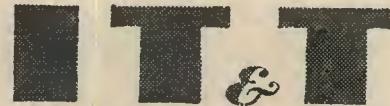
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The Editors will consider all articles submitted. If accepted, the author will be paid a minimum of one cent a word on publication. Photographs accompanying articles will, if accepted, be purchased at one dollar each. Five dollars is paid for cover pictures. Reports from the Field, although not paid for, are eligible for each month's \$15 Story-of-the-Month Contest.

Copyright, 1953, by the American Foreign Service Association.

Issued monthly at the rate of \$3.00 a year, 25 cents a copy, by the American Foreign Service Association, 1908 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office in Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Printed in U.S.A. by Monumental Printing Company, Baltimore.

published monthly by  
THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION  
SEPTEMBER 1953 Volume 30, Number 9

## CONTENTS

page

**20** WHO MAKES OUR FOREIGN POLICY? *by Graham H. Stuart*

**23** A DIPLOMAT'S MOMENT OF TRUTH  
*by William P. Cochran, Jr.*

**24** NINETEENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY *by Documenticus*

**26** HERE COMES USIS *contributed by Eugene F. O'Connor*

**28** THE LABOR ATTACHE *by Martin P. Durkin*

**31** "POLICY MAKING" AND THE CAREER SERVICE  
*by Louis J. Halle, Jr.*

**34** FOREIGN SERVICESHIP *by S. I. Nudler*

**36** PROTOCOL HAS ITS PLACE *by Jeun Chumbers Vance*

**41** OFFICE OF PERSONNEL REORGANIZATION

## departments

**4** LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

**14** TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO *by James B. Stewart*

**16** IN MEMORIAM

**19** NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT *by Lois Perry Jones*

**30** EDITORIALS

Personnel Reorganization	Editorial Reprint
Alas, Cordelia	

**32** SERVICE GLIMPSES

**38** NEWS FROM THE FIELD

**42** THE BOOKSHELF *by Francis Colt deWolf, Review Editor*

Eleanor West	Troy L. Perkins
S. Pinkney Tuck	
Smith N. Crowe	

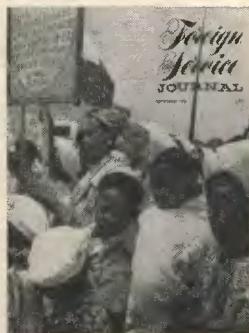
**63** BIRTHS

**63** MARRIAGES

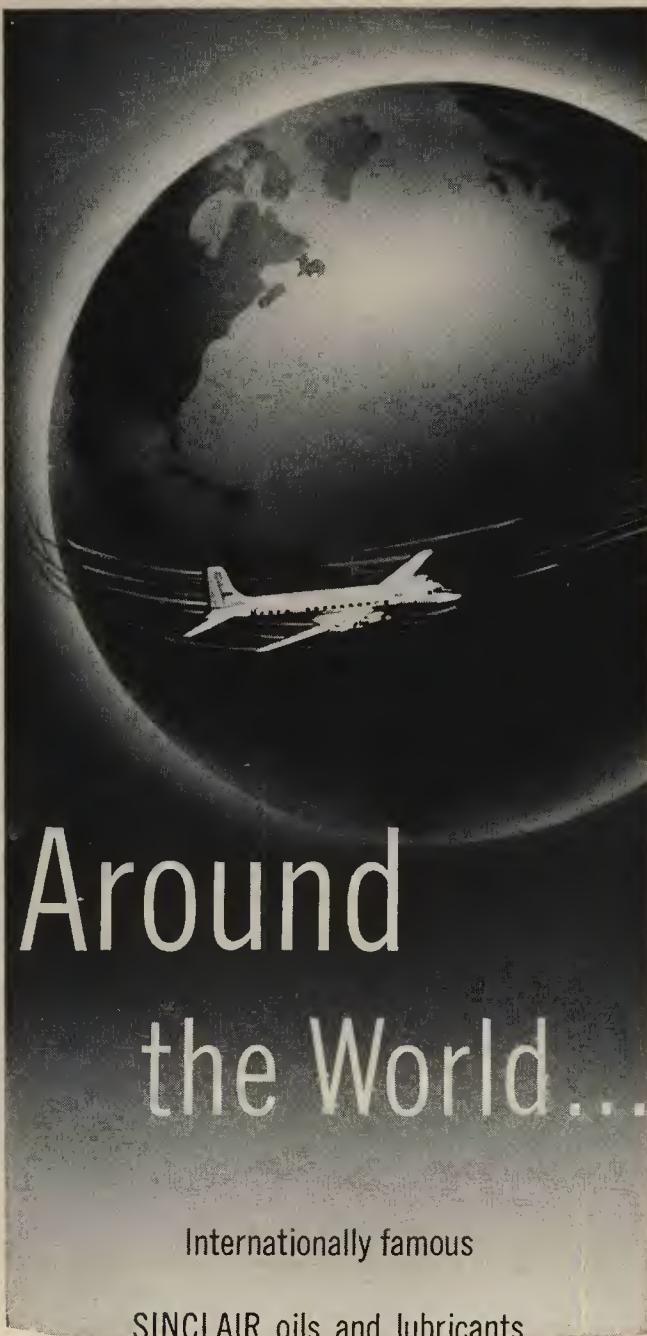
**64** INDEX TO ADVERTISERS

**64** CHANGES OF STATION

**64** OFFICER RETIREMENTS



COVER PICTURE: A group of Eritreans celebrating their emergence as an autonomous State federated with Ethiopia, but with its own constitution, parliament, courts and other institutions. The historic date of the transfer of power: September 11, 1952. *United Nations Photo.*



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## Letters to the Editors

*Pseudonyms may be used only if your letter includes your correct name and address.*

### IN, DEFENSE OF INTELLECT

Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.  
July 13, 1953

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

In your June issue under the heading "Education for Statesmanship," George Kennan has again asked whether, if one must choose, Intellect or Character is the truly indispensable attribute of a Foreign Service Officer and decides, as he has done before, in favor of the latter. I venture the earnest hope that Mr. Kennan, for whom I have the friendliest of feelings along with deep respect, is simply engaging in a Quixotic exercise, and does not really intend that any educator in a "School for Diplomats" should ever be faced with such an artificial alternative. I am sure, in this connection, that Mr. Kennan has had Hilaire Belloc thrown at him before, but I can't refrain from quoting the opening passages of "The Statesman":

"I know a man who used to say,  
Not once but twenty times a day,  
That in the turmoil and the strife  
(His very words) of Public Life  
The thing of ultimate effect  
Was Character—not Intellect."

As may be recalled, this imaginary gentleman of character did very well indeed, being designated to attend Conferences at Lausanne, Geneva, Basle, Locarno, Bern, where he earned "200,000 (Swiss) Francs a year."

Mr. Kennan, of course, had something quite different in mind when he deliberately forces himself into the Character vs. Intellect dilemma. Be that as it may, I must suffer from deficiency of the latter since I am unable conceptually to separate what seems to be an indissoluble partnership in the equipment of the Educated Man.

Having found so much wisdom in Mr. Kennan's writings, I am reluctant to question some of his assumptions and preferences (or prejudices) in this recent article. But since he ventures some observations on the university teaching of international affairs, in which I happened to be engaged for some seventeen years before the war, I am unable to resist a couple of comments.

First of all, I rise in defense of a great many political scientists who did not, as Mr. Kennan would have us believe was generally the case before the war, bask in the deceptive glow of utopianism. Certainly, most of my professional associates in the pre-war years did not "ignore . . . this thing called power," but, on the contrary, accepted it as a basic, elementary concept in the study of human (and therefore, international) relationships, and impressed it, I think, with appropriate realism into the context of their instruction on world affairs. I cannot speak for all universities, since I taught in only a few, so I would bow to the testimony on this point from the younger Foreign Service officers who received their so-called higher education during these years.

*(Continued on page 6)*

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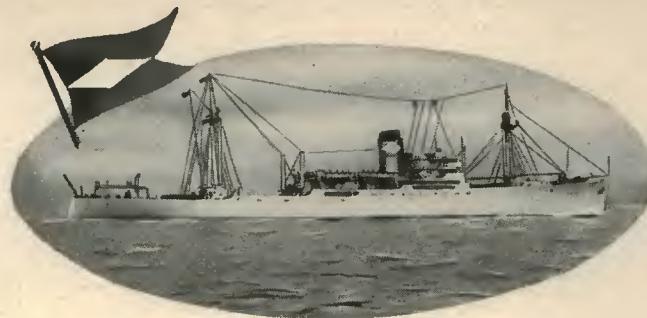
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Secondly, I had hoped that the fictitious dichotomy of the humanities vs. the social sciences was on its way to the ashheap. I know of no reputable social scientist who, for a moment, would question the educational value of the reading of the works of Shakespeare, Plutarch and Gibbon, but I do dispute the apparent contention that the study thereof is sufficient to the preparation of the average young man for a governmental career abroad. Whatever the shortcomings of social scientists, and of their chosen discipline, may be, they are exploring fundamental concepts and a wealth of essentially human material in the course of their studies and teaching, which, I firmly believe, are of inestimable value to Foreign Service officers today. I may be wrong, but it would be useful, in any case, to hear their testimony.

George, I salute you with affection and admiration, but I disagree with you!

WILLIAM P. MADDOX

### BATTERED VANITY

Tokyo, Japan  
May 26, 1953

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

In my wife's bedroom sits an old and somewhat battered vanity which was made here nearly 15 years ago when we were previously assigned to Tokyo. It has seen better days and has now many scars, broken handles and wobbly legs. It was never a very good piece of furniture, as it was made when good wood and good workmen were all being employed in preparation for the great conflict. But it has had a varied career, worthy of a much nobler piece of furniture, and has travelled in state like a rare and valuable possession. Four times it has crossed the oceans, to Washington, to Canada, to China, to Siam and now back to Tokyo where it was made. Originally it cost me perhaps \$50; how many hundred dollars it has cost the Government in freight, cartage, packing and storing I hate to think. Certainly the cost to the Government has been many times its original value.

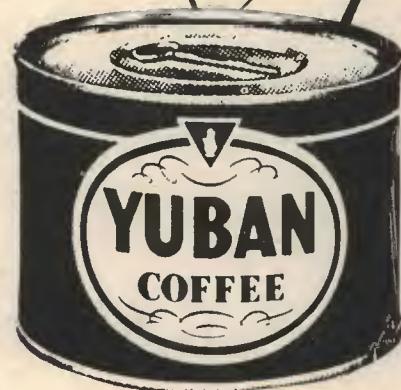
In a few weeks the packers will again descend on us and again the old vanity will be dismantled and packed for another long haul. Again a voucher will be submitted, and paid by the Government. The old vanity might better be left behind for the few dollars it would bring on the second-hand market. But it is a useful bit of equipment to which my wife is much attached, and there is no assurance that another would be available at our next post. So it will be packed in a box worth perhaps more than it, and shipped at even greater cost, for this is the way economy works in the Government.

It would cost more initially to provide the beds, tables, vanities and other heavy furniture necessary for each person at Foreign Service posts than it does to pack and ship effects in any one year. Over a five-year period the story would be very different, but our budget planners do not think in terms of long periods; they hew to the fiscal year. Transportation of things for the Foreign Service cost the Government a sizable fortune last year. When some day efficiency experts of the Budget Bureau discover what we

(Continued on page 8)

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**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (from page 6)**

have known all along, the Foreign Service will be provided with a stock of necessary heavy furniture at each post abroad and then the freight allowance of employees will be cut to permit the transportation only of clothing, decorative items and personal effects. No more will the employee returning from abroad be able to charge to the Government the freight for a gondola mooring pole from Venice or a stone lion from Hong Kong, provided it falls within his maximum of 24,000 pounds of freight.

In the meantime, our old vanity will continue on its travels until someday it collapses and is finally handed over to the cook to use for kindling.

JOE GINN

**CHESS AN ASSET**

Tamworth, New Hampshire  
July 12, 1953

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

This letter is prompted by the title of Mr. Kennan's recent article rather than by anything he wrote.

I believe that some ability in chess would be an invaluable asset to all those who determine our foreign policy. No course one can take in college or university compares with chess in inculcating the habit of looking several moves ahead and weighing all possible courses of action. If a person has played chess this habit becomes second nature and to look only one step ahead is abhorrent.

CHARLES H. PORTER

**Editor's Note:** All Russians learn chess at an early age. It is the most popular game in that country. The world champion chess player is a Russian. However, the game originated in India where there are also many skillful players. Since the Russians are presumably not interested in advancing U. S. interests, perhaps the Indians could be prevailed upon to extend some reverse Point 4 to the U. S. in the field of chess.

**JOURNAL CHALLENGE**

Vancouver, B.C., Canada  
May 22, 1953

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Although he has but scratched the surface in his letter which was published in the April issue of the JOURNAL, Mr. May has aptly expressed my idea of the attitude and thinking of the "junior Foreign Service employee who has not yet had his hope and spirit broken." As an Association member of several years' standing, I, too, have wondered frequently whether my ten dollar annual investment therein was producing any demonstrable benefits other than the creditable but scarcely overwhelming assistance of the Credit Union and the Despatch Agents' Revolving Fund. I am sure that many, other than Mr. May and myself, have done likewise. To the extent that any of these doubts are dispelled, Mr. Thompson's reply should be helpful and I am sure that even the most cynical of us will ungrudgingly concede his point regarding the limitations imposed by necessity upon the time and efforts of the officers of the

(Continued on page 10)

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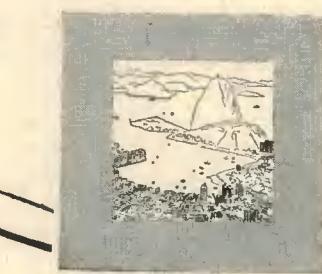
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### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (from page 8)

Association and the Editorial Board who give so generously of themselves in this labor of love with no hope of any other reward.

Of particular interest to me was Mr. Thompson's implied promise that the JOURNAL would no longer lean quite so heavily upon erudite feature articles and months-old news stories and, in their stead, would offer the reasoning behind various Departmental decisions of Service-wide interest. Since the reduction in force with which we are so unhappily faced undoubtedly represents the one subject upon which the greatest Service-wide interest is centered just now, may I suggest that the JOURNAL would be rendering a real service by publishing interpretive material on the manner in which the retention registers were compiled? The official explanations issued to the field thus far are unfortunately so ambiguous as to lend little assistance to the uninitiated.

One might inquire, for example, regarding the yardstick used in assigning personnel to their respective competitive levels. Were they merely conveniently grouped in the fields in which they are currently assigned or was consideration also given to their possible experience and qualifications in other fields? The emphasis placed upon rotation of Foreign Service Officers appears to establish rather definitely that the Department considers well-rounded officers a definite need of the Service. This is confirmed by Item 1, Paragraph VI of the Precept for 1953 Staff Corps Promotion Review Panels which states, in part, "... the lists to show following each name, the broad category or categories of positions in which the individual, in the opinion of the Panel, is qualified to serve. . . ." The method used in assigning personnel to the various competitive levels could be vital to many since those who have had experience in more than one field would not necessarily find their standing in one competitive level as favorable as in another in which they could logically be grouped.

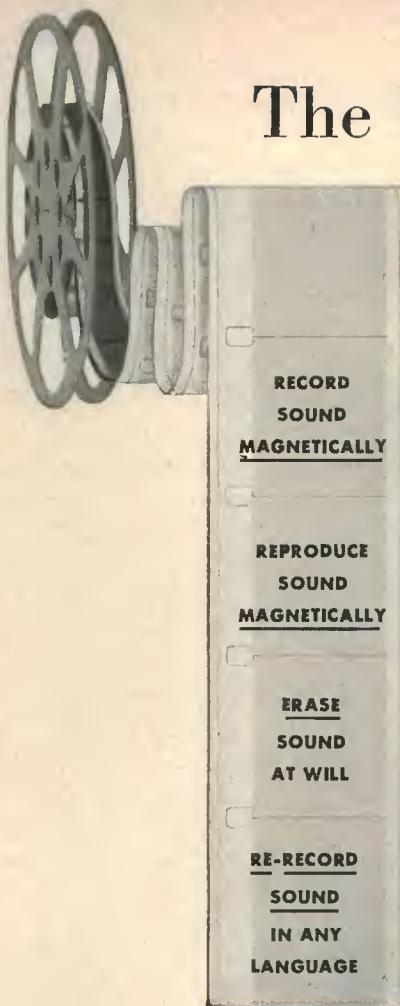
Let us consider, also, the case of a member of the Staff Corps whose point rating was earned in a position classified several grades above his personal rank. If logic implies that he will render his best performance in a job classified at his own rank, it should also imply that his performance in a higher-classified job will be somewhat less. Since the efficiency report submitted on him in this bigger job must necessarily reflect his performance in that job, what happens to his point rating when he begins competing with persons of his personal rank who, presumably, have been working at their proper level? I can find no assurance that the Department has given consideration to this factor in establishing the retention registers and I feel compelled to point out that assignments of this nature are invariably made for the convenience of the Department.

There appears to be no means by which a person who is reached for termination in his own class can compete with those in lower classes. If he were deemed worthy of promotion from a given class would he not also be deemed

(Continued on page 12)

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**LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (from page 10)**

worthy of again competing with those who were left behind in that class?

In raising the above points, I do not mean to imply criticism of the basic principles upon which the retention registers have been established. No one can really quarrel with the theory of giving credit for both length of service and efficiency. Since the relative weight to be assigned each factor represents a technical point, this argument can best be left to the experts and, in any event, no solution could be expected to satisfy everyone. And, inasmuch as there must always be a starting point, the point (efficiency) ratings assigned by the last promotion boards appear to be as equitable a basis as any that could logically be found. Once we leave these basic principles, however, there appears to be a vague and ill-defined field in which serious inequities could be worked unless considerable thought and care are exercised. Although I have tried not to be harsh in formulating my conclusions regarding the manner in which these intangibles are being considered, I do not find the Department's Circular Airgram of April 10, 1953 reassuring on this point. Rather, I am left with the feeling that the Department, having operated so long with grandiose ideas of expansion and deficiency appropriations, was caught short without a well-thought out plan for reducing force in a manner that would insure a minimum of inequities. I sincerely hope that I am wrong.

Another phase which could well stand the light of discussion is the effect on the Service of the future of terminating a substantial portion of the Staff Corps members whose length of service runs up to ten years or so. Because of the niggardly pensions afforded them by the double standard pension system, as was aptly pointed out in Colleague Meeks' letter in the May JOURNAL, a majority of those eligible to retire cannot afford to do so at this time. Since many of these veterans have thirty years or more of service, the inexorable demands of Father Time will separate most of them ere many years have passed. When this happens, the group next in line becomes the veterans but who moves up to become the middle group? Those who normally would fill this gap are being separated by the current economy move. Millions of dollars have been spent in training those who will shortly receive one-way tickets home and, undoubtedly, additional millions will be spent within a few years to train replacements. As a critic since 1944 of the Department's emergency, as distinguished from long-range, personnel "policy," I find little solace in this thought.

As I look back on nearly nine years in the Service, I find that I have had my full share of Service life. The good and bad posts have been mixed about evenly. I have endured my share of hardships and have been favored in ample measure with advantages. All in all, they have been rewarding years and I am proud to have been a member of the Service. Yet, if my turn for termination is reached, I shall not leave with reluctance unless it is convincingly established that this latest "reorganization" of the Department is to have some lasting and demonstrable benefits. Will the JOURNAL rise to this challenge with an explanation that will restore morale to those who man the far-flung outposts at a time when world affairs demand that the Service have strength, courage—and confidence?

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# Twenty Five Years Ago

BY JAMES B. STEWART

"POPO" AND THE LADY: The September, 1928 cover of the JOURNAL has a photograph of the volcano IZTACHI-HUATL by CONSUL CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR. Some old Mexican hands will recall the following conversation between that lady volcano and old "POPO" which is credited to a University of Mexico Summer School student:

Said old POPO to the Lady,  
Whom we call IZTACHI-HUATL.  
Does my smoke, my dear, annoy you?  
It's less harmful than the bottle.  
Oh no, replied the Lady  
Though I surely am no vamp  
If my posture does not lure you from your smoking  
You old scamp!

PEOPLE: J. REUBEN CLARK was appointed Undersecretary of State, succeeding ROBERT E. OLDS who resigned to join the international law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, of New York.

The SECRETARY OF STATE, accompanied by MRS. KELLOGG and WILLIAM H. BECK, Assistant to the Secretary, arrived in Paris to sign the Multilateral Treaty for the prevention of war.

MR. HERBERT C. HENGSTLER, Chief, Division of Foreign Service Administration, celebrated the 30th anniversary of his service in the Department on August 13. About the same time, MR. HARRY A. HAVENS, Assistant Chief, completed 20 years' service.

The United States Despatch Agent in New York moved from 2 Rector Street to 45 Broadway.

HORACE LEE WASHINGTON was President of the Association and members of the Executive Committee were: ARTHUR BLISS LANE, CHARLES B. HOSMER, JAMES C. DUNN, JOHN D. HICKERSON and ROBERT D. MURPHY.

FROM "CONSTANT": ERNIE IVES is back from Bloomington, Ill., where he was called on account of his wife having a baby.

Rumor has it that KIPPY TUCK, formerly of here, is coming back. Once a fellow's been in old Constant he just can't keep away.

JEFF PATTERSON has been sporting a new speed boat, and say, don't it run rings 'round the Standard Oil boat.

SHELT CROSBY, who has been touring Europe, is expected back shortly. The boys are hoping he brings along some of them classy Paris postcards.

RAY HARE, an honest and ambitious young man from this town, is in Washington to take some kind of a government examination. Ray is a boy we are going to be proud of some day.

HOW LONG'S YOUR MEMORY? I REMEMBER WHEN Assistant Secretary of State, ROBERT WALTON MOORE, took his gallant, old guard stand against air conditioning in his office but I do not recall the final decision in that battle. For the old Judge, in an alien world, it furnished a clean cut, conservative cause to champion. (JOHN KEENA, Retired Ambassador.)

(Continued on page 16)



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I REMEMBER WHEN the Department instructed me to take a new code book in a lead sealed box to my first post; how the seriousness of my mission was impressed upon me; how my blood ran cold and turned to water when, upon arriving at Union Station, I discovered that I had left the code on my desk; and how my "Barney Oldfield" of a taxi driver crashed the lights to 17th and the Avenue and back to the station in time for me to make my train and to save my official skin. (Still an F.S.O.)

I REMEMBER WHEN CONSUL CANADA, Vera Cruz, appeared on his balcony one night with his tails flapping to the tropical breeze. A number of us were ashore for dinner and about midnight someone suggested that we dance. A *balle* was indicated—but where? We decided to ask the consul. So off we trooped to the American Consulate and, standing in the street we called for Mr. Canada. Finally he came out on the shallow second story balcony outside his bedroom with the tails of his white night shirt flapping in the breeze. No, he had absolutely no data on *balles* and with that he vanished.

Now Consul Canada had a reputation with Navy men for austerity and the episode certainly afforded him an opportunity of demonstrating it. A word from him to our skipper would have meant discipline. But nothing happened. The old boy was a good sport. (Captain H. B. Ransdell, U.S.N., Retired.)



SMITH-CLUBB. Miss MARIANNE SMITH and VICE CONSUL EDMUND O. CLUBB were married on June 30, 1928, at St. Paul, Minn.

SHAW-FAUST. Miss DOROTHY SHAW and VICE CONSUL JOHN B. FAUST were married on July 12, 1928, at Glendale, Calif.

COLEMAN-PARK. Miss GRACE D. COLEMAN was married to CONSUL NELSON R. PARK, at Washington, on August 4, 1928.

SALZBURG-HUBBARD. Miss MARGARET SALZBURG and VICE CONSUL PHIL H. HUBBARD were married on June 25, at Berlin.

**NECROLOGY:** HAMILTON C. CLAIBORNE, Consul in Charge at Frankfort-on-Main, died suddenly on August 25, 1928, of heart failure while on a fishing trip at Krausenbach, Bavaria.

P. S. JOHN WILEY from Panama: "I always read your column with, alas, a nostalgic realization of the passage of time. Names almost forgotten reappear so vividly."

P. P. S. The latest of my young friends to be flirting with this column is Jim Penfield. In Denver a short time ago he boasted that he would "make it" in about two years.

**Editor's Note:** James Stewart wrote asking us to tell JOURNAL readers that the Lowell Despatch, published last month as "Smuggling in Spain" was sent to him by CHARLES H. DERRY, now Consul General at Edinburgh.

### IN MEMORIAM

GWYNN. Mr. William M. Gwynn, Consul General, who entered the service in 1926, died April 2, 1953, in Mallorca, Spain after an illness of six months. He leaves a widow whose address is Casa de Manana, San Augustin, Palma de Mallorca, Mallorca, Spain.

WILLIS. Mrs. Ella L. Willis, the mother of Richard P. Buttrick, died on June 26, 1953, in Lockport, New York.

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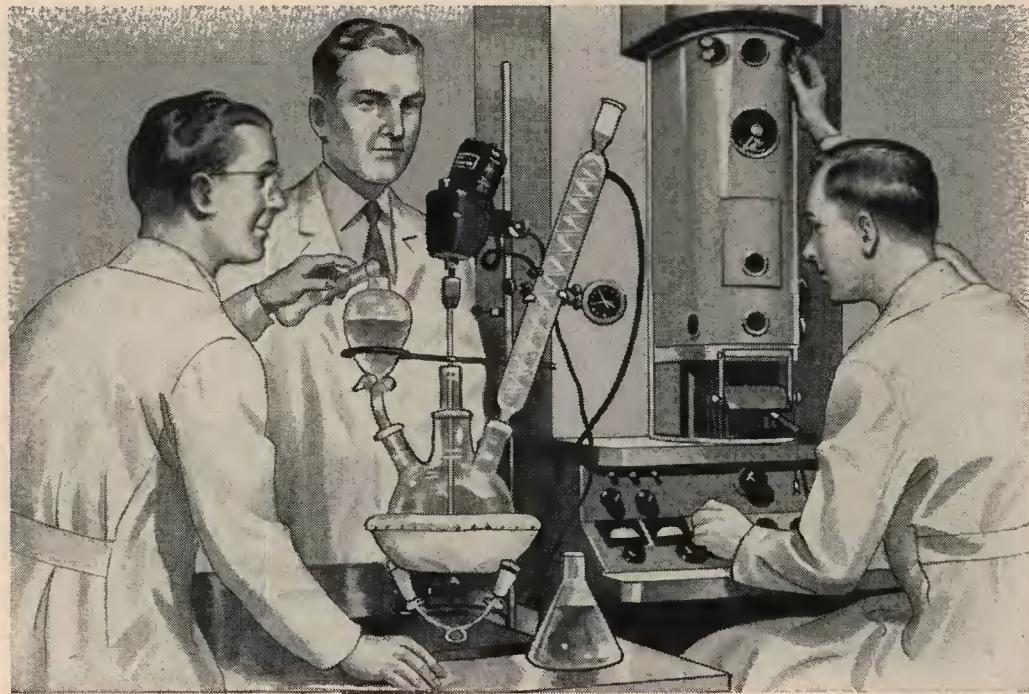


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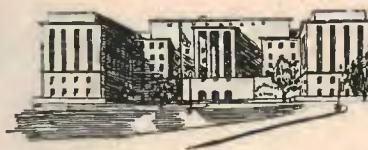
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# NEWS from the DEPARTMENT



By Lois Perry Jones

## United States Information Agency

All personnel working directly for the International Information Administration at home and abroad were transferred to the new United States Information Agency on August 1. This transfer did not include some people providing administrative support to the programs, such transfers to be made at a later date when a more careful study of the problems involved has been made.

Under the President's executive order setting up the USIA the Administrator will be given broad authority to act on personnel matters under the Foreign Service Act of 1946 as regards Foreign Service Reserve, Staff, and alien employees. The President's message to Congress transmitting the executive order spoke of a "separate personnel system" after the whole problem of the government overseas employee has been reviewed and investigated.

Nominated to head the new agency was THEODORE C. STREIBERT, radio executive of Locust Valley, Long Island. In mid-June Mr. Streibert was appointed as a consultant on public affairs to Dr. James B. Conant. Prior to then he participated in a survey in Europe of United States information facilities. He has served also as a member and acting chairman of the Radio Advisory Committee of the United States Advisory Commission on Information since 1949. Mr. Streibert was formerly chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting System and formerly president of radio station WOR in New York.

Representative Brownson, who presented the reorganization plan to the House, stated that "the plan provides that the Secretary of State shall advise with the President concerning appointment and tenure of the Director of the United States Information Agency.

"On official United States positions the Secretary of State shall direct the policy and control the content of information programs. The President has stated that the Director of the new agency shall report to and receive instructions from him through the National Security Council or as the President may direct."

On the same date, August 1, Reorganization Plan 7, that forms the Foreign Operations Administration, went into effect. Before offering explanation of the Plan in the House,

Representative Brownson commended the cooperation given the President in developing the plan by UNDER SECRETARY LOURIE, UNDER SECRETARY SMITH, and HAROLD STASSEN. Mr. Brownson also pointed out that the Foreign Operations Administration will undertake the duties set forth by the Mutual Security Act, the Yugoslav Emergency Relief Act, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs Act, and the technical assistance program of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act. The reorganization plan assigns responsibility for foreign policy to the Secretary, and reduces his operational responsibilities.

The Director of USIA will be authorized to exercise the powers vested in the Secretary of State by the Foreign Service Act of 1946 with respect to Foreign Service Reserve, Staff, and alien personnel. However, the Director of the Information Agency will not have authority with respect to Foreign Service Officers; instead, it is understood that arrangements may be made for the detail of FSO's to USIA by the Department subject to appropriate reimbursement for salaries and related expenses. Appointments by the new agency of its chief representative in each country will be cleared with the Secretary of State and each chief of U. S. diplomatic mission may recommend, through appropriate channels, the withdrawal of any Information Agency employee in his area whose performance warrants such action.

## Ambassadors

THE HONORABLE PHILIP K. CROWE, of Easton, Maryland, was sworn in as Ambassador to Ceylon replacing THE HONORABLE JOSEPH C. SATTERTHWAITE, who has been assigned as Diplomatic Agent at Tangier with the rank of Minister. Formerly with *Fortune Magazine*, Ambassador Crowe graduated from the University of Virginia and served with the United States Air Force in the China-Burma-India theatre. In 1948 he accepted an appointment as Special Representative of ECA's mission to China, where he was stationed in Nanking when the city fell to the Communists.

Replacing THE HONORABLE HOWARD K. TRAVERS as Ambassador to Haiti is THE HONORABLE ROY TASCO DAVIS, former Minister to Guatemala, Panama, and Costa Rica.

(Continued on page 46)



Miss Frances E. Willis



Cavendish Cannon



James W. Riddleberger

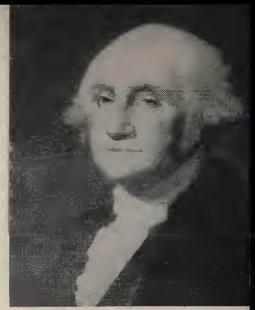


Joseph C. Satterthwaite



Raymond A. Hare

BY  
GRAHAM H. STUART



# Who Makes Our Foreign Policy?

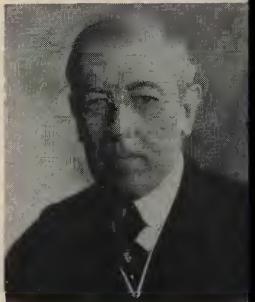
It has been claimed repeatedly that the Soviet makes our foreign policy—that Moscow moves and Washington counter-moves but the initiative is in the hands of the Kremlin. Senator McCarthy has also been credited with being a controlling influence—his sweeping allegations of Communism in the Department of State and the Foreign Service, although overwhelmingly disproved, have seemingly had a sinister effect upon the morale of the Department and upon the courage of the policy makers. The Congress is not averse to playing a more important role in the conduct of our foreign affairs. Senator Bricker proposes to give the Congress a check-rein on the making of treaties and executive agreements and the Battle Act prohibits aid to countries sending strategic materials to the Soviet sphere.

The National Security Council, set up on a Cabinet level status, is the highest policy advisory body to the President and has the final word on all foreign and military policies relating to national security. Other autonomous bodies such as the National Security Resources Board, the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems and the Bureau of the Budget also play important roles in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

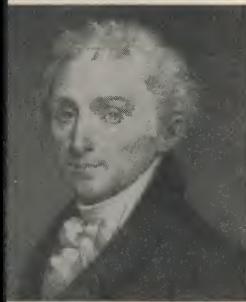
The Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch reports that forty-six different agencies are involved in the conduct of our foreign affairs and that ninety-five per cent of the appropriations devoted to international relations fall outside the jurisdiction of the State Department and the Foreign Service. In fact, the Hoover Commission declares that "the most striking present day feature of the United States government for the conduct of foreign affairs is the participation in all of its phases of departments and agencies other than the State Department."

Nevertheless the responsibility for the formulation of foreign policy still rests in the hands of the President—his powers, as the Supreme Court has succinctly stated, are "delicate, plenary and exclusive". Or to quote the Hoover Commission again "the President alone defines foreign policy objectives and initiates policies to realize them."

Theodore Roosevelt



George Washington



James Monroe



Samuel Polk



William McKinley

Woodrow Wilson

A glance at the powers conferred by the Constitution upon the President in the conduct of foreign affairs indicates the vast range of his control. However, it is necessary to view the extended application of these powers to get a clear picture of the vital role which the President plays. Even though the legislative body is assigned the important fields of regulating foreign commerce, declaring war and raising and supporting armies, a strong President can usually force and direct its action even in these areas.

Strangely enough, the Constitution is silent as to who formulates foreign policy and as a result the President has regularly taken over this prerogative. His annual message on the state of the Union affords him an ideal opportunity to chart the direction and scope of our relations with foreign powers and from Washington on, our Presidents have seized the initiative in policy making. For example the Doctrine of Isolation, the Monroe Doctrine, the Good Neighbor Policy and the Point Four program were all enunciated in presidential messages to the Congress. However, the President must not only take the initiative, he must exert pressure whenever the situation warrants it. The President is usually more popular with the people than the Congress and he is in a position to force compliance with his wishes against any Congressional obstructionism.

An excellent illustration of the effectiveness of a strong presidential initiative constantly reinforced by executive pressure is illustrated by the reciprocal trade agreement program. The tariff policy of the United States has always been a jealously guarded prerogative of the Congress. Nevertheless President Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to obtain an almost freehand for Secretary of State Cordell Hull to carry out his reciprocal trade agreement program. Although the Congress insisted upon placing a time limit upon its grant of power and upon several occasions has empowered the Tariff Commission to curb the President's powers, the Chief Executive for the past two decades has had a fairly free hand in negotiating commercial agreements.

Although President Eisenhower wishes to retain the present law for another year until the whole question of foreign trade can be studied in its broadest aspects, a Republican Congress is seemingly not overly sympathetic, and the Simpson Bill introduced by a Republican Congressman proposes to gut the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act by a series of crippling amendments. In fact, some thirty-eight bills have already been introduced into the 82nd Congress aimed at restricting imports from allied and friendly states. This situation affords an important test of presidential control.

The Republican platform favored "the expansion of mutually advantageous world trade" and promised to enter into and maintain reciprocal trade agreements. In his first message to the Congress, President Eisenhower declared "that our foreign policy will recognize the importance of profitable and equitable world trade." When, however, the Congress seemed reluctant to go along, the Administration unlimbered its big guns. Secretaries Dulles and Humphrey, Under Secretary of State Bedell Smith and Assistant Secretaries Morton and Cabot showed the importance of trading with our allies as a fundamental base of our own strength and security. Already Canada, the best customer that the

United States possesses, with reference to our restrictions on the importation of dried milk, has claimed that the United States has violated the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to which we are a party. Italy has urgently requested that the United States should not raise its tariffs against Italian exports, and the Communists in Rome had a field day broadcasting that the "United States will take our sons but she won't take our goods." The Administration has the better arguments, the support of the economic experts and the press, but the special interests have the lobbyists and the close contacts with the Congress. The Executive can win the contest but not without a struggle.

Fortunately one power vested in the President by the Constitution—the power to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls—although requiring the approval of a majority of the Senate has remained an unquestioned presidential prerogative. In the case of the appointment of the Secretary of State, the Senate almost invariably gives the President a very free hand. On only two occasions, one when President Madison had to appoint the weak Robert Smith whom he didn't want instead of Albert Gallatin whom he did, and the other when the approval of President Wilson's nomination of Bainbridge Colby was delayed for almost a month, has the Senate interfered seriously. Thus, by appointing men who will cooperate loyally in the formulation and execution of foreign policies, the President has a powerful adjunct in the control of foreign relations.

The relations between the Secretary of State and the President depend largely upon the personalities and interests of the two men. President McKinley gave John Hay a completely free hand while President Theodore Roosevelt checked his every move. President Wilson paid little attention to Secretary Lansing in Paris and Secretary Stettinius received similar treatment from President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Yalta. In his precipitate recognition of Israel, President Truman ignored the entire Department of State and the Foreign Service, yet he normally sought and accepted the recommendations of Secretaries Marshall and Acheson.

In his ambassadorial appointments, President Eisenhower has rewarded outstanding career Foreign Service officers as well as given some solace to the politicians. The posts in London and Paris are almost regularly political appointments and have remained so, but career diplomats have already been named to Russia, India, China and Spain.

In the making of treaties it has been aptly said "the President proposes, the Senate disposes while the country dozes." Inasmuch as a two-thirds vote of the Senate is required to approve the ratification of treaties, the President's initiative is largely controlled by Senatorial inclination. By amending or delaying, or outright refusal to approve, the Senate has the final say. Under these circumstances it is the more surprising that the Bricker resolution to amend the Constitution to limit still further the executive power to make treaties has obtained such strong Senatorial support.

It is probably due to another less restricted power of the President—namely the making of executive agreements—that the Bricker Resolution has gained its numerous following. The widespread opposition to the commitments made by President Roosevelt at Yalta has been capitalized upon effectively. The fact that the Yalta agreements were made

secretly without consultation with either State Department officials or Senators, and that they have proved to be so injurious to the interests of the United States, has tended to discredit the whole procedure.

However, it should not be overlooked that the power to make executive agreements has been on occasions most advantageous to the President and to the country at large. The non-fortification of our entire northern frontier including the Great Lakes is based upon a century old executive agreement. The exchange of destroyers for British naval bases prior to our entrance into World War II was an invaluable asset to the United States and would never have been possible if presented in treaty form. The Congress has recognized the value of the procedure in authorizing the reciprocal trade agreement program. If the President could make agreements with other nations "only in the manner and to the extent to be prescribed by law," the result in an emergency might be utterly disastrous.

Finally one of the most all-embracing powers possessed by the President in his control of foreign affairs is his war powers. Although the Constitution gives the Congress the exclusive power to declare war and to raise and support armies, at the same time it makes the President the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. As such, the President has the power to utilize the Army and Navy in such a way as to protect the interest of the United States even though it may result in war. President Polk's sending of troops across the Rio Grande, McKinley's dispatch of the *Maine* to Havana harbor and of troops to Peking during the Boxer Rebellion, and the seizure of Vera Cruz by American troops as ordered by President Wilson, are well known examples.

When President Roosevelt sent American forces to Iceland and President Truman dispatched American troops to Korea, Senator Taft challenged both actions as usurping rights specifically granted by the Constitution to the Congress. But even if such actions were a usurpation of power, Senator Taft's father himself conceded that the President may so use the Army and Navy as to involve the country in war and force a declaration of war by Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is clearly evident that although there has been a recent tendency towards Congressional usurpation of the control of foreign relations, the President has the ultimate power if he desires to use it. In fact he will usually be far more popular with the people if he plays the leading role strongly. It is a cause of concern to many of the President's supporters when a former British premier raises the question as to who is directing foreign policy in the United States at the present time. It has been well said that in a democracy it is not enough to be right, one must seem right, and the Constitutional fathers wisely gave the President of the United States in the conduct of our foreign relations every power necessary both to be and seem right.

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Graham Stuart's distinguished career in political science, writing, and education has carried him to the top universities in this country, including Stanford, Chicago, NYU and Duke. He has been visiting professor and lecturer in France, Geneva and the Hague, and Hawaii. Mr. Stuart acted as consultant to the State Department from 1943 to 1945, as advisor to the American Minister to Tangiers in 1946, and he is currently a member of the Advisory Committee of the Foreign Service Institute.

# *a diplomat's*

## **MOMENTS OF TRUTH**

By WILLIAM P. COCHRAN, JR.

The primrose path of the diplomat, like that of dalliance is beset with pitfalls. Some of these will have been placed there, often with consummate skill and ulterior motives, by the diplomat's colleagues from other nations, or by foreign officials with whom he must deal. The perspicacious envoy will be alert to avoid these recognizable snares. Still other traps for the unwary are inherent in the exercise of the profession; and it is these which require all the diplomat's acumen to distinguish and to elude. Three are so insidious that they have been termed "Moments of Truth".

First, it is necessary to explain what is meant by a "Moment of Truth". The reference is to bull-fighting. In the final third of the fight, the *faena*, the climax is reached when the matador drives in the sword and kills the bull. Everything in the fight leads up to this moment. Having prepared the animal, having worn down the tossing muscle in his shoulders so that the bull will lower his head; having dominated him, and schooled him to follow the *muleta*, or small red cloth, at the appropriate time, the matador "profiles". That is, he stands side on to the bull and aims with the sword at the vulnerable spot between the bull's shoulder blades. If the animal's front feet are together, as they should be, the opening between the two bones is about as large as this: put your two thumbs and your two forefingers together, and press as much as you can. That is the size of the space the matador is aiming for. He lunges forward, distracting the bull with the *muleta* held across his body with his left arm. If the matador is skillful and lucky, the sword goes in smoothly, to the heart, and the bull dies quickly.

The great danger is that, with his arms crossed as he advances on the bull, the sword will strike a nerve or muscle, causing the bull spasmodically to raise his head. If this occurs, and the matador has gone in honestly, the bull's horns will catch the man in the chest and kill him. Of course, many less conscientious matadors try to avoid this danger by running circularly around the bull's horns, and stabbing at his back from a position at right angles, instead of accepting the professional risk and going in straight and honestly. It is this moment, when either the man or the bull can be killed, and the man, if he has any pride of profession or any honor, must go in straight forwardly and take his chances, that is called in homage, "The Moment of Truth". The matador's actions at this

moment are what make him great, or a cheat. If he goes in straight and clean, and misses his sword-stroke, the crowd will not blame him. But if he in cowardly fashion avoids the direct approach, even if he kills the bull with one stroke, the boos and cushions which will be thrown by the *aficionados* will give him the reward he deserves.

In the practice of diplomacy, there are several moments of truth.

The first of these occasions arises whenever the diplomat walks out of the Foreign Office. He has had a talk with some official of the foreign government, however minor; on some aspect of foreign relations, however trivial; and the very first thing he must do, and as soon as possible, is to make a detailed memorandum of this conversation for his and his Government's records. As his mind reviews what he said, and just what the foreign official replied, the diplomat is under an almost unbearable, if scarcely recognized, pressure to report that he expressed his Government's point of view just a little more skillfully, a little more forcefully and effectively, than he actually did. He did not use these particular words, nor have at hand at that time the peculiar felicity of phrase which now occurs to him; and yet, they express what he was attempting to convey to the foreigner, and by now he is sure that that is what the foreigner recognized he meant to convey. The tendency, then, is to report the wish for the fact; for it is natural for the human to want to make himself appear to good advantage.

The diplomat must scrupulously resist this temptation.

He must do so despite his realization that no one will be able to challenge his report of the matters discussed, the statements made on both sides, and the agreements reached. Even if the tenor of the conversation becomes a matter of controversy later, his Government will rely on his report, and will assume that the other nation has changed its mind or desires to renege on its commitments, and is trying to muddy the waters by distorting the nature and direction of the conversation.

*(Continued on page 62)*

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William P. Cochran, Jr., graduated from the Naval Academy and is now assigned to the Army War College as instructor. During the intervening 27 years his posts have included Auckland, Wellington, San Salvador, Lima, Veracruz, Moscow, (the Naval War College), Berlin, Budapest, and Rio de Janeiro—as Counselor of Embassy.



# Nineteenth Party Congress and

By DOCUMENTICUS

## **Editor's Note:**

*The following article was written by an experienced analyst in the interval between the 19th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the death of Stalin. The statements made in connection with the Congress on which this article is based, still represents the most recent comprehensive formulations of Soviet strategy and tactics. It should also be kept in mind that the modifications in communist tactics which followed Stalin's death were made in the shadow of those ex cathedra pronouncements.*

*New Soviet moves have followed each other in such profusion in the past months that it is often difficult to sort them out. The JOURNAL believes that this analysis of the foreign policy aspects of the 19th Party Congress will give its readers a new perspective from which to examine these recent adjustments in Soviet policy. It will then be left for the reader to judge for himself the extent to which the most recent Soviet "peace offensive" represents a departure from Stalinist foreign policy.*

The peculiarities of the communist code which require the party leaders to describe in some detail their plans and policies at periodic intervals have given the world another major review of Soviet foreign policy. While the Kremlin has not been obliging enough to tell the free world precisely what tactical moves to expect, the nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave a comprehensive

picture of the strategic and tactical framework within which these moves will be made.

The following analysis is based primarily on the report which Georgi Malenkov delivered on the opening day of the Congress on behalf of the Party's Central Committee. This address was the most complete and authoritative statement on foreign policy made at the Congress and set the tone for subsequent speeches. It was second in importance only to Stalin's article, "The Economic Problems of Socialism," which appeared in *Bolshevik*, organ of the Central Committee, just prior to the Congress. Those pronouncements in the Stalin article which are pertinent to Soviet foreign policy will be included in this study.

## ***Analysis of the World Situation***

The Congress, Malenkov pointed out, took place in a world vastly different from that in which the previous Party Congress met in 1939. Since then, the Soviet Union had emerged victorious from World War II. Its isolation in a hostile world had ended when first the eastern European countries and then China broke away from the capitalist system. The result was "the establishment of two camps—the aggressive, anti-democratic camp headed by the United States, and the peaceful, democratic camp" led by the Soviet Union.

This bi-polar view of the world has been part of the party doctrine since 1947, when it was set forth by Andrei

Zhdanov, late Politburo member, at the conference which founded the Cominform. In communist eyes it attests to the genius of Stalin, who in 1924 stated: "Most probably, in the course of development of the world revolution, side by side with the centers of imperialism in individual countries and the system of these countries throughout the world, centers of socialism will be created in individual Soviet countries and a system of these centers throughout the world, and the struggle between these two systems will fill the history of the development of the world revolution."<sup>1</sup>

In his article in *Bolshevik*, Stalin declared that many communists misinterpreted this doctrine, assuming that the division of the world into two camps meant that any future war would be between them. Comrades entertaining this notion were berated for their lack of ideological clarity. Stalin conceded that "theoretically" the contradictions between capitalism and socialism (communism) are stronger than those between capitalist countries. After a review of recent history, however, he stated; "The struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and the wish to down their competitors turned out in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism." From this he concluded that "the inevitability of wars between the capitalist countries remains."

Stalin did not, of course, mean that war between the capitalist and communist camps is impossible. On the contrary, Malenkov and other speakers at the Congress repeated over and over that the main objective of the capitalist camp, and above all of the United States, is to launch a war of aggression against the Soviet Union. The composite implication is that both types of war are possible—in the long run even inevitable.

Whether or not the communists actually believe the free world intends to attack the Soviet bloc is hard to determine, in light of their peculiar assumptions regarding history and capitalism. The great lengths to which a number of speakers went to demonstrate the Soviet Union's relative advantages in the event of a third World War carries a certain implication that war is precisely what they fear most. In any case, Malenkov's speech left the impression that the Kremlin would not welcome war at the present time. And Stalin's statement that "war between the capitalistic camp and the U.S.S.R. should certainly pose the question of the continued existence of capitalism itself" carries a reverse implication which the communist leaders cannot have failed to recognize.

(Continued on page 52)

<sup>1</sup>Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* p. 123. (English version of 11th edition. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947) Emphasis added.

## SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY





Than Phuying La-iad Songkram, wife of the Premier, breaks champagne over the bow of the *AMERICA*. Left to right Madam Songkram, U. S. Ambassador Edwin F. Stanton, Miss Mary Anglemeyer, USIS Librarian, and Mrs. Stanton.

In Thailand the messages of freedom and the vital story of free world solidarity and progress must take to the water if they are to reach many important provincial leaders and a significant portion of the predominantly agricultural population. More than 80% of Thailand's people are farmers; many of these, with their village headmen and local sheriffs and Buddhist priests, live in relative isolation along Thailand's famous "klongs", waterways which interlace the entire countryside from the borders of Malaya in the south to those of Laos and Cambodia in the northeast. These waterways once formed the sole communications network of this small nation, which has always maintained both its freedom and prosperity. Today there are still countless villages and temples which can be reached only by boat.

Goods and gossip make their way along the waterways to quiet towns and villages which could become spots of trouble and violence if ignorance, poverty or Communist agitation took hold. USIS Bangkok has met the problem of reaching these people with two important program developments. A country fair program, begun in 1949, has developed into a highly effective activity, reaching last year more than 600,000 people (that is, reaching this number at the USIS booths and film showings themselves; the total fair attendance was of course somewhat higher). Fairs serve both as celebrations and meeting places, usually held in temple grounds or village squares, and the arrival of the USIS exhibit and film unit always brings forth gratifying expressions of appreciation and interest. But fairs are periodic, and to meet the further need for approaching provincial people in their own separate localities and with repeated impact, USIS launched on the klongs of Thailand in October 1952 a floating unit which combines all the features of an information center, outdoor theatre, broadcasting outfit, and news agency, not to mention its partic-

# HERE COMES USIS

By SARA MERRITT AND MARY ANGLEMYER



The *AMERICA*, new waterborne library unit of the United States Information Service in Bangkok, which is carrying books, movies, news and music to village communities in Thailand.

ular usefulness as an interesting and pleasant locale for personal contacts with the people. The unit, a compact, shallow draft craft of the type normally used on the klongs, was built and designed in Thailand.

The following story of one of the first trips of the *America* gives a small picture of the operation and effectiveness of this unique program which is now being carried on by the United States Information Service in Thailand.

"Thini USIT Ma Lew," Thai for "Here Comes USIS," was heard along the banks of the Menam Chao Phya and the Saraburi Rivers for the first time when the *America*, recently christened floating library unit of the United States Information Service, made its maiden voyage to the Royal Thai Irrigation project at Tha Luang and to the ancient city of Ayuthia. It was designed to travel the waterways of Thailand to furnish the people in remote areas, accessible only by water during a large part of the year, with entertainment and knowledge through books, magazines and leaflets containing world wide events of interest, movies,

radio broadcasts and music.

With its cargo of entertainment it brings to mind the river showboats, which until a few years ago steamed up and down the Mississippi, and whose scheduled stops filled the people with anticipation. Similarly the arrival of the *America* is eagerly awaited. But in addition the *America* serves a broader purpose of providing not only entertainment but knowledge and education to the peoples of Thailand who as yet have had little access to these facilities and rare contacts with Americans. Furthering the aims of international understanding the *America* offers concrete evidence of the American people's desire to help the less developed countries of the world.

The boat, while originally suggested by the USIS librarian in Bangkok, Miss Mary Anglemyer, appealed immediately to Thai officials who were consulted regarding the feasibility of such a project. A real desire on the part of these Thai officials to work with Americans, furthering the mutual understanding of Thai and American peoples, was demonstrated by the generous offer of the Royal Thai Irrigation Department to furnish an engineer to design and supervise the construction of the boat. Through this valuable assistance, freely given, the project was made possible, giving mutual assistance a tangible and concrete meaning.

At the christening ceremonies high government officials conveyed their approval, but the worthiness of this project was inspiringly demonstrated by the people themselves.

#### First Stop

Tha Luang is a large settlement consisting principally of maintenance personnel of one of the most important and oldest irrigation projects in Thailand. It also boasts a steel mill and prosperous rice farmers in surrounding areas. Here the *America* made its first stop. The first visitor came across the river in his sampan, a small shallow canoe, and

shyly asked for one of the publications which were attractively displayed on the lower deck. Soon other craft came alongside the *America* with their occupants clamoring for publications. Meantime on the deck, crowds of children were beginning to gather, solemnly peering through the windows at what was most probably the first library they had ever seen.

Although encouraged to come in and inspect the books, the children hung back, and until two Thai members of the boat crew lifted several into the library they remained hesitatingly just outside. All shyness disappeared when they saw the books on open shelves and soon the room was filled with eager little readers. Also invited aboard were the adults who questioned the staff as to how long the boat would stay, what was its purpose, and if they could borrow books. Many faces registered disappointment when informed that the boat would remain only one night but were obviously pleased to learn that books would be left for them to borrow and that the *America* would return. The reading room was open until about seven o'clock when it was dark enough for the movies to be shown. Endeavoring to draw the crowd to the movies, which were to be shown in an adjacent field, two American members of the staff proceeded to lead the younger children to the site of the movies. Surrounded by more eager youngsters flinging a barrage of questions in Thai, it was not until the movies actually started that the Americans were allowed to slip away unnoticed.

The next day the boat arrived at Ayuthia, for more than four hundred years the capital of Thailand, the ancient ruins of which attract tourists from many parts of the world. Now this island city in the Chao Phya river is a bustling trading center for rice farmers and teak loggers. A small reception committee, consisting of the Governor

(Continued on page 63)

Thai villagers examining books in the reading room of the *AMERICA*. In the background Mr. Jerry James, USIS Librarian.





An anti-communist labor demonstration in Rome on May Day, 1953. Observing it while he smokes a stogie is Thomas A. Lane (in center), Counselor of Embassy for Labor Affairs. Mr. Lane, formerly legislative representative for the bricklayers union, was one of our first trade unionists to enter Italy after the war as a Colonel in the U. S. Military government.

# The Labor Attaché

By MARTIN P. DURKIN, Secretary of Labor

In conducting its foreign affairs the United States Government long ago discovered that the homely adage "What you don't know won't hurt you" is badly out of date. In our role of leader in world affairs we have found that the essential raw material of effective programs and policy is reliable and current information on conditions and developments abroad and, without this information we cannot achieve our aims and we will make serious and costly errors. The Labor Attachés are on the job in our Embassies all over the world to assure that our government will know what labor is thinking and doing abroad and to help win the support of labor in all lands for our foreign policies.

In the history of American diplomacy the Labor Attaché program is a relatively new departure. It is a natural outgrowth of the emergence of labor as a powerful economic and political force in most areas of the world and an essential instrument for a dynamic and effective U. S. foreign policy. In the last decade the U. S. has assumed the role of world leadership, and free foreign labor, in its fight for survival and betterment, has looked to American labor for assistance, guidance and cooperation. During these crucial years the Labor Attaché program has gradually become an urgent need and a vital and recognized part of our diplomatic program.

That we are engaged in a world-wide struggle to win the support of labor all over the world is apparent to all of us. Understanding the economic and political problems of foreign workers and knowing their aspirations, their grievances, their outlook and their orientation and convincing them that the battle for freedom is theirs as much as ours are necessary first steps in winning this struggle. In our most important Embassies abroad the Labor Attachés are making direct contacts with foreign labor and providing the U. S. Government facts and expert analysis concerning the activities and conditions of labor abroad.

The job of keeping ourselves informed of labor developments abroad would be impossible if we had no reliable and fully trained observers in key spots throughout the world. To speak authoritatively about American labor they must have had first-hand experience with it. They must also have thorough knowledge in all phases of labor economics, statistics, social insurance, labor-management relations and labor administration and, in addition, be versed in political science since, outside of the United States, political and economic activities of labor are strongly interwoven. What position a political labor party is likely to take on a controversial issue, what are the real wages of workers in a country where government statistics are notoriously unre-

liable, what impact anti-American propaganda is having on foreign workers, how we can best correct false impressions the foreign workers have concerning the role of the worker in the American society, the extent to which labor legislation is actually enforced, whether or not specific foreign labor unions are hostile or friendly to our objectives are all questions which can be answered best by one who has intimate and friendly relationships with the key leaders of labor in the foreign country. The Labor Attachés have these contacts and are providing the answers. The answers are important to us in many ways.

One of the primary purposes of our technical assistance and economic aid programs is the improvement of the living conditions and labor standards of workers abroad. To measure the effectiveness of these programs and to gear them to the needs of the workers, we need current and reliable information on wage rates, living standards, conditions of employment and consumption levels from every corner of the globe. The Labor Attachés supply the necessary data and, in addition, their advice on specific program needs in the field of labor is often sought by the U. S. technical assistance missions abroad.

A principal impediment to further lowering trade barriers is the differences in labor standards that exist between



John Correll, Labor Attaché in Athens talking with a group of workers in a barrel making establishment in Ioannina, Greece.

builders we are helping the economies of friendly countries and encouraging trade instead of aid, but we must be assured that the plants have the industrial potential to deliver the goods. Here, again, the Labor Attaché with his detailed knowledge of the labor market and the orientation of labor in specific plants and industries, has proved an invaluable advisor.

American business men planning or engaging in foreign commercial operations must have the best possible information on labor-management practices and labor legislation in foreign countries. When an American employer wants to operate a plant in a foreign country he must know whether or not workers of the type he will need will be available, and he must know the prevailing labor standards and the legal requirements in the field of labor. The Labor Attaché provides answers to these questions.

In each of our Embassies abroad the U. S. has information and education officers who use press, magazines, pamphlets, radio, motion pictures and posters to promote a better understanding of the United States and to increase inter-

(Continued on page 61)

A visit of Labor Attaché Irving Salter to the headquarters of Port Inspectors and Checkers Trade Union in Rio de Janeiro on May 19, 1953. The president, Adelson Menezes (white suit, with mustache) and members of the Executive.

nations, beyond what is warranted by differences in productivity. In negotiating its tariffs and trade agreements the United States must have accurate information on wage rates and worker productivity abroad to understand the competitive relationships that will result from changes in tariffs. The established procedures for hearing American labor and industry on tariff matters result in a great many requests for this kind of information. The need for more and more detail especially in cases where competition is great is, in fact, increasing. Here again the Labor Attachés' reports prove invaluable.

In connection with the European defense program contracts for the manufacture of necessary equipment are being negotiated with foreign manufacturers by United States procurement officers. In letting these contracts to foreign

Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin began his career in labor as a steam fitter's helper at the age of 17. He served as Director of Labor in Illinois and in 1939 was elected president of the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials. From 1943 until the time of his recent appointment he was President of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry.



# EDITORIALS

## PERSONNEL REORGANIZATION

As this issue of the JOURNAL went to press, we received word that a major reorganization of the Department's Office of Personnel took effect on August 3. Many readers will already have seen the official notification of this change in the August issue of the *Foreign Service Newsletter*, but for the benefit of those who have not we are carrying it on page 41.

Last July, in commenting on the vacancy of Chief in the former Division of Foreign Service Personnel, the JOURNAL expressed the hope that it would be filled by a senior Foreign Service Officer. That is now a dead issue. We are not aware yet of all the considerations that have led to the abolition of FP, but we would be less than human if we did not pause for a moment of silent respect at the passing of this once vital center of Foreign Service activity.

We hope that the organization of the Office of Personnel on a functional basis will lead to greater economy and efficiency in over-all Departmental and Foreign Service operations. Three years ago the Rowe Committee, looking towards the amalgamation of Foreign Service and Departmental personnel into a unified Foreign Affairs Service, recommended:

"As the integrated service becomes a reality, the present organization of the Office of Personnel, on the basis of Departmental and Foreign Service, will cease to have meaning. The Department and Foreign Service units should then be merged and organized on a functional basis as an integral part of establishing a unified system."

If amalgamation of this kind is in the wind, we know with what keen and legitimate curiosity our readers, at home and abroad, will await further developments.

For the present, however, it would appear from the new organization chart that the Foreign Service will continue its separate existence. A Foreign Service Placement Branch, headed by a Foreign Service Officer and divided into the usual area personnel desks, will presumably continue to perform many of the "transfer and assignment" tasks of the old FP. Foreign Service examinations will continue to be held under the auspices of Mr. Riches and BEX. We are particularly pleased that a Foreign Service Officer of the calibre of Fred Jandrey has been named as Deputy Director for Foreign Service in the reorganized Office of Personnel. Known throughout the Service for his high sense of duty and conscientious judgement, we wish him well as he enters upon his new responsibilities. In fact, he epitomizes those qualities of experience, understanding and leadership we had in mind in our July editorial about the top vacancy in FP.

## ALAS, CORDELIA!

Thinking, the other day, of questions put to Government officials by interviewing security investigators, such as questions inviting avowals of hatred for our country's enemies, we remembered Shakespeare's "King Lear." We remembered the test that the old king devised for the loyalty of his daughters. He asked each how much she loved him. Those

## EDITORIAL REPRINT

From "The New York Times-Union Leader"  
of Sept. 15, 1970

The Department of State has called our attention to an error in our September 10 obituary notice of Mr. John S. Bunyongate, late Consul of the United States at Atomville, Central Africa. In the interest of accuracy, we are pleased to state that at the time of his death Mr. Bunyongate was not an FSO-5, but a Career Minister.

Investigation on our part reveals the circumstances which gave rise to our error. Mr. Bunyongate was assigned to Atomville in 1952 and, owing to successive economy drives in the matter of travel funds for vacations, he spent 15 continuous and unrelieved years at that isolated spot where he was the only American officer. Curiously enough, Mr. Bunyongate himself never knew that he had been promoted beyond FSO-5. The changes in administration that occurred during the period that he was in Atomville occasioned re-organizations which delayed publication of the Foreign Service promotion lists. Thus, although Mr. Bunyongate was promoted from FSO-5 to FSO-4 in 1953 he was unaware of the fact.

In April 1959 the Selection Board again chose Mr. Bunyongate for promotion, this time to FSO-3; publication of the promotion list for that year was held over to be consolidated with promotions scheduled for later in accordance with a projected reorganization of the Department.

In October 1966 Mr. Bunyongate apparently received a well merited promotion to FSO-2; unfortunately, just as this promotion list was about to be published, the Republic of Minutia went communistic, thus necessitating a Congressional investigation, and a complete security re-check, of the State Department and the Foreign Service to find out who was responsible; as it usual under such circumstances the publication of the promotion list for that year was suspended and held for consolidation in a later, revised list which, in turn, was held for re-examination owing to the Presidential elections of 1968.

Mr. Bunyongate's last promotion to FSO-1 and Career Minister occurred in April 1970. The first promotion list since 1952 finally came out on September 7 but word of his successive promotions over the years could not have reached Mr. Bunyongate before his death on September 8.

It is understood that Mr. Bunyongate's body is being brought back to the United States.

The Department's helpful correction has fortunately arrived in time to allow Mr. Bunyongate's friends to have his tombstone suitably engraved with his distinguished title of "Minister of the United States."

unmitigated villainesses, Goneril and Regan, protested their loyalty and devotion to the skies, while their truly loyal sister could find nothing to say. Love and patriotism are among the emotions for which honest men instinctively reserve a degree of privacy.

How well, after all, Shakespeare understood these matters!

# *"policy making" and the CAREER SERVICE*

BY LOUIS J. HALLE, JR.

*The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL considers it timely to recall the concepts on which a career service is based; timely because these concepts appear to have been overlooked in recent public discussions of government personnel policy. Accordingly, the Board is of the opinion that the following article fairly states these basic principles.*

Our generally accepted political philosophy recognizes that any effective, large-scale government must be manned, except in its topmost positions, by a permanent professional career service. This is especially true in a democracy, in which the will of the people is reflected by occasional or periodic changes of the political administration under which government operates. But the solid corpus of any democratic government, its complex of permanent organizations, continues under the successive administrations to consist of professional career men trained to carry on the myriad specialized functions on which civilized communities depend. A distinction is to be made, therefore, between a political administration and the non-political mass of the government over which it presides and which it administers during its term in power. The latter is a tool in the hands of the former, and nothing more.

It is commonplace to recognize, as an essential implication of this distinction, that responsibility for deciding governmental policy rests with the political administration, which may, as it sees fit, use the professional service to help it make up its mind but does not thereby escape responsibility for the decisions that are made.

The analogy of a ship's organization is valid. The navigator advises the ship's captain on what he may expect to find along any particular course and the helmsman steers the ship under the captain's direction, but responsibility for deciding the course the ship is to follow is not thereby transferred from the captain. It is the captain who must ultimately defend the course chosen if there is criticism of it, and answer for it if the choice proves to have been wrong. Even his delegation of the power to decide does not divest the captain of the responsibility, since it is still in his name and by his authority that the power is exercised.

The distinction between who constitute the permanent government organization and who constitute the transient administration, under which that organization operates, does not easily lend itself to confusion. In the case of any individual serving with our Government the question is whether he is serving as a member of the Civil Service, the

Foreign Service, or one of the uniformed services, or whether he is serving as a political appointee of the President. If he is serving as a political appointee, then he is part of the temporary administration. If he is serving as a member of one of the professional career services, then he is not of the administration but under it as part of the permanent non-political organization.

It would be laboring a commonplace to argue that good government depends on the competence, integrity, continuity, discipline, and non-political character of the professional services. But the professional services cannot meet these qualifications except as it is clearly established that, not the professional employees but the political appointees are responsible to the public and its representatives in Congress for setting the policy of the administration in power. The essence of a professional career service is that it carries on under successive administrations, accepting and putting into effect the policies laid down by one administration one day and by its successor the next day, but permanently identifying itself with none. For, to the extent that it becomes identified with a particular administration's policy in the sense of "making" it or "determining" it (which it has no mandate from the people to do), to that extent its usefulness must be lost when a new administration comes into power with a mandate to change that policy.

\* \* \* \*

The utterance of these home truths has become timely because of the public concern, repeatedly manifested on the front pages, over the "thousands" of civil servants and Foreign Service officers who occupied so-called "policy-making" positions in the preceding administration and, by virtue of career protection, continue to occupy "policy-making" positions under the new administration.

When, for example, one of our own number is publicly asked his opinion on whether Socialists may occupy "policy-making" positions in the Department of State, he is surely on sound ground when he replies that he is "strongly opposed to appointing any socialist to a policy-making job within the Department" and "equally opposed to retaining any socialist who may presently hold such a job." Most of us would agree that it would not make sense to put into or retain in "policy-making" jobs, in President Eisenhower's Administration, Socialists, New Dealers, or any other political partisans whose convictions are opposed to the philosophy on which the Administration seeks to base its

*(Continued on page 48)*

# Service Glimpses



1



2

1. Ambassador Dillon examining his certificate as member of Commanderie du Bon Temps with, left, M. Cruse, his host at Chateau Pontet-Canet, and, right, Mr. Fould, Grand Master of the order.

2. Dr. Milton Eisenhower converses with President Carlos Ibanez del Camp (right) at La Moneda Palace on July 13 in Santiago. At left is Foreign Minister Oscar Fennner.

3. Guaranteed to be the only mule car in captivity. First Secretary Eugene Delgado-Arias and Films Officer Ben J. Dulaski stop off in Celaya during a trip to attend the official closing of a motion picture tour of the state of Guanajuato, Mexico.

4. Mr. and Mrs. John Gunther as they arrived at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The Gunthers are touring Africa in preparation for the publication of an "Inside Africa."

5. The Ambassador to Belgium, Frederick M.

Alger, Jr., center, staff prior to presentation to King Baudouin on July 13. At left is Col. James Curry, Counsellor of Embassy. At right is Col. Wendell E. Richard M. Service.

6. A photograph of Ambassador A. L. Beaulac, accompanied by a staff, held by General Francisco J. Franco, President of Cuba. From left are: Col. Vincent J. Mason, Mr. Harry Beaulac; Mr. Earl T. Captain William N. C. Fornes, Jr.

7. Ambassador A. L. Beaulac by coach en route to the Embassy.

3





4

With members of his  
legation on the 22nd, he  
presented his credentials to  
President Batista. Left to right, Lt.  
Col. Hugh Millard, Jr., Ambassador's  
attaché; Ambassador Alger  
Harrington; Col. Robert  
Randall, Army Attaché; and  
Secretary.

With members of his  
legation on the 22nd, he  
presented his credentials to  
President Batista. Left to right, Lt.  
Col. Hugh Millard, Jr., Ambassador's  
attaché; Ambassador Alger  
Harrington; Col. Robert  
Randall, Army Attaché; and  
Secretary.

leaving the residence  
of the Japanese Ambassador  
to present credentials to  
President Batista.



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# FOREIGN SERVICESHIP

By S. I. NADLER

## Introductory Notes

Since Stephen Potter seems to be taking his own sweet time getting around to writing about Foreign Serviceship, I feel that it is necessary to get the basic points into print as a public service, even at the risk of later being sued for anticipitory plagiarism. (The student of Foreign Serviceship is directed carefully to observe the heading of this section: *Introductory Notes*. Inclusion of such a section is a basic rule of *How to Write Despatches*; it puts the reader on the defensive. By starting a despatch with such a section, you clearly but politely indicate that the reader in Washington, even though he *is* head of the Downtown Llasa Division, does not really know enough about Downtown Llasa to understand your elementary despatch without a few introductory notes.)



"Aardvark said the local leave situation is going to be cleared up."

## How to Keep Rank from Rankling

Since all your fellow officers know your rank, the best approach to this situation is to make it seem that your present rank is as low as it is only because you and the Secretary of State agreed that it would make things much simpler and, further, that the principal officer does not make a move without first consulting you. (Foreign Serviceship no longer endorses the Reverse Armstrong—i.e., Strong-Arm—method, which consisted of batting one's wife across her lovely but too restless lips every time she indulged in a *promotion ploy*, e.g., "You know so much more about the area than *he* does, darling. The trouble is you don't *push* enough. You're too *modest*.")

*Situation:* The principal officer is named A. William "Bill" Flub. Staff meetings are held periodically, attended by two FSO-2's, four FSO-3's, one FSO-4 (you), and two FSO-5's.

*Alternative 1:* Everybody at the staff meeting addresses the principal officer as "Sir" or "Mr. Flub." When you speak, you throw in several "Sir's," but, just before the end of your commentary on whatever you are commenting about, as if forgetting for a moment the formality of the occasion and the little game you play in public, you address the principal officer as "Bill."

*Alternative 2:* Everybody at the staff meeting calls Mr. Flub "Bill." In your turn, you also call him "Bill" at first, gradually changing over to a consistent "Sir" or "Mr. Flub," indicating that you, in your special position, happen to know that he really does not go for all this informality.

*Alternative 3:* Half the staff calls Mr. Flub "Mr. Flub" and the other half calls him "Bill." At a cocktail party, talking to one of your fellow officers of higher rank than yourself, say, "The local leave situation is going to be cleared up. At least, that's what Aardvark indicated when

under, and FSS-2 and under).

*Examples:*

(1) The administrative (travel) all-purpose reply: "Don't worry about it. Let it stand as is. The purser knows the whole situation and will make the adjustment as soon as the ship sails."

(2) The administrative (disbursing) all-purpose reply: "It does look as though you should receive \$127.05 more per diem, but, you see, you crossed (or did not cross) the International Date Line going east (or west)."

(3) The consular [visa (refusal)] all-purpose reply: "I agree with you completely, but I follow the regulations; I don't make them, Mr. Schoen (or Mrs. Schoen, but not Miss Schoen, since statistics indicate that Miss Schoen, whose 37-24-35 measurements affect the situation not at all, always gets her visa.)."



"The visiting fireman shopping surreptitiously."

we were playing cribbage earlier this evening." Your colleague cannot help but query, "Aarvark?" Cover yourself with confusion and murmur almost (but not quite) inaudibly, "You know . . . the old man. . . ." Your colleague will go on, "You mean the "A" in A. William Flub stands for Aardvark?" You reply in a voice trailing off into silence, "Only his immediate family . . . and intimate friends. . . ." Word will get around, and there is no chance of your being challenged. Nobody will go up to Mr. Flub and ask, "Is your first name Aardvark?" One would shudder to consider the reaction if such were not the case and shrink from contemplating the consequences if it were.

#### All-Purpose Replies

The Foreign Serviceship student must acquire a basic knowledge of *all-purpose replies*. There are about one hundred and sixteen, but a working knowledge of twenty-three will suffice for intermediate proficiency (FSO-4 and



"Miss Schoen whose measurements affect the situation not at all, always gets her visa."

#### Extinguishing Visiting Firemen

Always with the foreign service officer in the field is the visiting fireman from Washington. The basic rule is: "He must ruthlessly be crushed."

*Stage I:* Directly the visiting fireman steps off the plane, say to him, making it more a weary accusation than an interested question, "I suppose you'll want to do some shopping?" He is stymied. If he agrees, he admits the truth of your implied allegation that this is a junket and not, as advertised, "a trip in order to acquaint myself first-hand with conditions as they exist in Ipecac." If he says no, then he will have to shop surreptitiously (and probably pay far too much) for an Ipecacian Jade Cuspidor with Built-in Opium Lamp, without which his wife advised him he had

*(Continued on page 60)*

After receiving his M.A. at Columbia University Mr. Nadler wrote radio scripts for four years, taught for two. Following overseas military service, he entered the Foreign Service in 1947, and has served in Tientsin, at the Department and in Singapore.

# *protocol has its place*

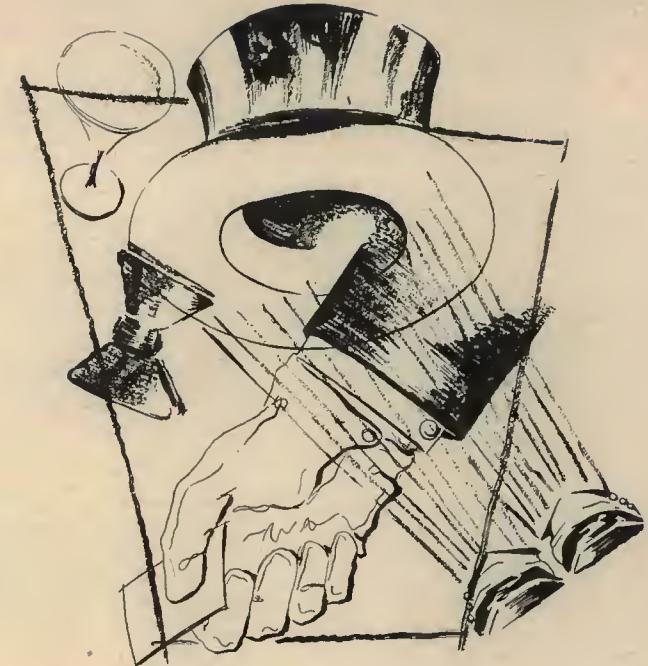
By JEAN CHAMBERS VANCE

At first thought it would appear difficult to defend the rules of protocol. They are generally believed to have been invented solely to inflate the ego of the striped-panted diplomat who, as everyone knows, spends his life in the best European salons dreaming up rules of social behavior to discomfort the uninitiated. When the practical purposes of these rules are understood, however, I believe it becomes apparent that they are, in fact, useful tools, not only for the wife of the Ambassador, but for the wives of lower-level Foreign Service Officers.

The wife, indeed the whole family of a Foreign Service Officer, is sent abroad in a very real sense as representatives of the people of the United States to the people of foreign countries, just as the Foreign Service Officer represents the Government of the United States. You, the wife, want to have many foreign friends through whom you will gain a thorough understanding of the people and culture of the country in which you are going to live. These friends in turn will come to learn something of the United States from having known you. Practicing the rules of protocol does not prevent you from demonstrating to people of other countries how a typical American family lives. On the contrary, as I will demonstrate, they help you in that all important mission.

You arrive in your new post full of high aspirations about the way in which you are going to fulfill your duties as a Foreign Service wife. You are unprepared, however, for the difficulties you will encounter. Your first glimpse of the city appalls you as you proceed at a rapid rate from the station through its streets in a rickety taxi cab. Everything looks strange, and you realize you have no home, know no one, and are even unable to make your wishes known in the new language, let alone converse. Having established yourselves in a hotel, you feel even more lost and forlorn and uncertain as how to proceed to establish yourself in your new life.

How are you going to meet the people of the country in



which you are living? When you moved into a new city in the United States, you met your neighbors in no time at all, walking down the street to the grocery store, in school and church activities and in women's clubs. This is not true abroad where the women are much more reticent. You can't knock on the door of a strange house and introduce yourself as a newly arrived American, lonesome and anxious to make friends. It is here that protocol comes to your assistance by giving you an entree into the homes of foreigners. The initial introductions are achieved through the making of formal calls. Dressed in your best clothes you set forth to call on as many wives of foreign government officials as possible. From my experience, the warm welcomes soon dissipate any feeling of inadequacy on your part, and you meet people with whom later you form friendships which will mean much to you. Your conversation in a new language may be halting at first, but the only way to learn how to speak a new language is to practice at it, and you might as well start sooner than later.

The making of formal calls on the wives of other American officers at the post has its reason for existence also. You have a chance to spend twenty minutes with each woman in her own home, and an intimacy and friendliness is created which could be achieved in no other way. Many times, this is also an opportunity to meet the children who will become the friends of your children.

Thus, thanks to protocol, you discover the interests and hobbies of the foreign and American women with whom you will be living, and without further preliminaries you are launched into the life of the new post. It may be that

(Continued on page 58)

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Jean Vance, whose husband is Sheldon Vance, FSO, was born in Minnesota, graduated from Carleton College in Northfield. Her two Foreign Service Juniors were born when the Vances were assigned to Rio and Nice. Following a third tour of duty at Martinique, the Vances returned to the Department.



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# NEWS FROM THE FIELD



## PERTH

Leafing through the JOURNAL's "News from the Field" columns a few months ago, we noticed that a fair number of the plush posts (those with assistant disbursing officers, personnel officers, chaplains, etc.) seemed to be well represented, but that precious little news coverage was given to this particular post. The answer to that one was simple, a flash of insight—no correspondent. We resolved to rectify it immediately.

Carrying our research back a good four months (earlier copies of the JOURNAL having been distributed to the local Braille Society) we came to the conclusion that no news of the social whirl in Perth has ever (or at least for the past decade or so) crossed the columns of "News From the Field." As background, then, maybe we'd better sketch in a bit of factual material. Always good to show that you're up on factual material.

(1) Item: We have the distinction of being the smallest post in the world (all right, then, a few others may be just as small *but* none is smaller unless the latest budgetary crisis has taught FP the secret of subdividing a vice-counsel).

(2) Item: We're farther from our nearest neighboring post than any other in the world. This one we're sure of. Nearest other Foreign Service post is 1500 miles away, supervisory consulate general 2000 miles. Sounds good, doesn't it?

(3) Item: We're farther from Washington than any other post in the world, bar none—11,000 miles, either way. Unhappy FSO's chained to a Department desk and clawing their way between congressional investigations and personnel crises might meditate a moment on that one: 11,000 miles either way!

(4) Item: Nice climate, too.

That should cover the pertinent background. Now, kiddies, for the personal notes:

Popular and respected PRINCIPAL OFFICER EDWARD C. INGRAHAM was given a surprise party on the occasion of his completing 18 months of service at the post. The party, given by his wife and attended by his wife and two charming children, was heartily enjoyed by all four. An exotic local dish called "T-bone steak" was served, and proved to be immensely popular.

Jovial EDWARD C. INGRAHAM, our Cultural Affairs Officer, recently had one of his back teeth extracted. At a party given by some Australian friends immediately after the extraction, he kept the group amused for several hours by his whimsical attempts to spit through the resulting gap. Although unsuccessful (his cheek got in the way), his antics kept the entire group convulsed.

Shifty-eyed EDWARD C. INGRAHAM, our hard-working Security Officer, had a rather trying experience last month when, in changing the combination of the office safe, he inadvertently scratched the new combination on the inside of the safe door rather than the customary outside. A hastily-summoned locksmith found himself helpless to rectify the

situation, and all office work ground to a close until an experienced local employee was able to jimmy the lock with a bobby pin. A good laugh at Ingraham's expense was had by all.

Moody EDWARD C. INGRAHAM, the post's dour but beloved Visa Officer, was heard to remark in the corridor the other day that "God himself would have trouble in distinguishing between Section 212 (a) (27) (D) and Section 212 (a) (27) F." God declined to comment.

Penny pinching EDWARD C. INGRAHAM, our Assistant Disbursing Officer, recently found himself in the unenviable position of having to warn all staff members that they must exercise far more economy in the coming fiscal year, due to severe budgetary cuts. Among the more unpopular measures emphasized was that of sending intra-office memoranda by mail rather than telegram. We all had a laugh at Ingraham's expense, though, when his first "urgent" memorandum, sent by NIACI cable, turned out to have been addressed to himself.

Finally, we have pleasure in announcing that the youngest member of our staff, Political Officer EDWARD C. INGRAHAM, has, as a result of his outstanding work in the section, been promoted to acting chief of the section.

EDWARD C. INGRAHAM

## TOKYO



Mr. and Mrs. Robert Prieto, pictured following their wedding ceremony in Tokyo. From left to right, the persons in the picture are Mr. Leo A. Gough, who gave the bride away; Mrs. Prieto, the former Miss Dorothy Pringle; Mr. Prieto; and Mrs. Leo A. Gough.

## BORDEAUX

A certain mood of nostalgia finds itself in the Bordeaux citizen's account of gay holiday occasions in the past—when the business and social pace of the wine capital may have been somewhat quicker, before the movement of the times seemed to become set in a direction not uniformly promising. If only in recalling those other days, the three-day visit as a guest of the Municipality paid by AMBASSADOR C.

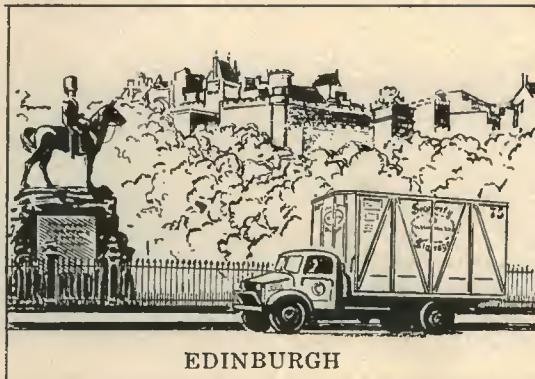
(Continued on page 40)

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DOUGLAS DILLION and family during the annual Music Festival in May gave much pleasure to people here, who, like everyone everywhere, enjoy sharing the host's responsibilities when elaborate preparations for the big party come out with warming success.

The visit began, on May 18, with a reception and luncheon given the Ambassador and Mrs. Dillon by M. Chaban-Delmas, the Mayor of Bordeaux, at the Hotel de Ville, where the Ambassador and Consul General John H. Madonne were invited to sign the *Livre d'Or*, reserved for notable visitors. In the evening, a gala concert with Yehudi Menuhin as guest artist.

After a call, the following day, at the Consulate and the USIS Library and offices to meet the American staffs and local personnel, Mr. Dillon was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by the Prefect of the Gironde. An evening reception, also in honor of the Ambassador and his wife, was given by Mr. Dillon's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Dillon, at the Chateau Haut-Brion, one of four leading wine-producing estates in the district and a signally happy place for an American envoy to receive—at home—several hundred guests in a setting of lawn and park and music for dancing, with an authentic charm not likely to have been greatly surpassed in however brilliant a past.

The Ambassador spent the final day visiting several of the chateaux of the Médoc region. At Pauillac, he was inducted, with the rank of *Commandeur*, into the *Commanderie du Bon Temps*, a venerable wine order of the district; wearing the purple robes of the society, he swore to uphold its traditions and promised everlasting fidelity to Médoc wines. (A member of rank receives a salute of twelve hammer blows on a wine cask on entering a wine cellar.) Lunch at the Chateau Ponet-Canet had the Prefect of the Gironde, the Mayor of Bordeaux and Consul General and Mrs. Madonne among the guests. (Connoisseur's note: Haut-Brion 1944, Ponet-Canet 1929 and a Chateau Mouton Rothschild 1929 were served.) In the afternoon, at the Chateau Margaux, the exclusive *Académie du Vin de Bordeaux* received the Ambassador as one of its forty members.

To the same palpable degree that the arcane rituals make of wine something more than an alcoholic beverage to set on the table, Mr. Dillon's identification with the Bordeaux community has made his friendly call something more than an Ambassador's courtesy visit. It's still a topic for conversation.

Charles C. Adams

## C A R A C A S

To commemorate the 177th anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence, AMBASSADOR and MRS. FLETCHER-WARREN gave a noontime reception at their residence on July 4th, attended by 400 guests, including top Venezuelan Government officials, businessmen, and members of the diplomatic corps.

That evening, the Venezuelan Symphony Orchestra presented a concert dedicated to the American and Venezuelan National Holidays (the latter is July 5th), featuring Venezuelan and American music. A highlight of the program was the premiere performance of Venezuelan composer Terig Tucci's "Honage to Bolivar."

The annual Independence Day Ball, sponsored by the North American Association of Venezuela, was attended by more than 1,000 guests this year.



When Veva Jelinek left Bari, Italy, the staff at the Consulate and USIS gave her a farewell party. Here, seated from left to right, are V. Faraco, Elizabeth Carver, Rolf Jacoby, Miss Della Torre, Mr. Di Salvia, Miss Pittis, Mrs. Richard R. Wilford, G. Bello, and N. Sciortino.

Venezuela's Independence Day climaxed a week-long celebration (*Semana de la Patria*) of patriotic activities, including parades, speeches, military exercises, and a simulated air raid of blacked-out Caracas.

ARMY UNDER SECRETARY EARL JOHNSON, accompanied by Lt. Gen. HORACE L. McBRIDE, Commanding General of the Caribbean Defense Command, briefly visited Venezuela from July 8 to 10. Mr. Johnson was also accompanied by his wife and 18-year-old son. Members of the party were guests at a reception given jointly by COL. CHARLES L. HALEY, III, Army Attaché and COL. HENRY EBEL, Chief of the U. S. Military Mission to Venezuela. They also attended a luncheon given in their honor by President Marcos Perez Jimenez, and a dinner given by Ambassador and Mrs. Warren.

The important Caracas daily newspaper *El Nacional* recently paid tribute to DR. JAMES H. KEMPTON, the Embassy's Agricultural Attaché.

In a special article, the newspaper reviewed Dr. Kempton's "Ten years of honest and efficient labor" in Venezuela. "Thanks to Kempton's opportune assistance," the newspaper said, "Venezuela has been able to give its professional men special training in agronomy, entomology, genetics, and agricultural extension work."

"Reviewing the career of Dr. James H. Kempton as Agricultural Attaché of the United States Embassy, we see that it has been a positive force in the development of agriculture in our country. He understands our problems, knows our resources and possibilities, and, what is even more important, he understands them in the Venezuelan sense, acquired as the result of daily contact with the Venezuelan soil and the men who work it."

Recent new arrivals include DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION MAURICE M. BERNBAUM, who has been assigned to the Department for the last three years; COMMERCIAL ATTACHE and MRS. RALPH B. CURREN, from Cairo; and VICE CONSUL and MRS. LEROY C. AYCOCK, from Puerto La Cruz. COUNSELOR OF EMBASSY for ECONOMIC AFFAIRS and MRS. FRANKLIN W. WOLF departed for Washington several weeks ago. During his three-year assignment here, Mr. Wolf often acted as Deputy Chief of Mission and on several occasions was Chargé d'Affaires.

Carl Bartsch

## OFFICE OF PERSONNEL REORGANIZATION

Effective August 3, 1953, the Secretary approved a reorganization plan for the Office of Personnel. The plan provides for a functional type organization to service the combined needs of the Departmental and Foreign Services. Similar reorganization plans have been proposed before, one of the more recent being that set forth by the Secretary's Advisory Committee on Personnel (Rowe Committee). Actually a number of personnel activities had been organized on a functional basis prior to the current reorganization, including recruitment, training, medical program, and allowances. As a consequence, the changes made now complete a process that had been in motion for some time.

Quite aside from the anticipated advantages of a functional type organization, the overall reduction of activities in the Department, due to limited appropriations this fiscal year and the transfer of the Information and TCA programs out of the Department, required that the strength of the Office of Personnel be reduced accordingly. This necessary reduction is now being completed and the new organizational arrangements permit the remaining available manpower to be more fully utilized in meeting peak loads within each of the respective functions.

The following organizational units, respective office symbols, and key personnel designations serve to outline the new organization of the Office of Personnel:

### A. Office of the Director (PER)

1. Director—George F. Wilson
2. Deputy Director—A. E. Weatherbee
3. Deputy Director (Foreign Service) — Frederick Jandrey
4. Executive Officer—Ralph Scarritt

### B. Employment Division (PER/EM)

1. Chief—Arch K. Jean
2. Chief, Examining Branch—Cromwell A. Riches
3. Chief, Recruitment Branch—John Garnett

### C. Compensation Division (PER/CO)

1. Chief—Arthur Jones
2. Chief, Classification Branch—Harold Chastka
3. Chief, Allowances Branch—Dayton W. Hull
4. Chief, Pay and Recruitment Branch—William Wood-year

### D. Foreign Service Institute (PER/FSI)

1. Director—Norman Burns
2. Chief, Specialized Training Branch—Robert Freeman
3. Chief, Language Training Branch—Henry L. Smith

### E. Personnel Operations Division (PER/PO)

1. Chief—Robert J. Ryan
2. Special Assistant to the Chief—Wesley Andress
3. Chief, Placement and Career Development Branch—Howard Mace
4. Chief, Departmental Placement—Paul W. Hallman
5. Chief, Foreign Service Placement—H. Francis Cunningham, Jr.
6. Chief, Performance Evaluation Branch—Frederick Darnell
7. Chief, Employee Health and Relations Branch—Dr.

(Continued on page 63)



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# THE BOOKSHELF

Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

## NEW AND INTERESTING by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Ciano's Hidden Diary 1937-1938**, Published by Dutton \$4.00  
An insider's view of Fascist Italy at the time of the German annexation of Austria, the creation of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, and Munich. Mussolini's son-in-law and Foreign Minister paints a vivid, if unconscious, picture of the appalling vainglorious and preposterous Fascist *fantoche*.
2. **The Scribner Treasury—22 Classic Tales**  
Published by Scribners \$5.00  
Stories by such writers as John Galsworthy, Edith Wharton, Sir James Barrie, Mary Andrews. Written between 1881 and 1931: they have helped me forget the Washington heat, which is saying a lot!
3. **Republicans on the Potomac**, by Jay Franklin, Published by McBride \$3.50  
John Carter—who used to be a pillar of WE some 25 years ago—under the pen name of Jay Franklin writes an enthusiastic eulogy of our new administration: lively, informative, frank.
4. **India and the Awakening East**, by Eleanor Roosevelt, Published by Harpers \$3.50  
A chatty, informative, systematic picture of modern India. The portions of the book dealing with the women of India are particularly interesting.

**The Middle East: a Physical, Social and Regional Geography**, by W. B. Fisher. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1950. Index, folded maps, with maps and figures in text. 514 pages. \$5.75.

Reviewed by ELEANOR WEST

Although *The Middle East* does not settle the Near East *versus* Middle East dispute, Dr. Fisher has modified the British Government delimitation of the Middle East which, at times, has included 21 countries. He has omitted many and added Turkey which "... was not included in the governmental publications because of a purely temporary and political separation from the rest of the Middle East." In 1952 the National Geographic Society (*Christian Science Monitor*, June 5, 1952) defined the Near East as Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Iran and the countries of the Arabian peninsula. Fisher also includes Cyrenaica and Crete. He chose the term Middle East in preference to "Near" because it "denotes a single geographic region with certain elements of marked physical and social unity" and because of the wide usage the term gained during the last war, for example, with the American troops of USAFIME. The popularity and spreading use of the term Middle East argues strongly in its favor.

Certain areas and material have been treated perfunctorily

or not at all by Dr. Fisher, which he admits he had to do to contain his material in a single volume. However, a failing of any book that endeavors to include too much in too little space is usually the number of errors that arise. As an example, in the space of two paragraphs four errors of fact are found on page 92. In the first place, Turkish was already spoken in Turkey by the Seljuk Turks who preceded the Osmanlis, although the text states "... Turkish, as the language of Osmanli conquerors, became dominant in Asia Minor." And (2) continuing in the same paragraph "... spoken only by Asiatic nomads, Turkish at first possessed no alphabet, and Arabic characters were borrowed..." The Turks prior to adopting the Arabic alphabet had the Orkhon (resembling Runic script with 58 letters) and later the Uigur alphabet (with 14 characters). At the end of this same paragraph (3) "... Roman letters replaced Arabic script in 1923..." Roman letters were officially adopted on December 1, 1928. And fourthly, in the following paragraph it is stated that Turkish is by no means universally spoken in Asia Minor. The percentage of the population speaking a mother tongue other than Turkish is readily available in Turkish statistical publications.

The bibliography is a rather meagre list of chiefly secondary source material. It is so conspicuous for its absence of A. J. Toynbee, Donald Webster, Hans Kohn, Elgin Groseclose, C. S. Coon, H. Field, ad infinitum, that the following are recommended to the author: John Kingsley Birge: *A guide to Turkish area study*; the *Middle East Journal*; and the many other bibliographical material readily available at the library of the British Museum.

Not every page, however, contains as many errors as the above page does and on the whole this is a fairly sound and a very useful book; a far-reaching study into all geographical aspects of this area including the physical and climatological as well as the ethnic and demographic. These aspects provide the background for the historical, political, and economical factors—all of which have been touched upon by Dr. Fisher. Furthermore, in some of these specialized fields he has had the aid of such renowned authorities as H. A. R. Gibb and E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

**The Suez Canal in World Affairs** by Hugh S. Schonfield. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953. 174 pages with index. \$4.50.

Reviewed by S. PINKNEY TUCK

Of the many books published dealing with the various aspects of this great international waterway, it is rare to encounter so accurate and objective a study as Mr. Schonfield offers us in his "Suez Canal in World Affairs."

The author is to be congratulated for in some 150 thoroughly readable pages he has succeeded in covering a lot of valuable ground. He reviews with clarity, and in attractive style, the earlier phases of this great engineering enterprise and brings into graphic relief the diplomatic and political storm which accompanied the planning and completion of de Lesseps' great work.

Nor has the author overlooked the vital part which the Canal was destined to play in the course of two World Wars and his objective appraisal of Anglo-Egyptian difficulties in their relation to Near East Defense plans, are worthy of careful study.

This is a book which can be read with advantage by students of international affairs and which provides useful

documentation for those who deplore the lack of a sound and lasting United States policy in our relation to the Middle East. The conclusions reached by Mr. Schonfield will serve to stimulate a better understanding of the importance which must rightly be attached to the Suez Canal in world affairs.

*The Taming of the Nations—A Study of the Cultural Bases of International Policy*, by F. S. C. Northrop. Macmillan Company, N. Y., 1952. \$5.00.

*Reviewed by* TROY L. PERKINS

This book by a Yale University professor calls for applied reading (and thinking), because it deals philosophically and in conceptual language with what is ordinarily the matter-of-fact business of international relations. It is important to the Foreign Service for its recommendations on ideas and methods which could be useful in the diplomacy of today and, more significantly, tomorrow. Indeed, the final chapter provides a heartening interpretation of American society and institutions which could serve as a positive prescription for reaching the minds of other peoples, rather than through a mere countering of adverse propaganda and accusations. (The "Taming" in the title refers to the mortal need of the nations to tame themselves.)

Dr. Northrop's prime thesis is that international relations today must look to the cultures of peoples and not to national, political units. These diverse cultures range in depth

as well as space, and policies and propaganda can no longer be devised on the basis of pie-cuts across territory. The "inner order" of a nation or society must be thoroughly understood—its "living law" as distinguished from its enacted law—and one's relations with another nation would be carried on in the light of that knowledge. The author proposes a system to gauge these multifarious cultures akin to that of chemical valences: a cultural complex would figuratively be given its own atomic weight and thence it could be determined whether a particular policy upon contact with it might harmonize, curdle or explode. The basic culture of the country would be the criterion rather than its current government or formal laws. The devices of power politics, non-morality, isolation, and so on, would be rejected in favor of (and even such a program as Point Four would be tempered by) the culture platform. While a world "symphony of diverse cultures" offers an appealing prospect, indeed, many will feel that until present conditions become better, all our eggs should not be placed in that one basket. A great part of the argument, however, is convincing.

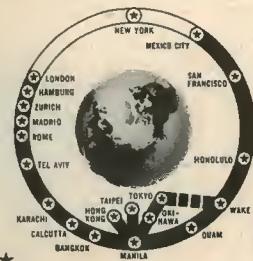
The author turns mainly to the Orient to exemplify his thesis, since it is in that area that one finds the widest divergence from the political and scientific concepts of the West, which are derived in turn from the Greco-Hebraic-Roman past. He parses in considerable detail the role of such indigenous cultural factors in Asia as mediation (in-

stead of litigation), non-attachment, non-action, and the non-systematic explanation of the physical world. Interestingly, he considers the vital force in Asia today to be not nationalism, but a resurgence of "indigenous culturalism." In one pointed passage, he shows the disparity between India's use of Hindu non-attachment in her "neutralism" regarding Korea and Nehru's prompt and stern use of force in local situations where responsibility cannot be deferred. This reviewer feels that the China passages in the book are open to question in several places. Granted the points made about the non-legal, non-scientific mode of Chinese social thought, it is not quite exact to attribute the "failure" of a Chinese Constitution, past or present, to a special mentality. A constitution to work (and only a very few in this world have for very long) must have the active and unceasing support of the power elements in a country for the *idea* of a body of law which will be superior to any transient regime—even a passable constitution will do, since it usually provides a method for its own change. The trouble is, in a baseball figure, one of the teams too frequently decides to move the outfield fences in when it comes to bat and give itself an unlimited number of outs. Even in the United States, where a constitution has worked, there have been critical periods. Thus, to the

(Continued on page 44)



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Chinese there is nothing foreign in the idea of a code (Heaven, the *li*), just as the Japanese translated their own kind of authority without serious contradiction over to a modern (German) type of constitution. In fact, we must probably look to explanations other than those given by the author of the relative success of constitutional procedures in such countries as Japan and Turkey, where public law caught hold very soon after the abolition of extraterritorial courts there.

The above superficial account may indicate that Dr. Northrop's work largely parallels the UNESCO idea, but his program is much wider and deeper than that. Since the book is evidently designed to be read to advantage in other countries, one wishes there might have been more emphasis on the need for an understanding by other peoples of what we are about, although the text will leave no doubt in the mind of American readers on this point. To make equally clear, that is, that there must be mutuality of understanding, of both Taoism and Fordism, of Thonism and momism. And sometime, perhaps, we can bear across to our friends the idea that while Americans may practice pragmatism and instrumentalism, they seldom become materially fervent about -isms. Considering the recent history of the world, our lack of-ismism does not appear too shameful. Taking a page from Dr. Northrop, we could point out the American "spiritual" contribution through the arts of government, especially when, under the guidance of Jefferson and Franklin, the United States had made orderly and practical use of the sounder principles of the French Revolution before that Revolution had occurred. As the author shows, an explanation of our past would throw a more sympathetic light on our present. After all, Americans did not invent the industrial revolution or gunpowder or the Stakhanovite speed-up. But Americans did have something to do with the mechanical reaper which today is providing food for so many hungry millions, who are too prone, between swallows, to cry out at the horror of it. Why this attitude exists and what we can do about it are among the tough questions before us.

**Red Flag in Japan**, by Swearingen and Langer, *Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 1952, 276 p. with index, \$3.00.

Reviewed by SMITH N. CROWE

An interesting and comprehensive study of the Communist Party in Japan. The first third of the book details the main personalities and movements in the history of the Party from its inception to the post-war period. The remainder is a documentary analysis of post-war Communist Party tactics, strategy and policy and their interrelation to Japanese socio-economic conditions and the Communist movement elsewhere in the world. A full treatment has been given by the authors of the place occupied by each segment of the population in the Japanese Communist party's plans for revolution. Its ties with international Communism are convincingly presented but greater emphasis upon Japanese internal problems as they affect the Communist issue would have been helpful.

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#### NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT (from page 19)

Ambassador Davis, Montgomery County School Board member, is a former State Senator and a Republican leader in Maryland.

MISS FRANCES E. WILLIS, whose most recent assignment has been as Counselor of the Legation at Helsinki, was confirmed by the Senate as the first United States Ambassador to Switzerland. She replaces THE HONORABLE RICHARD C. PATTERSON, who returned to the States some time ago.

Besides Miss Willis, other career Foreign Service Officers named Chiefs of Mission during the past month are:

THE HONORABLE JAMES W. RIDDLEBERGER, confirmed as Ambassador to Yugoslavia replacing THE HONORABLE GEORGE V. ALLEN. Ambassador Riddleberger has been director of the Bureau of German Affairs since May, 1952. Prior to that assignment he served in Geneva, Berlin, London and Frankfurt, as director of political affairs for the United States High Commissioner for Germany, and with the Economic Cooperation Administration.

Nominated as Ambassador to Turkey, replacing THE HONORABLE GEORGE C. MCGHEE, was THE HONORABLE AVRA M. WARREN whose last assignment was as Chief of Mission, Karachi. Other posts at which Ambassador Warren has been Chief of Mission include Helsinki, Wellington, Ciudad Trujillo, and Panama.

THE HONORABLE ELLIS O. BRIGGS, already serving under a recess appointment, was nominated by the President as Ambassador to South Korea. Ambassador Briggs's previous assignments as Chief of Mission include Prague, Montevideo, and Ciudad Trujillo.

THE HONORABLE CAVENDISH CANNON, whose last assignment was as Chief of Mission, Lisbon, was nominated Ambassador to Greece, replacing THE HONORABLE JOHN PEURIFOY.

THE HONORABLE RAYMOND A. HARE, who has served as Ambassador to Saudi Arabia since 1950, was nominated Ambassador to Lebanon, replacing THE HONORABLE HAROLD B. MINOR.

THE HONORABLE WILLARD L. BEAULAC, former Ambassador to Cuba, was nominated Ambassador to Chile, replacing THE HONORABLE CLAUDE G. BOWERS, who is retiring after fourteen years of service as Ambassador there.

Non-career appointments included the confirmation of THE HONORABLE JESSE D. LOCKER of Ohio as Ambassador to Liberia replacing THE HONORABLE EDWARD R. DUDLEY, and the confirmation of THE HONORABLE JOSEPH SIMONSON of Minnesota as Ambassador to Ethiopia. Others were the confirmation of ROBERT D. COE of Wyoming as Ambassador to Denmark and the nomination of LESTER A. MALLORY, of Washington, to be Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Chiefs of Mission who will, according to the White House, be kept in their present posts include THE HONORABLE ALBERT F. NUFER, in Buenos Aires; THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. SEBALD, at Rangoon; THE HONORABLE THOMAS E. WHELAN at Managua; THE HONORABLE HAROLD H. TITTMANN, JR., at Lima; THE HONORABLE WALDEMAR J. GALLMAN at Pretoria; THE HONORABLE FLETCHER WARREN at Caracas, and THE HONORABLE DONALD R. HEATH at Saigon.

The final Ambassadorial nomination made during the month was that of MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM J. DONOVAN as

Ambassador to Thailand, where he would succeed THE HONORABLE EDWARD F. STANTON.

#### American Legion Post

The Department of State Post No. 68, Department of District of Columbia, American Legion, was represented by a delegate at the National Convention held in St. Louis this summer. BEN H. BROWN, JR., Commander of Post No. 68 for the coming year, and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, was elected a delegate at the Department Convention, District of Columbia, which was held at the Shoreham Hotel, July 30, 31, and August 1.

This was the first Department Convention since Post No. 68 received its charter, and the National Convention will be the first one at which the Department of State will have an official delegate.



Harris and Ewing Photo

Pictured following their marriage ceremony are Lt. and Mrs. John Joseph Schwab, Jr., with The Right Reverend Monsigneur Fulton J. Sheen. Mrs. Schwab is the former Miss Jeanne Rose L'Heureux, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herve J. L'Heureux.

Post No. 68 was represented by the following delegates and alternates at the Convention at the Shoreham: Delegates: BEN CROSBY, Commander during the past year; BEN H. BROWN, JR., Commander for the coming year; JAMES W. MORCAN, Post Adjutant during the past year and newly elected Senior Vice Commander; WILLIAM A. STELCK, Post Historian during the past year. Alternates: GEORGE H. BUTLER, 2nd Vice Commander during past year; JOHN JACKSON, member of the Executive Committee and newly elected 2nd Vice Commander; WILLIAM MISFELDT, Post Sergeant-at-Arms; HERVÉ L'HEUREUX, First Post Commander.

Dr. William B. Adams of Clark V. Poling Post No. 64, and a Minister of the Baptist Church, was elected Commander of the Department of the District of Columbia, American Legion, for the coming year. This office is particularly important since the National Convention of the American Legion will be held in Washington, D. C., in 1954.

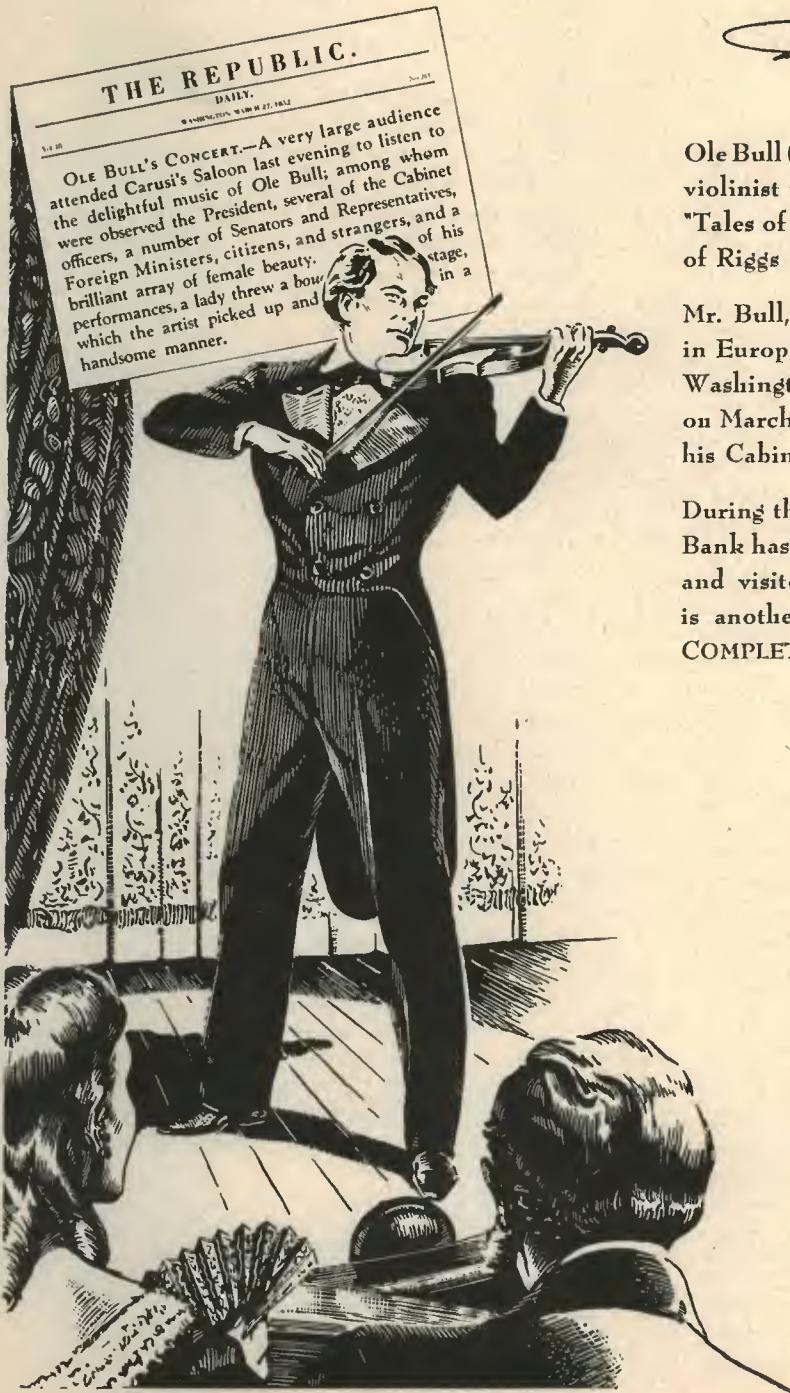
#### Journal Office

Coming next month in the JOURNAL is an article about the life of Commodore Perry, an historical piece about visa work under the displaced persons act, an analysis of the role of propaganda in democratic diplomacy, and the diary of a Foreign Service Wife at her first post.

(Continued on page 50)

*"I wish you to give me a draft on London for £100 which I wish to send to Norway with the steamer tomorrow . . ."*

*Ole Bull*



Ole Bull (pronounced ó'lé búll), celebrated Norwegian violinist who was immortalized by Longfellow in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn", made the foregoing request of Riggs & Company in 1856.

Mr. Bull, who often appeared on the concert stage in Europe with Franz Liszt, gave several concerts in Washington before brilliant audiences, one of which on March 26, 1852 included President Fillmore and his Cabinet.

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**"POLICY MAKING" (from page 31)**

policy. The real question raised, however, by the published correspondence between Messrs. Norman Thomas and Scott McLeod is: What constitutes a "policy-making" job in the Department? There are indications that many of those who use the term, and many of those who only see it in print, are not associating it with the time-honored distinction on which the career services are based. They are allowing themselves, rather, to think of all jobs that involve policy matters, and even some high-ranking administrative jobs, as "policy-making."

This implication was quite clear in the published reports of Executive Order 10440 of April 1 last, and Executive Order 10463 of June 25, which provided for the removal of ordinary Civil Service protection from members of the Civil Service who occupy "positions of a confidential or policy-determining character." No indication has been given of what criteria apply in deciding what positions are of a "confidential or policy-determining" character. One had the impression from the published reports, however, that this category potentially involved some 134,000 office-holders who had been "blanketed" into the Civil Service by Executive Order 9830 in 1947.

Irrespective of the numbers involved, it is quite logical to wonder why any of the old Administration's "policy-makers" should remain on to make policy in a new Administration that has a popular mandate to change the old policy. "Policy-makers," at least in the orthodox sense, should certainly not have the protection that is properly accorded to a non-political and non-policy-making career service.

It is true that we are all potential contributors to the making of policy in the sense that we may influence policy. Anyone who writes a letter to the President, or to his local newspaper, may be a contributor in this sense. The trusted professional who is called upon by a member of the political administration to give advice bearing on policy is also a contributor in this sense. But to have a great say in policy decisions is not at all the same as having the responsibility to decide policy. The political appointee is a "policy-maker" in quite a different sense from the professional career servant, for he carries the authority and bears the responsibility with which the people have invested the administration of which he is a part. The professional may advise him, make specific suggestions, even draft formulations of policy under his direction—but only he and his associates in the administration have authority to say *yea* or *nay*. They are not in the least relieved of this responsibility by virtue of having consulted the professionals under their command.

It is not to be doubted that this principle is clearly understood by the present Administration. The President and leading members of his team served their country well by furnishing professional advice, on the highest level of policy-making, to the preceding Administration, without failing, at the same time to recognize that the ultimate responsibility for "determining" policy was not theirs. The public, however, is more susceptible to confusion on this point, and any newspaper reader can see the extent to which such confusion has been realized.

The danger involved in attributing "policy-making" authority to members of the permanent career service is that such attribution tends to undermine the concepts of permanency and continuity on which a government career service must be based. The practical consequence would be that

when, in the fullness of time, a new administration came into power with a popular mandate to make a new policy, it would feel that the carrying out of its mandate required it to substitute members of its own political party for the professional career officers who were said to be the "makers" of the old policy.

\* \* \* \*

The vital distinction between political positions and career positions also has its bearing on the sound principle that "government service is a privilege rather than a right." The reality of this concept is represented by the sense of privilege we all feel at the opportunity to serve our country, a sense that accounts in large measure for our choice of career. In like manner we may, in certain contexts, refer to the soldier's privilege of laying down his life for his country. But no one would argue that, because the sacrifice he makes for his country is a privilege, the soldier ought not to claim his pay or assert rights. On the contrary, everyone would agree that the soldier's rights are quite compatible with his privilege.

In the same sense, the rules that protect employment in other career services of our Government are compatible with the privilege inherent in such employment. Without them you could not have a career service, if only because employment in such a service would be inconsistent with individual development and with the obligations we all have to provide for the security of our families. If any Civil Servant could, at will, fire any other Civil Servant in a position subordinate to him, and if any political appointee could similarly indulge himself, the Government could be assured of attracting the wrong kind of people, and then only on the basis of such munificent reward as would make it worthwhile for them to serve for the limited period that they might expect to last. This is not just a theoretical conclusion, but one that could be exemplified by some foreign governments which, unlike our own, lack the tradition of integrity and the dedication without which there can be no effective career service.

Again, what the above paragraph states is merely a home truth. But it is a truth that has to be repeated lest the public misunderstand the meaning of terms and phrases which owe their validity to particular contexts. Such misunderstanding could lead to a corruption of government service, and that would not be in the public interest.

\* \* \* \*

Since the above was written, Mr. McLeod, speaking before the American Legion Convention in his capacity as Director of the Department's Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, has made the following statement:

"Sometimes it is extremely difficult because of the Civil Service Act, the Veterans' Preference Act, and the Foreign Service Act to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the Republican party. In the second, third and fourth echelon of employees the policy which originates at the top must be implemented. Until such time as we can reeducate those employees or replace them with proper personnel the progress which we make is sometimes very slow."

In his earlier letter to Mr. Thomas, Mr. McLeod made it clear that he was offering his personal views on employment policy in the Department and Foreign Service, adding that he could not speak for "the Administration at large." The whole question of whether the career services are now to lose their non-partisan character must remain in deep un-

*(Continued on page 50)*

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## "POLICY MAKING" (from page 48)

certainty until we know whether, in his American Legion address, Mr. McLeod was or was not speaking for the Administration at large.

The Administration can be sure that, whatever its personnel policy may be, that policy will be loyally upheld by all who remain in the Foreign Service or in the Department as Civil Servants.

During Secretary of State Dulles' press conference on August 12, correspondents questioned him with reference to the statements made by Scott McLeod. We reprint below two of the pertinent questions and answers made during the conference.

**Question.** Mr. Secretary, I am not clear whether you are drawing a distinction between bipartisanship in Congress and in this Department. You were asked specifically about the Department but you applied it to Congress.

**Answer.** I was asked whether the fact that a person had voted for a Democrat in my opinion disqualified him from participation in foreign policy in the State Department, and my answer to that was no, because to a large measure our foreign policy is bipartisan.

**Question.** Well, you make no distinction within the Department on political grounds?

**Answer.** No, we do not apply political tests here in the State Department.

## NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT (from page 46)

### Association News

George E. Brown, Jr., until recently of EUR in the Department, has joined the staff of the Association as assistant to the Board of Directors. Mr. Brown's principal responsibility will be organizing the Association's management of personal purchases.

This year for the first time the American Foreign Service Association is issuing membership cards to all active and associate members upon receipt of their dues payment for 1953-54. These cards should be retained for making personal purchases at discounts available to Association members only and for identification at the Foreign Service Club in Washington.

### Budget Action

Final Congressional Action on the Department's 1954 budget represents a reduction from the Eisenhower Budget of over 700 domestic positions or approximately 17%, and about the same number of positions (including both American and Local Employees) in the Foreign Service which represents approximately 10%. In relation to the June 30 employment, the reduction represents about 14% in the domestic staff and about 5% in the American and Local staff of the Foreign Service. These reductions permit the financing of terminal leave, transportation and travel for all to be released. These comparisons do not reflect the further reductions in staff which will have to be made in the Administrative Support services for such activities as the Information program and the Mutual Security program.

*(Continued on page 55)*



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In describing the relationship of forces between the two camps, Malenkov stressed as positive factors the growing strength of the socialist camp, the increasing contradictions in the capitalist camp, aggravated by a shift to a war economy, and the consequent approaching crisis of capitalism. Among the negative factors from the Soviet viewpoint, Malenkov recognized that "the switchover to war economy has enabled the United States and other capitalist countries to raise the level of their economic output thus far." He also stated that "Western Germany and Japan are being remilitarized by the ruling circles of the United States," thus listing these countries in the capitalist camp, where they were not so counted in the period after their defeat in World War II.

The Congress' estimate of the world situation may be summarized as follows: The world is divided into two camps. The capitalist camp is preparing for war with the Soviet Union. The preparations for this war are exacerbating the contradictions in the capitalist camp. These contradictions will lead first to an economic crisis and ultimately to a war. Our problem is to postpone this war until we are ready and then to be sure that it is between the capitalist powers. This war will provide conditions favoring the achievement of communism's strategic objective, since, according to Malenkov, "there is every reason to believe that a third world war will cause the disintegration of the world capitalist system."

### Strategy

The world strategy outlined before the Congress was similar to that which the Soviet Union has followed since World War II. There is nothing in the statements made at the Congress to indicate that the Kremlin's ultimate objective has changed from "the victory of communism throughout the world."<sup>2</sup> Malenkov set forth the Soviet objective as "the preservation and consolidation of peace throughout the world." However, since Stalin reaffirmed in his *Bolshevik* article the doctrine that the existence of imperialist capitalism makes wars inevitable and that "In order to eliminate the inevitability of wars imperialism must be destroyed," we must assume that the Soviet Union is still bent on the ultimate destruction of the free world.

Malenkov's enumeration of the party's specific tasks in the sphere of foreign policy was quite similar to that made by Stalin at the 18th Congress in 1939, with adjustments to adapt those tasks to the changed situation. The first task, according to Malenkov is "To continue to struggle against the preparation and unleashing of a new war, to unite for the consolidation of peace the mighty anti-war democratic front, to strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with Peace Partisans the world over, insistently to expose all preparations for a new war, all machinations and intrigues of warmongers. . ." This replaces the fourth task listed by Stalin in 1939: "To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations."<sup>3</sup> The major change was the broadening of the base from the "working people" to "Peace Partisans," an adjust-

(Continued on page 54)

<sup>2</sup>Cited, among many other sources, in the introduction to *History of the CPSU (B). Short Course*, p. 2. (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950.)

<sup>3</sup>Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 606.



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ment probably made in recognition of the importance of the current "Peace Movement."

The second task, said Malenkov is: "To implement . . . in the future a policy of international cooperation and the development of business relations with all countries." Stalin's earlier definition of the first task was almost identical, "To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries."<sup>4</sup>

Malenkov's third listed task took into account the expansion of the socialist camp since the 1939 Congress, "To strengthen and develop the indestructible and friendly relations with the Chinese People's Republic, with the European people's democracies . . . with the German Democratic Republic, with the Korean Democratic People's Republic, with the Mongolian People's Republic."

The fourth task is, "To constantly strengthen the defensive might of the Soviet state and raise our preparedness to administer a crushing rebuff to any aggressors." Stalin in 1939 made this the third task, phrased, "To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost."<sup>5</sup>

The second task set forth by Stalin was dropped by Malenkov. It was, "To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to having others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them."<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, this was generally interpreted as having foreshadowed the Nazi-Soviet Pact. It was put forth at a time when the capitalist countries had divided themselves, in the communist language of the 1930's, into "aggressive" and "non-aggressive" capitalist states. Even though Stalin declared in his *Bolshevik* article that capitalist states will again be at each other's throats, he evidently believed this development far enough in the future to permit the Soviet bloc to decide later with which "side" its interests temporarily coincide.

The strategic instruments for carrying out these tasks are the same as they have been for the past several years. The international proletariat, led by its vanguard the Communist Party, retains the role of the *main force*, but this is such an elementary aspect of Soviet policy that Malenkov did not dwell on it at any length. The primary *direct reserves* he discussed were the Peace Partisans and the National Liberation Movements in the colonial and dependent areas. The former is the term applied to any person or group who, for whatever reason, is willing to follow the current Soviet line on a given problem. These groups are usually communist-controlled, although they seek to enlist well-known non-communists as nominal leaders. Much more stress was placed on the "Peace Movement" than on the "Liberation Movement."

Malenkov also discussed at great length the various *indirect reserves*, the contradictions within the enemy camp. The communist considers these contradictions implicit in the capitalist system. However, Stalin's dictate that they be treated as greater than the contradictions between socialism (communism) and capitalism required Malenkov to describe them in vivid terms. Most heavily stressed were the contradictions between the United States and Britain; next, those between the United States and the "defeated capitalist powers," Western Germany, Italy, and Japan. Stalin's article said: "It would be wrong to think that . . . these

countries will always tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States, that they will not seek to free themselves from this American tutelage and set out on the course of independent development."

The *main blow*, therefore, is to be directed against present governments of allies of the United States, since "they have harnessed themselves to the chariot of American imperialism, having given up their independent foreign policies." It is also directed against social democracy because "in addition to its role as a servant of the national bourgeoisie, it has turned into an agency of American imperialism. . ." Thus, while the United States, as leader of the free world, is considered the primary enemy, the communists hope to isolate it from its allies by forcing the "ruling groups" of these countries out of power. As Malenkov put it in the communist jargon, "One can suppose that in the countries doomed to play the role of obedient pawns of the American dictators, there will be found truly peace-loving, democratic forces which will implement their own independent, peace-loving policy and which will find a way out of the dead end into which they have been chased by their American dictators. Having entered into this new path, the European and other countries will meet with complete understanding from all peace-loving countries."

In sum, the grand strategy outlined at the Congress is as follows: with the Communist Party as its vanguard, the proletariat will unite in an alliance with the Peace Movement and the Liberation Movement; these forces will exploit the contradictions in the capitalist camp, in order to bring about the downfall of present governments in countries allied with the United States, and to replace them with governments that will break with the United States.

#### Tactics

The import of Stalin's pronouncements for the outside world was revealed most clearly in his and Malenkov's discussion of tactics. It should be noted that Stalin's article was presented as part of a "discussion" concerning a textbook on political economy. The body of the "discussion" took place in November, 1951. Stalin's article itself was dated February 1, 1952. It is possible to surmise, therefore, that during the winter of 1951-52 the Politburo undertook a major review of its policies. While formal announcement of the results of that review was reserved for the Party Congress, we saw even before the Congress developments which we now can suppose flowed from the Politburo's deliberations. An example was the intensification of the Soviet Union's appeal to nationalist sentiments in Germany in its note of March 10, 1952 to the United States, Britain, and France, preparing four power negotiations concerning a peace treaty.

The Congress placed heaviest emphasis on the Soviet bloc's economic effort. Without going into detail, there are certain statements which shed light on possible future Soviet economic tactics. Both Stalin and Malenkov said, "An economic result of the existence of the two opposite camps is the fact that the single, all-embracing world market broke up, in consequence of which we now have two parallel world markets, also opposing one another." They maintained that following the war the capitalist market had subjected the socialist market to a blockade. The result, they claimed, has been a higher rate of industrial development in the communist countries than would otherwise have taken place.

(Continued on page 56)

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

## NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT (from page 50)

Comparative figures for the salaries and expenses budget are as follows: Appropriations, 1953, \$75,962,750; Estimates, 1954, \$74,301,750; Amount Enacted, \$64,600,000. The latter figure consists of an appropriation of \$50,000,000 plus \$15,600,000 of the unobligated balances of all appropriations available to the Department in fiscal year 1953. Of this sum, \$8,000,000 must be used to purchase foreign currencies or credits.

### McLeod-Thomas Correspondence

Norman Thomas, long-time head of the Socialist Party in the United States, in a letter to SCOTT MCLEOD, Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, inquired of Mr. McLeod what his policy and the policy of the Administration was on the employment of Socialists in civil-service positions. Commenting that he assumed Mr. McLeod did not challenge the loyalty of Socialists as Socialists, Mr. Thomas went on to say that he assumed a Socialist would scarcely be appointed to a policy determining position involving the management of our natural resources, but wondered what Mr. McLeod's policy was in employing Socialists in various lines of State Department activity abroad where America must deal with Socialists.

Mr. McLeod's reply, released to the press, reminded Mr. Thomas that the policy of the Department in regard to the employment of Socialists was a matter of public record, since neither form 57 developed by the Civil Service Commission nor form DS-668 which the Department uses for investigation purposes seeks information concerning political affiliation with the Socialist party.

Mr. McLeod went on to say, "You will appreciate, I am sure the Administration's feeling that such (policy-making) positions must be held by persons who are sympathetic to and prepared to carry out the Administration's policies. Although I cannot, of course, speak for the Administration at large, I am delighted to give you my personal views with respect to the employment of Socialists in policy-making positions within the Department of State.

"I would never knowingly employ a Socialist to fill such a position within the Department . . . I simply feel that it would be impossible for a Socialist to make or influence policy in a manner which would carry out the intentions of President Eisenhower . . . Just as I am strongly opposed to appointing any Socialists to a policy-making job within the Department, I am equally opposed to retaining any Socialist who may presently hold such a job. I must tell you that whenever I become aware that any person who occupies such a position is a Socialist, I shall use my best efforts to see that he is removed from that position . . . .

"Employment by his Government is a privilege which may be accorded to any citizen if he is deemed worthy . . . The Government . . . has not only the right but the duty to employ those citizens who are devoted to our republican system of government and who are best qualified to carry out the functions of Government . . . ."

### Red Cross Campaign Results

THRUSTON B. MORTON, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations and the 1953 Chairman of the Department's Red Cross Campaign Drive reports that the Department contributed 171 percent of its quota of \$31,900, or \$54,586.87 to the 1953 Red Cross Campaign. Foreign Service contributions received thus far amounted to 65 percent of the Department's quota.

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Stalin went on to say, "With such a rate of industrial development we will soon reach the stage when the (communist) countries will no longer need to import goods from the capitalist countries; (the communist countries will then) face the necessity of disposing of the surplus of their own production."

Let us examine this statement for a moment. We know that self-sufficiency is the Soviet economic goal. We can assume that the Soviets would adopt an attitude toward trade with the free world which would help them achieve this objective. Stalin asserted that the capitalist "economic blockade" was a help rather than a hindrance toward making the Soviet-bloc economy self-sufficient. Malenkov, however, stated that a major task of Soviet foreign policy is "the development of business relations with all countries." By this, he does not mean trade for trade's sake, but rather trade which will help the Soviet-bloc economy become self-sufficient. Seen in this light, Stalin's statement was probably intended to lay the basis for a campaign to convince the free world's traders that unless they force their governments to end restrictions on trade with the Soviet bloc, these markets will soon disappear forever. Furthermore, they were threatened with having to face future Soviet competition in the already "over-crowded" markets remaining to them.

As for the Kremlin's *diplomatic* tactics, an important statement issuing from the Congress was Malenkov's indication that the Soviet Union still believes it can use the United Nations to serve its ends, "The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the United Nations, considering that this organization could be an important means of maintaining peace. . . So despite the enormous difficulties created by the voting machinery set up by the United States in the United Nations, the Soviet Union defends the interests of peace there. . ."

While the Congress placed its emphasis on non-military tactics, it was made clear that the Soviet Union does not intend to neglect its arms. Marshall Vassilevsky, War Minister, concluded his speech to the Congress on October 7 with the statement, "The state of the militant and operational training of the Soviet Army, its readiness for mobilization, and its military preparedness gives us every right to assure the party, the government, and Comrade Stalin personally that the Soviet Army will fulfill with honor the tasks imposed upon it in guarding the creative labor of the Soviet people, in defending the *state interests of the Soviet Union*." (Emphasis added.) The key phrase in this statement is "the state interests of the Soviet Union." Stalin, in his brief speech before the Congress, had the following to say about these "interests": "As regards the Soviet Union, its interests are inseparable from the cause of peace. Our party cannot but be indebted to fraternal parties, and it must in turn render them support and also support their peoples in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace. As is known, this is just the way (the party) acts."

One should also keep in mind in this connection the Stalinist definition of "just war," as, ". . . wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism. . ."<sup>7</sup>

While the Soviet Union employs such economic, diplomatic and military tactics as those described above in its role as a state within a system of states, it also resorts to revolutionary tactics to achieve its goals. The key element in these tactics is the *vital link*, which Stalin once described as: ". . . that particular link in the chain of processes which, if grasped, will enable us to hold the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success. The point here is to single out from all the problems confronting the party that particular immediate problem, the answer to which constitutes the central point, and the solution to which will ensure the successful solution of the other immediate problems."<sup>8</sup>

The vital link, or primary tactical objective, for the tactical phase to follow the Congress was not referred to as such by either Stalin or Malenkov. One "demand" of the Peace Movement which bears watching in this connection, however, is the proposal for a five-power peace pact, to be signed by the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France—and communist China. The Kremlin may consider this the *vital link*, hoping to use it in order to exploit possible differences of opinion between Britain and the United States, and thereby to promote the communist concept that the "fundamental contradiction" in the capitalist camp is between these two countries.

If the main tactical objective is difficult to identify, the primary *form of organization and struggle* is not, for the speeches before the Party Congress pushed the "Peace Movement" well to the forefront. Anticipating, no doubt, that many would accuse the Soviets of using this movement to cloak more sinister motives, Stalin asserted, "The aim of the present movement for peace is to arouse the people's masses for the struggle to preserve peace and to avert a new world war. Consequently, it does not pursue the aim of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism; it limits itself to the democratic aims of the struggle for the preservation of peace." He then added the following important qualification. "It is possible that under a certain concurrence of circumstances the struggle for peace might develop in one place or another into a struggle for socialism; this, however, will no longer be the contemporary struggle for peace but a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism." Thus Stalin did not exclude entirely the possibility that new countries might be added to the communist camp. However, he warned his followers not to expect too much. He said, "It is most probable that the present movement for peace, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, should it be successful, result in the prevention of a given war, in its postponement, a temporary preservation of a given peace, *to the resignation of a belligerent government and its replacement by another government ready to preserve peace for the time being*." (Emphasis added.) In other words, while the Peace Movement might succeed in some cases in effecting the downfall of present pro-allied governments, Stalin himself considered it unlikely that communist or pro-communist regimes would be installed.

In contrast to the attention devoted to the Peace Movement as a form of struggle, Malenkov touched only briefly on the Liberation Movement in the colonies and dependent

(Continued on page 58)

<sup>7</sup>Short History of the CPSU (B), p. 206. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950.)

<sup>8</sup>Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 77.

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areas. In one such reference he said, "The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are putting up an increasingly determined resistance to the imperialist enslavers. The growing scope of the national liberation movement is shown by the struggle of the people of Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines, and Indonesia, as well as by the growth of resistance in India, Iran, Egypt, and other countries." This comment offered little hope that the communists would contribute genuinely to their own so-called Peace Movement by helping to end the struggles in the Near East and South-East Asia.

What, in sum, would the 19th Party Congress lead us to expect in the Kremlin's future attitude toward the "cold war"? One answer to this question was indicated in Malenkov's statement of the Soviet conditions for "peaceful co-existence" between the two camps, "The Soviet policy of peace and security of nations is based on the fact that peaceful coexistence between capitalism and communism, and collaboration, are fully possible if a mutual desire to collaborate exists, if there is a readiness to implement accepted commitments, if the principle of equality of rights and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states is adhered to." (Emphasis added.)

It is not possible to discuss here all of the conditions implied by these reservations. However, it should be made clear that when the Soviets speak of "accepted commitments," they mean their own interpretation of various wartime agreements. They maintain, for example, that the Japanese Peace Treaty and the Contractual Agreements between the western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany violate these commitments. In addition, the Mutual Security Program, the Point Four Program, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United Nations defense of the Korean Republic are all labeled by the communists as "interference in the internal affairs of other states."

Under these circumstances, we are forced to conclude that the pronouncements of Stalin and Malenkov offered little hope for the relaxation of international tensions or for an early cessation of the present "cold war." However, armed with an outline of Soviet strategy and clear indications of tactical moves which can be expected, the free world should not be caught unawares as the new machinations of world communism begin to materialize.

#### PROTOCOL HAS ITS PLACE (from page 36)

a tennis game will result from one of your calls, or an invitation to join a sewing circle or a date to go shopping for antiques, all of which will give you a warm feeling of becoming part of a new group.

Then too, in the process of making your calls you become familiar with the city and the various residential districts, and a second problem has been resolved, that of choosing your new home. It is important that you find a house or apartment to rent just as soon as possible because each day at the hotel is eating into your meagre savings and the tranquillity of the family is upset by having to live in hotel rooms where the children are forever being told to be quiet, the meals are served at inconvenient hours, and everyone on many scores is unhappy. To rush blindly into leasing

a house is, however, unwise. Protocol in this respect means expedition and efficiency in getting settled.

Anyone who has tried to catch the names of foreigners who are introduced to them is delighted that someone invented the calling card. You can't very well ask the Secretary General of the Foreign Office, as he is being introduced to you as Monsieur Benoit Lahillone-Heude or Jonkheer de Jong van Beek en Donk to be so good as to write down his name in your address book. You know it would take not only his name but the help of your dictionary and language teacher to get some notion of what to call him the next time you see him. The calling cards you receive will, moreover, constitute a handy reference list for the proper spelling of the names of the people whom you should know, indispensable when you start entertaining.

Now comes your first dinner party. It would be heart-breaking to have a failure. Here again protocol comes to your aid in helping you with your seating arrangements. None of your guests can feel he was slighted by his place at the table if you follow rules which have been used for generations. The reason your guest of honor is seated at your right is so that you can give him the attention, and thus the honor, which is his due. You want to be particularly sure he is enjoying himself. At your receptions you have a receiving line to make sure you have a chance to greet all your guests and make them feel welcome.

Some of these rules may seem stuffy, but remember you are living abroad where people are accustomed to more formality than in the United States. By adapting yourself you are making it easier for your foreign friends to be at their ease. I shall never forget a cocktail party we once gave. We had hired a small orchestra and expected the group we had invited to dance. We had been confident that these particular friends would enjoy such entertainment, yet no one danced. It was only after my husband and I had been prompted "to open the dance" that the others began. In no time at all everyone was swinging around the room, and what had started to be a dismal failure turned into a gay party.

One of the important rules is that which provides that you be the first to arrive and the last to leave any party given by another member of the American Embassy or Consular staff. It is through social contacts that you as Americans and the people of the other countries are going to become closer to one another. It is in the relaxed atmosphere of social gatherings rather than in business offices that you are going to get to know and understand each other. For this reason it is important for every party to run smoothly, and it takes the concerted effort of the whole staff to make sure everyone is having a good time. The local foreign dignitaries can't be left neglected in corners, and their wives and daughters must be made welcome also. Wall flowers must be entertained, and VIP's rescued from bores. So, you see, each rule of protocol has its reason for existence.

Finally, in its broadest sense, protocol is simply being thoughtful, friendly, and courteous. Acting in this way is called protocol when it is done while you are abroad and acting in an official capacity. Sending flowers to friends, offering transportation to those who would otherwise have to struggle with the bus, sending thank-you notes on appropriate occasions and all other such gestures are good manners, whether you are in Paris or Kuwait.

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better not come home, what with taking off on a junket to sunny Ipecac and leaving her in mid-winter Washington with three children and a malfunctioning oil furnace. In any event, he pauses, before lying one way or the other, and half your battle is over.

*Stage II:* After you settle him in his hotel room (converted broom closet, one window facing an air shaft, and bath down the hall and up two flights) and he accompanies you to the office, before he can ask you anything, you ask the visiting fireman: "What's this we hear about Joe Cromagnon replacing you on the Southeast Asia/Northwest Division/Central Section Desk?" In addition to being on the defensive (see *Stage I*), he will now be worried.

*Stage III:* Sooner or later, no matter how much you have beaten him down, the visiting fireman will ask you about Communism in Ipecac today. Use the *Generality-of-Specifics*: "When I received my assignment, I reviewed all I knew about Ipecac. When we sailed on the *S. S. Malaria*, I took all the latest newspaper and magazine clippings. But after one lives here for twenty (or three or twenty-seven) months, one *really* knows the Ipecacian psychology. One speaks to the *ashkurd* vendors, to workers in the *fortzmuzz* factories, to *voosdance* girls; one travels out to the *kratzkratz* plantations (they *call* them plantations); one mingles with visiting *framis* exporters from Lower Nembutal. Well, what more need one say? The situation of communism today in Ipecac is certainly no surprise."

#### Flimflambits

In Foreign Serviceship, there are no *gambits* (with a *gambit*, one knows what is coming next), but there are the all-important *flimflambits* (with a *flimflambit*, one does *not* know what is coming next and, as a matter of fact, in the case of the *advanced flimflambit*, becomes confused as to precisely what went *before*.)

#### Examples:

*Intermediate flimflambit:* The principal officer calls you privately to his office and says, "Huppertarten, I've been following with a great deal of interest your analyses of the Neo-Fascist Left-of-Center Conservative Democratic Radical Party." Two things are immediately apparent: (1) He has pronounced your name correctly for the first time since you entered on duty as Vice Consul at Rinsewater; (2) somebody has read one of your despatches. The reference to watching your work (or night-blooming begonias or second wife) with a great deal of interest alerts you immediately to the fact that there are going to be some changes made. You must immediately recall all unfinished unpleasant chores in the consulate (the executive officer's daughter needs tutoring in Basic English to pass the entrance exams for the exclusive Mme. Cretin's School for Selected Backward Children; somebody has to devote six weeks to supervising indigenous plumbers so that the toilets in government-owned residences will flush without inundating the bathrooms; the administrative officer has contracted Rinsewater Fever and somebody has to fill in). You stand or fall on the speed with which you deliver your *Intermediate Counter-Flimflambit*: "Thank you for your interest, sir, by the way, did you happen to know that Vice Consul Smothers took honors in English? (or worked his way through college as a plumber's apprentice? or revised the filing system and got a commendation for same at his last post?)"

*Non-counterable Flimflambit:* Principal officer (glancing three times at his watch, reaching for telephone with right hand, and starting to shuffle papers with left hand): "Thank you for your suggestion. We must talk further about it some time."

*Elementary Flimflambit:* "Let me think that over tonight. See me again in the morning." (This means: "I have to find out what my wife thinks about it.")

#### The Art of Cocktail Partying

People attend cocktail parties, which they do not really wish to attend, because they fear that, in not attending, they will not be seen by other people who attend without wanting to because they are also afraid they will not be seen, and so on *ad martini*. The basic rule for cocktail parties is: always drink standing up. When you feel like sitting down, it means (a) you have had enough to drink and (b) better not sit down. If, on the other hand, you drink sitting down, then when you feel like lying down, it means (a) you have had too much to drink and (b) better not lie down.



*Rich.*

"I don't care what the Administrative Officer says, I still say this is no way to handle a reduction-in-force!"

Conversation at cocktail parties entails no special study. Keep your ears open at your first cocktail party. It will come easily after that. You will soon notice that, although the people at cocktail parties sometimes change, the conversation never changes. Giving a cocktail party is as simple as but more expensive than attending one. These are the basic steps: (1) Stock up with standard liquors and gin, plus one bottle of Tequila, Avocado Liqueur, or Slivovitz (Note: There is always one guest who requests something different. Whatever he requests, serve him Tequila, Avocado Liqueur, or Slivovitz, and he will state that it is excellent whatever-it-was-that-he-asked-for); (2) Send out invitations; (3) Step aside.

#### Notes on Protocol

Protocol provides certain hidden compensations for the lower-ranking and their wives. For example, it places the top-level VIPs in the position of constantly having to ask lower-ranking persons at the middle of the dinner table to pass the salt please. It further penalizes the higher-ranking by condemning them to sit next to the same dinner partners week after week. For the more advanced or more ambitious (the terms are not necessarily synonymous) Foreign Service student, Jean Fauxpas's *How to Ignore Protocol Without Being Passed Over in the Next Promotion List* is highly recommended.

#### THE LABOR ATTACHE (from page 29)

tual understanding between us and the foreign population. In nearly all countries, labor is the largest and most significant audience for our message. The Labor Attachés co-operate with the information officers in planning and delivering our message and, since they have expert knowledge of both American and foreign labor, they have been able to tell the truth about the role of the worker in the American society in a way that the foreign worker will understand and appreciate. This activity has done much to counteract anti-American propaganda which the enemies of freedom aim at foreign workers.

The United States delegations to international conferences frequently call upon the Labor Attaché for information concerning labor abroad. This is particularly true of the U. S. worker, employer, and government delegates to the International Labor Organization. Also our delegates to other United Nations and inter-governmental bodies have, as their principal source of information on labor abroad, the Labor Attaché reports. Through them we are able to assay the various factors which will make an impact upon foreign delegations on labor issues which will be dealt with in the conference, and frequently they are able to explain and win worker support for the position the U. S. takes.

The American trade union movement is deeply involved in the international field and, completely independent of the government, is working with the free trade unions of the world in their effort to strengthen non-communist labor organizations which will resist and defeat Communists in the ranks of labor. Though there is a clear line of demarcation that separates the Labor Attaché, who is a governmental official, and the trade unionist, whose principal responsibility is to his labor organization, the American trade unionists often seek the cooperation of the Labor Attaché in obtaining factual material which they need in the fight against Communism.

Actually, the Labor Attaché program is a small corps of specialized officers. The first American Labor Attaché was assigned in 1943. There are now thirty Labor Attachés and eight of these have Assistant Labor Attachés working with them. They are members of our Ambassadors' staffs in the countries where labor is a particularly significant factor. Their responsibilities vary from country to country but, in general, they all develop close contacts with the leaders of labor in the country to which they are assigned; they all submit regular reports to Washington on the economic, political, industrial and social activities of labor; they all serve as the mission's principal expert on labor and answer the questions that foreign workers have about the American labor movement, American labor legislation, and the economic condition of American workers.

In cooperation with the Department of State the Department of Labor takes the initiative in recruiting, training, and instructing the attachés. The Department of Labor is only one of many governmental agencies which rely upon and use the reports of Labor Attachés. Also the Departments of State, Commerce, Interior and Agriculture, the Tariff Commission, and the Mutual Security Agency receive copies of the reports and use them in their work.

We, in the Department of Labor, are proud that we have played a major role in developing the Labor Attaché pro-

(Continued on page 63)

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This danger of twisting the facts just ever so slightly is by no means academic. There is the specific if apocryphal case of the meeting in Peking between the French Ambassador and the Chinese Foreign Minister, some twenty or thirty years ago. Since each of the officials present was anxious to win our support for his position, each made available to us a transcript of his memorandum of conversation. The two documents did not appear even to refer to the same conversation, so different were they. Each man had reportedly overwhelmed the other by the skill of his logic, the persuasiveness of his presentation of his country's point of view, and the forcefulness of his personality. This case occurred a long time ago, it is true, but is still cited in professional diplomatic ranks as a danger to be avoided with the utmost care.

Thus, the first moment of truth, against which the diplomat must be constantly on his guard, occurs when he walks out of the Foreign Office and begins to draft, in his mind or in notes, his memorandum of the conversation. He must be meticulous to use precisely the words which were used, and no others (it is now too late to expand, explain or embellish; he can later comment separately, but these thoughts do not fit into the report of conversation.) He must be careful to give to the reader a report of exactly the degree of concord or of difference which took place, neither more nor less. For unless he adheres strictly to accuracy, he may mislead his own Government, and cause it to take some mistaken decision as to policy, or mode of operation, which will turn out to be disadvantageous.

The second moment of truth occurs when the diplomat prepares his efficiency reports upon his subordinates. These assessments of the performance of the younger officers of his organization are important not only to the morale of his office and the efficiency of its operations; they are heavily weighted factors in the determination of which of his subordinates will reach the top of their profession in the years to come; which ones will be considered competent to represent his country in situations of delicacy, or even of danger and grave import.

It is the easiest thing in the world to emphasize each man's individual excellencies, and to omit or to minimize his deficiencies. It is so much simpler to tell every subordinate that he is doing a fine job, and that you have given him the adjectival rating of "Excellent", or "Outstanding", or whatever the word of maximum praise may be. Conversely, it is unpleasant to dwell upon a man's faults, to enumerate his short-comings and to make a record of your disapproval. This is even more difficult, when you must face the prospect of showing your written comments to the man himself, and anticipate his disagreement, distress and indignation.

This is the second moment of truth: when the Chief of Mission reads over the personnel reports which he has prepared on his subordinates, and asks himself: "Have I been fully frank? Have I told the whole story? Have I unconsciously favored John, whom I like, over Fred, whom I dislike personally, although he has done a splendid job within his own field? Have I been unfair to Fred by praising John's many fine attributes too enthusiastically? Have I been less than candid in rating Charles, whose uncle is a Senator and whose cousin is a radio commentator?" Unless the Chief of Mission can say honestly to himself, "I have done my

best to be fair to each man, and to be fair to each in relation to the other; I have toned down no unfavorable comments; I am now ready to call each man in, read him the report on his own activities, discuss it with him and adhere to my rating despite his possible anger and protestations, unless he shows me specific reason to change comments which he may consider unfair . . ." unless the diplomat can fairly say this to himself, he has tried to avoid the moment of truth.

The third moment of truth occurs when, in preparing a memorandum of conversation, or perhaps a political despatch, the diplomat realizes that the facts, and the interpretation of them which he intends to submit, will be unwelcome to his own Government. Perhaps he has had to report quite a number of failures to win the Government to which he is accredited over to our point of view. Perhaps he fears that officials at home may attribute this to his own lack of finesse in the methods of diplomacy. Perhaps—and here is the crux of the danger facing our own Foreign Service reporters today—he fears that legislators at home will seize upon his words, now or five years from now, and with the advantage of hindsight, immolate him as a dupe, or a fool, or a traitor. Once again, there is almost unbearable pressure upon him to temper his words, to report the trend as a little more favorable (or a little more unfavorable) than it actually is; or to avoid taking a definite position. This is the third moment of truth. If the diplomat succumbs to this subtle temptation and permits these fears to distort either his recital of the facts or his analysis of their significance, in even the slightest degree, then he is recreant to the trust his Government has placed in him.

The third temptation—to temper his comments to suit wishful thinking at home—is the easiest one to recognize; and it can be met head on. A diplomat has been (improperly) described as "an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country"; but it would be a poor apology for a public servant who lied, or even shaded his statements, to his own Foreign Office; for in that case he would not only fail to serve his country well, he would be serving its enemies by misleading or confusing his own statesmen and policy makers. (An enemy agent could do no more.)

The second temptation—to praise every subordinate's work and capabilities and personality, without discrimination; or to water down comments on the influential—this is less easily identifiable and less easily handled. Nevertheless, it presents no insuperable obstacle.

The most insidiously seductive, and hence the allurement most sedulously to be avoided, is the sly urge to make his own efforts at negotiation appear, in his reports, just a little more adroitly proficient than they actually were.

It is his unswerving directness in recognizing and facing these hazards; his realization that only his best judgment is good enough, in his profession; his knowing that he must report that judgment without fear or favor, without temporizing in any way—it is his reaction under these circumstances which establishes a diplomat's final suitability to represent his country abroad. Here is the measure of his usefulness, his honesty and his integrity, which must be indivisible and undivided, like his loyalty.

In short, the diplomat's honesty and integrity, like a bullfighter's courage and skill, cannot be exercised in the abstract. The virtues must be won in those engagements so rightfully called "moments of truth".

#### THE LABOR ATTACHE (from page 61)

grami. It is, we feel, tangible and significant evidence that the "unified" Foreign Service created by the Foreign Service Act of 1946 is able to adjust itself to new world pressures and meet new demands. This Act recognizes that the achievement of U. S. foreign policy objectives requires the best utilization of the technical capabilities of our entire government, and that the united support of our foreign program by the various elements of American life including labor, agriculture, and business is needed.

The Act provides for the representation of the Departments of State, Labor, Agriculture and Commerce on the Board of the Foreign Service which advises the Secretary of State on the administration and personnel management of the Foreign Service enterprise and has made close co-operation possible between these four Federal agencies. Our cooperative relationships in the day-to-day administration of the Foreign Service have made it possible for us to help equip the entire service to deal effectively with international labor matters and, in the posts where no Labor Attaché is assigned, there are Labor Reporters who are regular Foreign Service Officers devoting a part of their time to following and reporting on labor developments.

The task of building a world society in which men of good will can live and prosper together in peace and security is a job for all of us. In their work in the far flung corners of the world the Labor Attachés of the U. S. Foreign Service are doing much to thwart Communist attempts to subvert worker groups, and to develop a better and more sympathetic understanding of U. S. foreign policy objectives on the part of workers everywhere.

#### HERE COMES USIS (from page 27)

and several members of his staff, was present at the deck. A large crowd had also gathered and it was later learned that the people had been waiting for more than four hours. The library was opened immediately and members of the crew began handing out pamphlets. The crowd was of such proportions that it was necessary to enlist the aid of several members of the local police force to assist in distributing the publication materials and to insure an orderly inspection of the boat. It is interesting to note that one of the first visitors was a teacher who for the past several years has been a regular borrower from the USIS library in Bangkok. Many of his students, who later came to inspect the library, were amazingly fluent in the English language and welcomed the opportunity to converse with the American staff.

A tea was given aboard the *America* for the Governor and his staff in the late afternoon. An invitation was extended to the boat personnel to be the guests of the Secretary to the Lord Mayor at a Chinese restaurant that night.

The *America* returned the following day to Bangkok where it was restocked with books and other materials. Since that time it has been almost constantly in operation. The types of villages visited has varied from seacoast fishing harbors to teak logging mills, teak trading centers, rice milling centers, a hydroelectric dam site, and charcoal producing settlements in the interior. Despite the diverse occupations and interests of the different villages thus far visited there is no diversity in the degree of warmth and enthusiasm with which the *America* is received.

#### OFFICE OF PERSONNEL (from page 41)

Virgil DeVault

8. Chief, Leave and Transactions Branch—To be designated

Little change in operations is involved as a result of the new organization and these designations, but the physical transition to complete the reorganization is expected to present a number of difficulties. The Director is arranging for the necessary transfers of functions, responsibilities, personnel, funds, equipment, files, supplies, etc., and it is hoped that the physical adjustments necessary can be completed by September 30th.

"Foreign Service Placement" in the Personnel Operations Division will contain the present "area personnel desks" and these desks will continue to carry out the functions they now perform with respect to Foreign Service personnel. As another point of particular interest in the field, special provision has been made for dealing with Foreign Service problems by establishment of new position of Deputy Director (Foreign Service) in the Office of Personnel.

The status and functions of the Secretariat of the Board of the Examiners, (BEX), under the Executive Director, Mr. Cromwell Riches, continue unchanged with respect to the conduct of the Foreign Service Examinations. It will in addition, be charged with the conduct of certain other examinations for which the Department is responsible.

#### BIRTHS

CORRIGAN. A son, Kevin, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert F. Corrigan, on May 7, 1953 at Glens Falls, New York. The family is stationed in Dakar, French West Africa.

CRAWFORD. A son, John Kenneth, born to Mr. and Mrs. William Avery Crawford, on June 27, 1953, in Paris.

DAVIES. A son, John Stevens, born to Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Davies on June 29, 1953, at Regensburg, Germany. The family is assigned to Moscow.

DOWLAND. A daughter, Nola, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Dowland, on July 5, 1953, in Washington, D. C.

EWING. A daughter, Elizabeth Harris, born to Mr. and Mrs. Richard T. Ewing, on June 10, 1953, in Taipei.

HALLE. A son, Robin, born to Mr. and Mrs. Lonis J. Halle, Jr., on July 31, 1953, in Washington, D. C.

MCSEENEY. A son, Dennis Martin, born to Mr. and Mrs. John Morgan McSweeney, on June 17, 1953, in Frankfurt, Germany.

MORGAN. A daughter, Gael Alison Taylor Morgan, born to Mr. and Mrs. George Allen Morgan, on August 4, 1953, in Washington.

#### MARRIAGES

COLE-BERRY. Mrs. J. Watrous Berry and Mr. Felix Cole, (FSO Retired), were married July 18, 1953 at Swampscott, Massachusetts. They will make their home in Montclair, New Jersey.

COURTENAYE-DREW. Miss Norma Jean Drew was married to Mr. Richard H. Courtenay, on July 22, 1953, in Billings, Montana.

DE ORNELLAS-CAMARCO. Miss Florence J. Camarco and Mr. John L. De Ornellas were married on July 18, 1953 in Washington, D. C. Mr. De Ornellas is assigned to the Embassy in Mexico.

SCHWAB-L'HEUREUX. Miss Jeanne Rose L'Heureux, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hervé J. L'Heureux, was married to Lieutenant John Joseph Schwab, Jr., USMC, on June 27, 1953, at The Shrine of the Sacred Heart, in Washington, D. C. The marriage was performed by The Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen. Lieutenant and Mrs. Schwab will reside in Pensacola, Florida.

STETSON-CONLON. Miss Dorothy R. Stetson, formerly issued to the Embassy and to USIS at Taipei, and Edward J. Conlon, Press Attaché, Taipei, were married in Hong Kong on July 2, 1953.

WANAMAKER-COORS. Mrs. Sophia Wolkonsky Coors, daughter of Mrs. Irina R. Wolkonsky of Bay Shore, L. I., and the late Prince Pierre Wolkonsky, and Mr. Allison T. Wanamaker, Sr., son of Mrs. Allison T. Wanamaker, Sr., and the late Dr. Wanamaker, were married July 22 at Bay Shore, Long Island. Mr. Wanamaker's most recent assignment has been as Acting Officer in Charge, Philippine Affairs, Department of State.

## CHANGE OF STATION FOR JULY

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO
Allen, Patten D.	Kingston	Paris
Amory, James F.	Dept.	Helsinki
Anderson, Edick A., Jr.	Duesseldorf	Baghdad
Bartlett, Frederic F.	Saigon	Dept.
Bateman, Emily H.	Dept.	Karachi
Beard, Kathleen R.	Dept.	Bonn
Bernbaum, Maurice M.	Bogota	Caracas
Birgfield, Clarence	Zurich	Dept.
Brewin, Roger	Saigon	Baghdad
Corcoran, Thomas J.	Lima	Dept.
Courand, Claude W.	Vitoria	Santiago
Crane, Ray H.	Madras	Rio de Janeiro
Dammann, Nancy	Moscow	New Delhi
Davies, Richard T.	Montevideo	Paris
Devine, Frank J.	Vienna	Dept.
Dowling, Walter C.	Dept.	Bonn
Edgar, Donald D.	Naples	Alexandria
Engle, James B.	Madrid	Rome
Favell, Thomas R.	Habana	Habana
Flanegin, Robert L.	Guaymas	Tijuana
Gaspard, Jerome T.	Dept.	Oslo
Gerrity, Charles M.	Panama	Yokohama
Gray, William F.	Dept.	Quito
Guggenheim, M. Robert	New Apt.	Lisbon
Hale, Robert L.	Dept.	Madrid
Harrell, Raymond L.	Habana	Mexico
Herfurt, Jack A.	Cairo	Bonn
Holdridge, John H.	Bangkok	Hong Kong
Horner, John E.	Kabul	Dept.
Hughes, Morris N.	Reykjavik	Tunis
Isenberg, Walter C.	Tangier	Dept.
Janz, Robert	Cali	Dept.
Jones, William C.	Dept.	Paris
Kemper, James S.	New Apt.	Rio de Janeiro
Knox, M. Gordon	Dept.	Vienna
Kozuch, Frank J.	London	Bonn
Lightner, E. Allan, Jr.	Dept.	Munich
MacDonald, Donald S.	Istanbul	Dept.
Martin, Edwin M.	New Apt.	Paris
McClure, Brooks	Copenhagen	Vienna
McKelvey, Delano	Dept.	Monterrey
McSweeney, John M.	Moscow	Dept.
Mein, John G.	Oslo	Dept.
Needham, Thomas J., Jr.	New Apt.	Ankara
O'Neill, Hugh B.	Djakarta	Taipei
Owsley, Charles H.	Dept.	Bonn
Paddock, Paul	Dept.	Valetta
Rivera, Rodolfo	Barcelona	Karachi
Satterthwaite, Joseph	Colombo	Tangier
Sexton, Helen R.	Madras	New Delhi
Smith, Horace H.	Dept.	Madrid
Snyder, Byron B.	Frankfort	Vienna
Stephens, Richard H.	Sydney	Hong Kong
Strong, L. Corrin	New Apt.	Oslo
Teall, Girvan	Ciudad Trujillo	Lima
Travers, Howard K.	Portenau-Prince	Dept.
Tullock, Gordon C.	Hong Kong	Pusan
Warner, Gerald	Dept.	Bangkok
Wellborn, Alfred T.	Saigon	Dept.
West, George L., Jr.	Bonn	Dept.
Wilson, Donald	Wellington	Copenhagen

## CANCELLATIONS AND AMENDMENTS July, 1953

Bernard, Jules E.  
Black, Myron L.  
Christie, Harold T.  
Crosby, Oliver S.  
Hanley, J. Daniel  
Harlan, Robert H.  
Sadler, Elizabeth  
Stanger, Ernest L.  
Wenderoth, Joseph  
Winn, Joanne V.  
Assigned to Berlin instead of Bonn.  
Ankara cancelled, now transferred to Halifax.  
Frankfort cancelled, to remain in Copenhagen.  
Assigned to Bonn instead of Munich.  
Vienna cancelled, RIF.  
Dept. cancelled, now transferred to Bonn.  
Assigned to Duesseldorf instead of Bonn.  
Assigned to Bonn instead of Frankfort.  
Tehran cancelled, now transferred to Budapest.  
Assigned to Munich instead of Hamburg.

## OFFICER RETIREMENTS, RESIGNATIONS AND RIF'S

AMB
Cowen, Myron M.
McGhee, George
FSO
Altoffer, Maurice
De Lambert, Richard (Retirement)
Fisher, Dorsey G.
Isenberg, Walter
Johnson, Herschel V. (Retirement)
FSR
Lahman, Howard S. (RIF)
Montague, Edwin N.
FSSO
Brown, John Cudd
Connor, Eileen
Hanley, J. Daniel (RIF)
Johnson, Chadwick
Lundgren, Maynard B.
Messa, Edward
Minor, George (Retirement)
Moorhouse, Ervie M. (RIF)
Perkins, John W. (RIF)
Robinson, Enid
Thompson, Paul (Retirement)

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### THIS MAY AFFECT YOU—PLEASE NOTE

Notwithstanding the announcement in the second paragraph of the circular of June 16, 1953, the officers of the American Foreign Service Protective Association are now pleased to say that, in view of the reduction in force now being effected by the Department of State, arrangements have been made with the insurance carriers to permit the continuance of membership in the Association and the retention of insurance under the existing plan of insurance as long as the member is employed by the Government of the United States.

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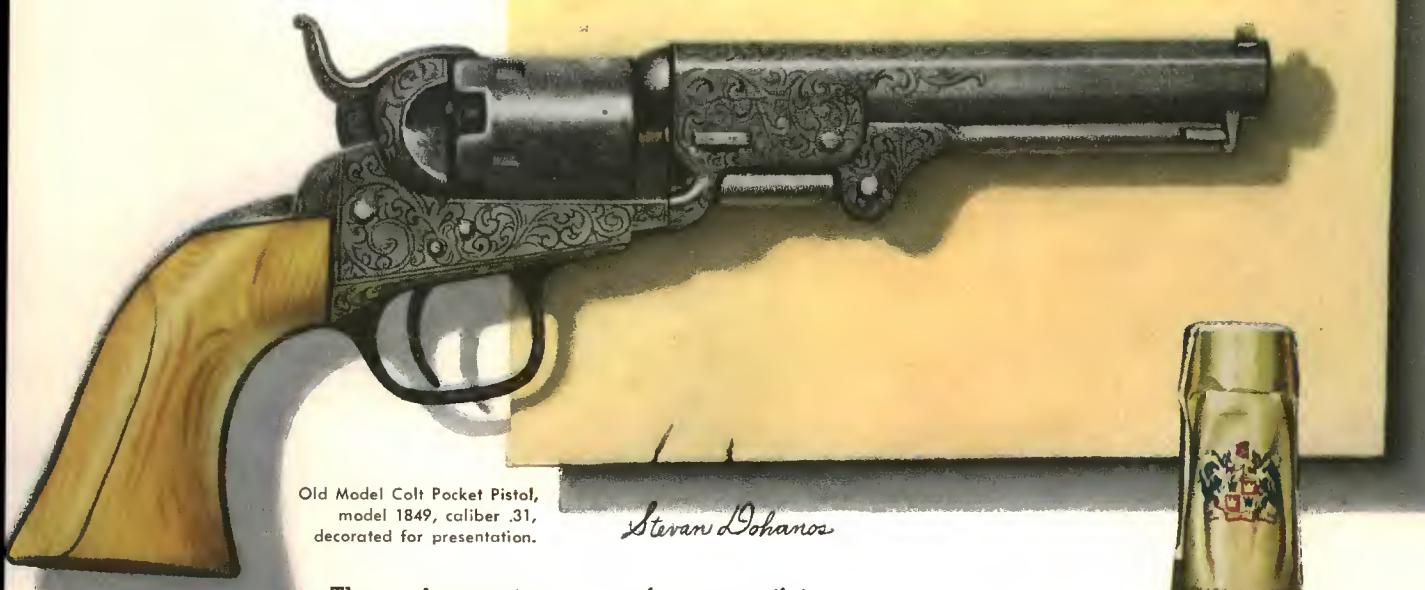
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## INDEX TO ADVERTISERS

American	Eastern Corporation	14
American Express Company		17
American Foreign Service Protective Association		64
American Security & Trust Company		39
Begg, J. F., Inc.		14
Bookmailer, The		44
Brown-Forman Distillers Corporation		9
Calvert School		61
Celanese Corporation of America		53
Chase National Bank		59
Circle Florists		61
Clements & Company		16
DACOR		10
Educational Consulting Service		55
Federal Storage Company		50
Firestone Tire & Rubber Company		18
Francis Scott Key Apartment Hotel		55
General American Transportation Corporation		1
General Foods Corporation		7
Goodman, Henry J. & Co.		14
Government Services Insurance Underwriters		5
Grace Line		52
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation		2
Maphis, J. Alan		12
Mayflower Hotel		12
McLaughlin Company, The		41
Merchants Transfer & Storage Company		13
National City Bank of New York		6
National Distillers Products Corporation		15, 45, 57
Neuert, Wilton & Associates, Inc.		13
Ney's Shopping Service		59
Philippine Air Lines, Inc.		43
Powell, Mrs. Paulus P.		41
Procter & Gamble Distributing Co., The		51
Radio Corporation of America		11
Riggs National Bank, The		47
Riverside Pharmacy		59
Schenley International Corporation		II & III Covers
Seagram's V.O.		37
Sears, Roebuck and Co.		5
Security Storage Company		39
Sinclair Refining Company		4
Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Inc.		59
Sommer's Camera Exchange		41
St. Martin's Press		41
State Department Federal Credit Union		55
Swartz, Walter H. Co.		49
United Fruit Company		5
United States Lines		10
Waldorf-Astoria, The		IV Cover
Woodward & Lothrop		10
Zenith Radio Corporation		8

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