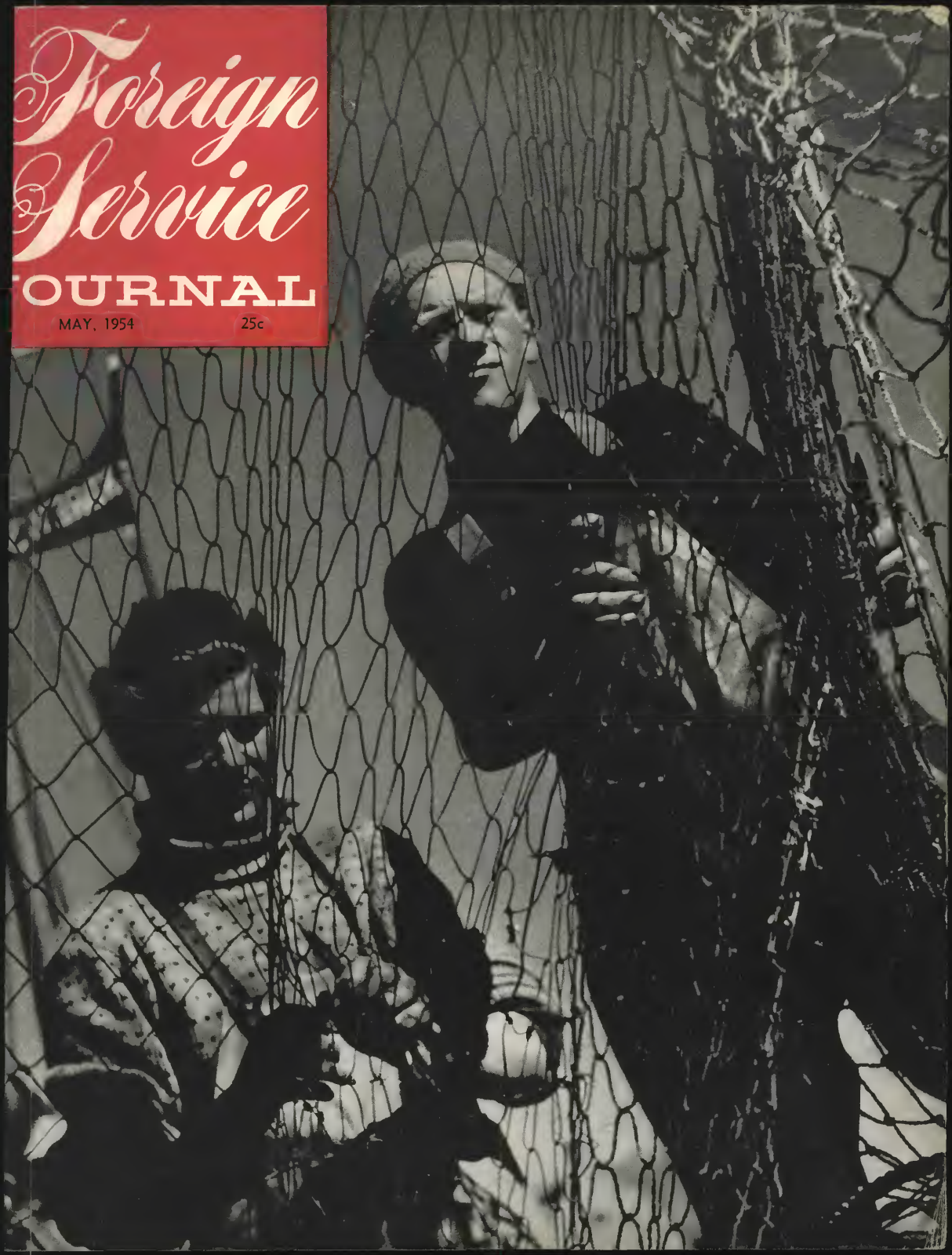
# Foreign Service JOURNAL

MAY, 1954 25c

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AMERICAN WORLD SERVICE EXPRESS

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# Foreign Service JOURNAL

*published monthly by*
THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
MAY 1954 Volume 31, Number 5


## CONTENTS




COVER PICTURE: Danish fishermen mending nets. *Photo courtesy Danish information office.*




The AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION is an unofficial and voluntary association of the members, active and retired, of *The Foreign Service of the United States and the Department of State*. The Association was formed for the purpose of fostering *esprit de corps* among members of the Foreign Service and to establish a center around which might be grouped the united efforts of its members for the improvement of the Service.

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is not official and material appearing herein represents only personal opinions, and is not intended in any way to indicate the official views of the Department of State or of the Foreign Service as a whole.

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.





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# Letters to the Editors

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

## ON SELECTION OUT

4677 Natalie Drive
San Diego 15, Calif.
March 29, 1954

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Although I have perused the last several issues of the JOURNAL I have yet to notice any comments from any of the unfortunate few who were victims of the 1953 accelerated selection out program. While I doubt that the JOURNAL will publish this letter it may be of interest to the editorial staff as expressing the views of one ex-Foreign Service Officer.

While naturally no one is happy at being considered by the Department as not measuring up, and I have no doubt that we each feel that an injustice was done in our particular case, that is not the subject of my complaint. What I do most strenuously object to is the manner in which this selection out process was accomplished. In the first place it seems unfair to me to change the rules of the game for a limited period—that is from the end of September to the end of the calendar year, 1953. I should think that if the rules were to be changed they should be made more or less permanent and not for a limited duration.

The notice in my case was hardly adequate. I received the notification on August 10 at Luxembourg and was told to be at my home in San Diego not later than September 30. While I managed to make Washington in time it allowed precious little leeway to pack my effects, finish my work in the Legation, turn over the office, make travel reservations and, of course, to pay my official farewell calls (I was Chargé d'affaires, a.i.) and write my farewell letters.

To get back to my real gripe. Granted that a reduction in force was necessary it seems to me that the Department, I suspect the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, could have handled it in a manner so as to leave a little better taste in the mouths of those affected, instead of pursuing the "meat-ax" method which was employed. It seems to me that any Foreign Service Officer of fairly long service deserved a little better than this notice on being so summarily separated after a long and presumably honorable career.

Why, for instance, could not the Department have informed each officer selected out, whose record was "good" or better, and who had not been promoted in four years or longer, that he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, but on the day of his promotion he was to be retired from the Service? I believe this is frequently done in the Military Services. I think it is called a "kangaroo" promotion, but it serves the purpose of softening the blow. It has the further advantage of not costing the government of the United States one cent either in pay or in retirement benefits. I know in my own case that if something of this nature had been done, I would feel a lot better toward the Service, which I served to the best of my perhaps limited ability, than I do now. If such a promotion were impractical at least a letter signed by the Secretary, thanking the retiring officer

*(Continued on page 6)*

# 3

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**Export Division**
**White Plains, N.Y., U.S.A.**

for his years of faithful service, would have been appreciated.

One more remark and I am through. Although it has been nearly six months since my retirement, I have not yet received payment of the lump sum due me for accumulated leave.

I finally received a letter under date of March 3 in reply to my inquiry of November 18 informing me that "every effort will be made to expedite payment promptly."

*John B. Ketcham*

**Editor's Note:** We are in hearty sympathy with Mr. Ketcham. He is wrong, of course, in pointing a finger at the Division of Foreign Service Personnel which was abolished about a year ago. Perhaps *if* there were a strong central organization in the Department having clear-cut responsibility for Foreign Service problems, greater consideration would be given to the question of how to operate the "selection out" system so as to soften the inevitable blow on the individual affected.

John Ketcham served his country loyally for 27 years in an almost unbroken sequence of unhealthful and hazardous Asian posts. He and others with comparable records are entitled to an honorable and dignified retirement.

## PRESENTING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Coral Gables, Florida
March 23, 1954

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

What the Foreign Service actually does is little known to most Americans, including those who pay taxes and those who appropriate funds for its operation. Because its functions are little known, so are its accomplishments; and ignorance of the real accomplishments of the Foreign Service contributes to widespread suspicion as to its activities, skepticism as to the loyalty of some of its personnel, and derisive comment regarding its officers.

Because it is an arm of the Department of State, were the Foreign Service and its accomplishments better known, so would the policies, motives, and activities of the Department be better understood and appreciated, and they would be subject to much less unmerited criticism.

To say that the Foreign Service and the Department need much better public relations with the American people is perhaps to point out a need that is already generally recognized, and in fact certain steps recently have been taken to improve the situation. How to broaden and maintain such relations, however, is the problem, lacking adequate funds for the purpose and perhaps because of certain distaste for activities some might label as "propaganda."

Other agencies of our Government have found a solution for this problem and perhaps one of the most outstanding is the FBI, whose activities and accomplishments as well as an understanding of its motive and purposes, have for years been impressed upon Americans of all ages through the well-known radio program "Gang-busters."

In the archives of every diplomatic mission and of many consulates are complete records of actual accomplishments

*(Continued on page 8)*

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

of the Foreign Service that would provide more human interest and wider appeal to American radio and TV audiences than a program centered entirely upon crime. An examination of the protection, citizenship, extradition, visa and other files by a *qualified* person in search of material for stimulating radio and TV plays will disclose enough high grade material to command the rapt attention of audiences one night a week for several years. And because the material in question deals with actual, interesting events involving American citizens (whose names need not be divulged), there should be no difficulty in obtaining a commercial sponsor for such true story programs of the Foreign Service and the Department—without cost and without a "propaganda" label.

I therefore suggest that suitable material from Foreign Service and Departmental archives in Washington be utilized in the presentation of radio and TV plays (with a talented cast—not merely a narrator) depicting a wide range of highly interesting activities and accomplishments in order that the American people may know and appreciate the work of their Department of State and Foreign Service. Undoubtedly the prestige in the United States of the Department and the Foreign Service would thereby be greatly stimulated and improved.

It is my suggestion that this very important activity should be entrusted only to persons with suitable and adequate background and training, including practical first-hand knowledge of Departmental and Foreign Service operations, and skill in radio and TV dramatization. In other words, it should be entrusted to persons of suitable background and with sufficient imagination to be stimulated by the broad and important scope of this suggestion.

I suggest also that active and retired Foreign Service officers be invited to submit brief accounts of experiences (not necessarily personal) and of important events at former posts, with an indication of the place and approximate time, in order that such experiences or events may be identified in existing archives should it be desired to examine them for essential details for the purpose mentioned above. The Foreign Service, as an arm of the Department of State, should help itself to overcome the haziness and indifference, if not actual animosity and distrust, with which it is regarded in some quarters.

*Harold S. Tewell*

## A THANK-YOU NOTE

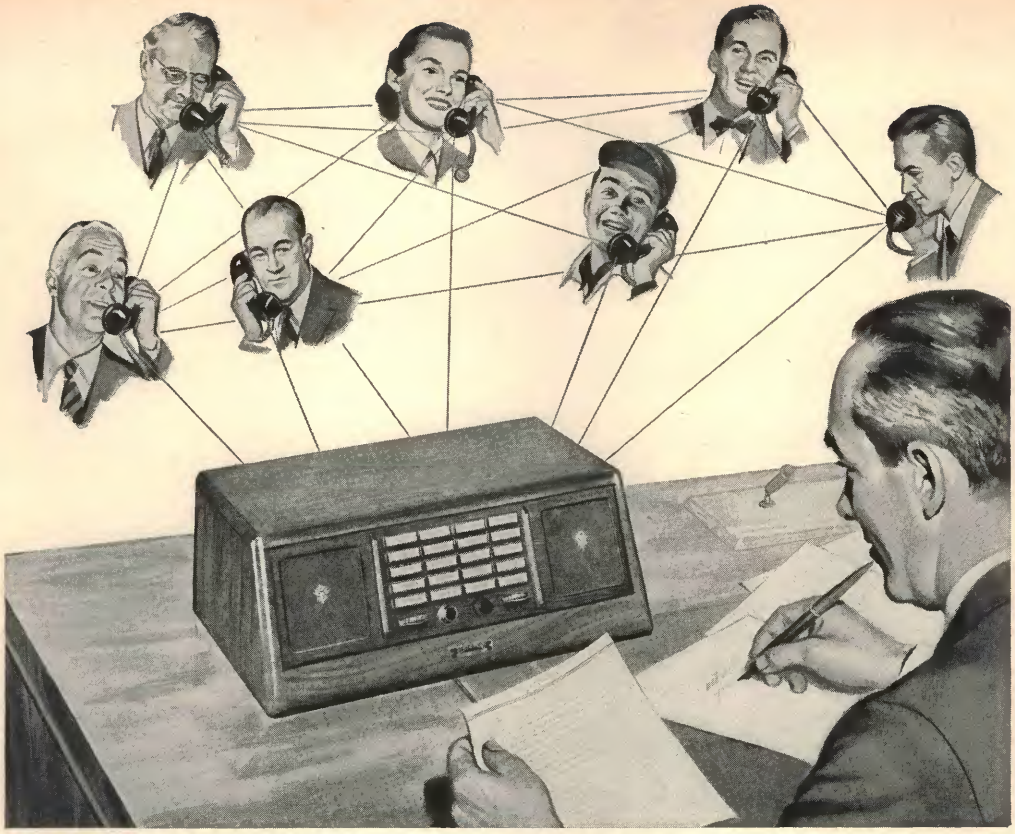
Washington, D. C.
March 22, 1954

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I believe the readers of the JOURNAL would be interested in the following letter which was sent to me by Thomas T. Hammond, Assistant Professor, University of Virginia, following an eight months' stay in Europe. The letter reads:
"Dear Mr. Merchant:

"In these days when everyone seems to be kicking the

(*Continued on page* 10)



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**LETTERS TO THE EDITORS** *(from page 8)*

Foreign Service in the pants, I would like to take the opportunity to say a few words of praise on behalf of certain Foreign Service officers.

"Recently I returned from eight months in Europe, most of which time was spent in Yugoslavia studying recent political and economic developments in that country. I was collecting information for use in lectures here at the University and also for possible articles. The friendliness and assistance of the American officials in Zagreb and Belgrade could not have been better. Many of the officials, from Ambassador Riddleberger on down, entertained my wife and me in hospitable though not extravagant fashion.

"All of the officials whom I asked for assistance in collecting research materials were completely cooperative. Especially helpful were Messrs. Cole Blasier, Dick Harmstone, Ellwood Berg, Peter Walker, Turner Cameron, James S. Killen, John McGowan, David Briggs, and William Turpin. Others were nice to us in various ways but these were the ones who were in a position to be particularly helpful to me in my work.

"I also stopped for two days in Trieste where I was received in the same courteous way by Messrs. Randolph Higgs and George Kenney. In Washington, Mr. Clayton Mudd gave me some of his time for background discussions about the developments in Yugoslavia.

"I would also like to add that none of the American diplomats I met in my travels resembled in the least the fun-loving, carefree, striped pants, party-going diplomats we hear so much about these days. As far as I was able to observe the gentlemen mentioned above were loyal, hard-working and capable. Several of them regularly work overtime on Saturdays and Sundays. If all of our Foreign Service officers are as good as these, I think we have little cause to worry about our Foreign Service."

*Livingston T. Merchant*

### APPRECIATION FOR PROTECTION

American Consulate
Perth, Australia
March 2, 1954

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Foreign Service people normally have few opportunities to express their appreciation of the work of the Protective Association, largely because the Association operates so efficiently that little direct correspondence is called for. I do wish to call attention to the outstanding way in which the Association has provided such extensive insurance benefits for us in return for such small expense and effort on our part. I appreciate it a great deal and I am sure that other members of the Protective Association are equally appreciative.

*Edward D. Ingraham, Jr.*

*Designed by Raymond Loewy...*
*acclaimed by style authorities!*

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# The thrifty '54 Studebakers are the world's best built automobiles

STUDEBAKER again is leading the way in car styling. Several of America's expensive cars are now attempting to meet the challenge, as you know.

But you don't have to pay big money for an out-ahead Studebaker. You can get a Studebaker Champion in the popular price field. And a brilliantly powered Studebaker Commander V-8 costs you only a little more.

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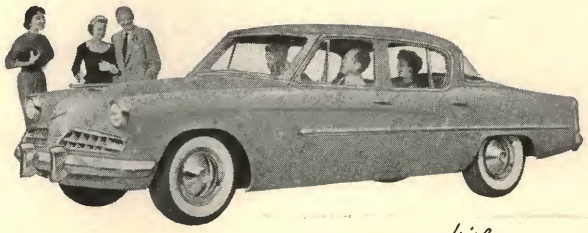
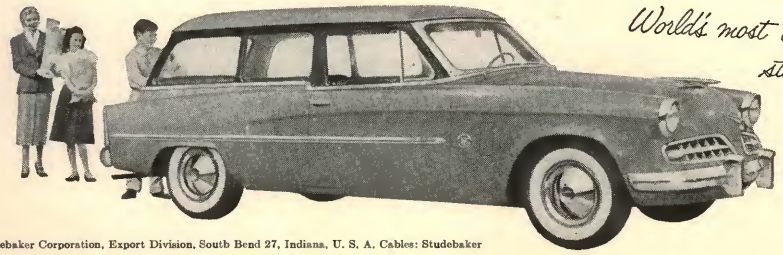


*Save money every mile you drive with an out-ahead Studebaker!*



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# 25 years ago

BY JAMES B. STEWART

*HENRY L. STIMSON*

*SECRETARY OF STATE:* On March 28, HENRY L. STIMSON was sworn in as Secretary of State, the oath being administered by Chief Justice William Howard Taft. All the staff on duty in the Department passed through the diplomatic room to say farewell to the retiring Secretary, MR. KELLOGG, and to receive a hearty handshake from the new Secretary.

Referring to the diplomatic room, the following is from the *Washington Star:* "In anticipation of the arrival of the new Secretary, the historic diplomatic room is undergoing one of its perennial rearrangements, including the furbishing of large ebony tables, heavy leather-covered chairs, costly rugs and rich hangings, as well as the valuable collection of portrait paintings of all the statesmen who have conducted the foreign relations of the Government since its organization. Five comparatively recent portraits were the only ones that passed inspection, being those of Secretaries Hay, Root, Knox, Bryan, and Hughes, all of which have been protected by glass."

*THE SECRETARY AND "OLD SOAK":* Secretary Stimson's pet Chinese-speaking parrot, who rejoices in the name of "Old Soak," is now on his way, as a first-class passenger, from Manila to Washington, according to the Associated Press. "Old Soak" pined for his former master, so Mr. Stimson cabled the necessary instructions. The problem now is where "Old Soak" is to make his home, as Mrs. Stimson says he is too noisy. The *Washington Star* therefore adds: "It has been suggested that he might make his home in the Secretary's office or the Far Eastern Division of the Department, where he could converse with the assistant chief of the division, WILLYS R. PECK, who was born in China of American parents and speaks the language. It has been pointed out, however, that this might prove embarrassing when other Chinese-speaking callers came, since the things the 'Old Soak' says in Chinese might not be of a diplomatic character."

Recently I mentioned the above quotation from the JOURNAL to JAMES GRAFTON ROGERS knowing that he had seen the "Old Soak" frequently when he was Assistant Secretary of State. Jim said, with regard to the parrot's abode, that a compromise had been effected and he was assigned a room in the basement of the Stimson home. However, he was subject to tantrums (*ataques* in Spanish and I don't know what in Chinese) and when he had one of them he could be heard all over the house. Once, in a fit of temper, he smashed a porcelain tea cup to smithereens either because he did not want the tea that had been served to him or else it did not suit his taste.

*FUTURE OF THE JOURNAL:* In a letter to the JOURNAL, CONSUL GENERAL WESLEY, Montreal, first editor of the CONSULAR BULLETIN, touched on the future of the publication as

(*Continued on page* 14)

# WISE MEN *NAME* THEIR *BRAND*


*The Wisest say*

OLD **Sunny Brook** BRAND

STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY

NATIONAL DISTILLERS PRODUCTS CORP. • EXPORT DIVISION, 120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

follows: "Just before I left Washington (1921) there was an important discussion as to the future of the publication, my view being that it should be merely a news sheet, appearing fortnightly, at a subscription of $2.50 per annum. Fortunately or unfortunately, the decision went the other way, and thanks to the ability of COUNSELOR DEWITT C. POOLE, the BULLETIN took a much firmer hold on its existence."

*ABOUT PEOPLE:* CONSUL KARL DE G. MACVITTY arrived in New York from Leghorn on the *S.S. President Polk.* During a severe storm Mr. MacVitty's cabin was completely wrecked, and he was severely bruised and cut by broken glass.

ELIHU ROOT, former Secretary of State, arrived in Naples on board the *S.S. Vulcania.* Owing to the illness of CONSUL GENERAL BYINGTON, Mr. Root was met on board the steamer by CONSUL NESTER.

JULIUS KLEIN, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, arrived in Venice en route to Budapest to attend the conference of commercial attachés.

The March number of *The National Geographic Magazine* is devoted to Spain, with the two leading articles written by CONSUL RICHARD FORD of Seville, and MR. HARRY A. MCBRIDE, formerly a career officer and at present in business in Malaga, where he is honorary Vice Consul.

*NECROLOGY:* MYRON T. HERRICK (1854-1929) American Ambassador to France, died at his post of duty on March 31, 1929. He was first appointed Ambassador to France in 1912 but retired in 1914. He was reappointed as Ambassador to France on April 16, 1921 and held that position until his death. The JOURNAL carries an appreciation of this great Ambassador by HONORABLE WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR., Assistant Secretary of State.

DAVID FEINSTEIN, Hebrew Interpreter at the American Consulate at Jerusalem, died of apoplexy on March 4, 1929 and was interred in the Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives. Mr. Feinstein was a British subject. He entered the employ of the Consulate in 1884, and for more than 44 years had served it faithfully.

*ITEM FROM TOKYO:* COLONEL HENRY L. STIMSON, late Governor General of the Philippine Islands and newly appointed Secretary of State, arrived in Kobe on March 3rd where he was met by LAWRENCE E. SALISBURY, third secretary of the Embassy at Tokyo, and CONSUL EARL E. DICKOVER. During his brief stay in Tokyo, the Colonel took time out for some tennis. He and VICE CONSUL BENNINGHOFF were on one side of the net and CONSUL GRAHAM H. KEMPER and J. C. GOOLD, of the Standard Oil Company, on the other side.

*THE FASTER THE BETTER:* CONSUL GENERAL COERT DU BOIS, Batavia, sends the following and says "the faster you read this, the better it sounds."

. . . . Severely Sirs,

Understood were been my memory and beg to hand you one faithful regard to present one office with open time. How read you the position now?

Referring to above, your Consulate be never explained how I did settle after your recovery.

Herewith follows as your office has the notice decided on sufficient salary, when confidence for at once time thank for one hundred guilders of one month.

Always at your services, I'm generally — . . . .


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You can look with confidence to RCA for this complete co-ordinated service . . . manufacturing, installation facilities, instruction, servicing . . . *everything* that goes to make RCA TV such a dependable instrument of education and enjoyment throughout the world.

Your RCA distributor or company will gladly tell you about RCA TV; or write to RCA International Division.


**RCA produces complete TV studio equipments,** from microphones to monitoring consoles. This scene shows a broadcast from the RCA-equipped station DZAQ-TV, Manila.

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***RADIO CORPORATION of AMERICA***
***RCA BUILDING***
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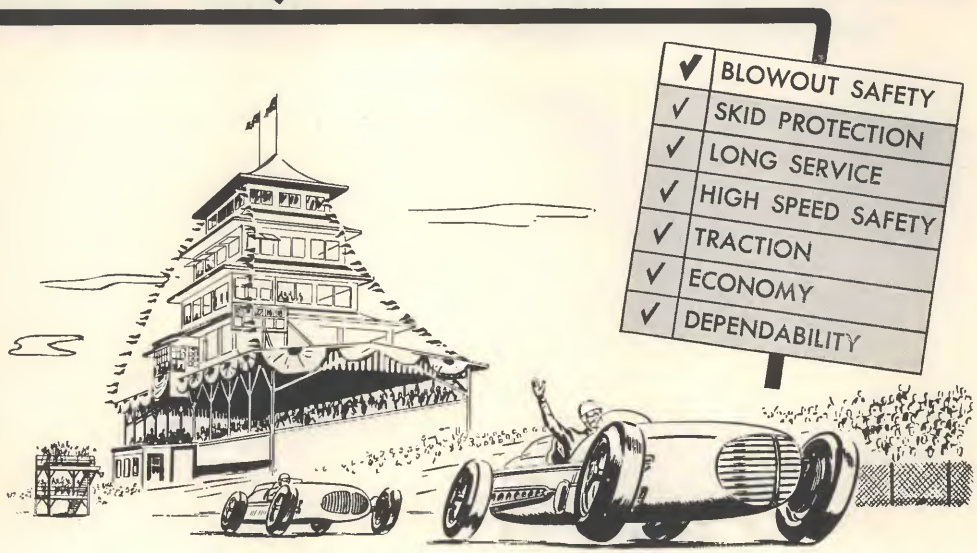
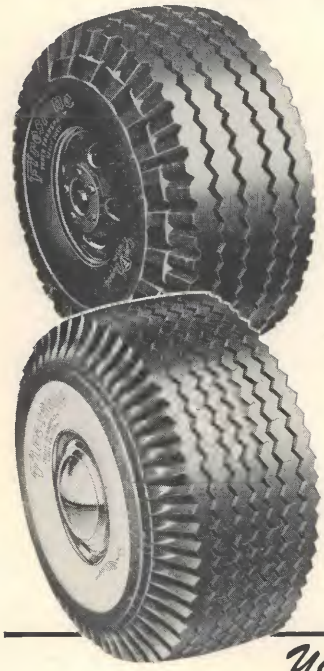
# WHAT do you WANT in a TIRE?




## YOU'LL FIND IT WITH Firestone



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### You Get These Advantages, Too:

**SKID PROTECTION**—The Safti-Grip tread design on passenger tires, and the appropriate tread for the job on truck tires, assure quick, positive stops on wet, slippery streets or roads.

**LONG SERVICE** — New, improved, extra tough tread rubber, cooler-running cord body and long mileage designs combine to give extra service at no extra cost.

**HIGH SPEED SAFETY** — Firestone's unparalleled success in racing has led to the adoption of racing tire principles to regular production. New American speed records of 255.4 miles per hour were recently established on Firestone Tires.

**TRACTION**—For use on-and-off the highway, or in mud or snow, Firestone offers the Town and Country passenger tire and a wide range of truck and farm tires.

**ECONOMY** — The extra features of Firestone Tires—greater strength, resistance to impacts, cooler running, tougher rubber, long-wearing designs—all add up to lower cost per mile or kilometer.

**DEPENDABILITY**—In world-famed auto races, where victory depends on the safety and dependability of tires, champion race drivers buy and use Firestones, "Safety-Proved on the Speedway for Your Protection on the Highway."

*Your Safety Is Our Business at Firestone*

# NEWS to the FIELD

By Lois Perry Jones

### *Inspection Corps Transfer*

Effective April 5, the Foreign Service Inspection Corps was transferred to the Bureau of Inspection, Security, and Consular Affairs. The Chief Inspector of the Foreign Service Inspection Corps now reports for instructions to the Administrator of the Bureau of Inspection, Security, and Consular Affairs.

In addition to the transfer of the Foreign Service Inspection Corps, Secretary Dulles announced in mid-April the establishment of "the function of inspection of the Department" subject to the general supervision of the Administrator for Security and Consular Affairs. Mr. Dulles said, "I wish it [the function of inspection] to operate as a necessary extension of my office and to provide a means of closer communication between myself and all my associates in the Department of State, at home and abroad."

Members of the Secretary's Public Committee on Personnel are pictured here grouped around Chairman Henry Wriston. Standing, from left to right, are: Robert Murphy, Morehead Patterson, Norman Armour, John A. McCone, John Hay Whitney, Donald S. Russell, and Charles E. Saltzman.

### *Contest News*

The JOURNAL office has been busy during the last month handling the aftermath of the Prize Essay Contest Announcement. It has been a pleasure: over one hundred and fifty direct requests for brochures have been received; notices of the Contest have appeared in various newspapers; other government agencies have circularized news of the contest to their employees.

Letters sent the JOURNAL's field correspondents are beginning to have results: the brochure was duplicated by USIA in Mexico, other posts have requested additional copies to be posted on bulletin boards and distributed to members of the American colonies.

Most heartwarming has been the response of the retired officers, to whom a letter requesting contributions and manuscripts was sent. Their letters contain statements like the following: "The general leavening effect of the contest and the focusing of ideas by many people on this important question should be as useful as—if not more than—the immediate written product"; "I think the idea of universal financial participation is excellent and hope your response is good"; "I only wish I could make a real contribution instead of merely a nominal one."

### *Reserve Officer Promotions*

Foreign Service Reserve officers will no longer be rated by Selection Boards. New regulations provide that Reserve Officer promotions shall be made by administrative action of the Chief of the Division of Personnel Operation, of the Department. Conditions to be met before promotion are: the officer is assigned to and actually performing duties of a position officially classified at a higher level than his present rank; his performance in the position classified at the higher level has clearly met all requirements; the officer has not received a class promotion during the preceding 12-months period; the position in question is within the existing funded complement; security clearances for the promotion have been met.

### *FSO Promotions*

In order to be eligible for consideration for promotion to a higher class by the Selection Boards now meeting Foreign Service Officers in classes 5 and 6 shall, as of the first day of the year during which the Selection Boards are convened, have served at least one year in class. Foreign Service Officers in classes 2, 3, and 4 shall, as of the first day of the year during which the Selection Boards are convened, have served at least two years in class.

### *1955 Appropriation Bill*

The House Committee on Appropriations reported on H.R. 8067 making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the United States Information Agency for the fiscal year 1955. A total of $108,410,000 is included in the bill for the Department of State; this is a reduction of $7,781,960 in the budget estimates and is $14,133,676 below the amount appropriated for the present fiscal year. Sixty-two million five hundred thousand is included in the bill for salaries and expenses, a reduction of $1,200,000 in the budget estimate and $3,100,000 below the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year. However, when the comparative transfers, reduction in force costs, and other nonrecurring items are taken into consideration the amount recommended for fiscal year 1955 is approximately $393,000 less than the amount available for the present fiscal year.

### *Security Procedures*

To speed up security inquiries on all members of the Foreign Service and the Department, 100 trained investigators have been obtained from the Civil Service Commission. They will be available until June 30.

(*Continued on page* 46)


# Economy . . .

## TRUE . . . . AND FALSE

*By* LEON B. POULLADA

The economy measures recently applied to the Foreign Service have now progressed sufficiently to permit a preliminary appraisal from the field which may prove of some value to Congress, the Bureau of the Budget and administrative officials of the Department of State. Have the economies imposed on the Foreign Service been successful? Are they true economies or false ones? Can further real economies be made in the Foreign Service without seriously damaging it? What should the nature of such economies be? These are questions which are of deep personal and general portent, not only to the Foreign Service but in a larger sense to all Americans.

This article is not intended as a mere recital of the complaints and woes of the Foreign Service. It were better left unwritten if that were its sole purpose. Its aim is to put forward constructive suggestions and point the way towards some real economies which will have a long range beneficial effect without impairing the essential operation of the Foreign Service. As a prelude to these positive suggestions we must necessarily refer to conditions which prevail in the Foreign Service today. In doing so it is not intended to point an accusing finger at anyone.

Those of us in the field who have tried to give to the problems discussed here sober thought, fully realize that neither Departmental officials, nor the members of the Bureau of the Budget or Congress lie awake at night figuring out ways to make life in the Foreign Service difficult. We rightly assume that they are all loyal and conscientious citizens whose goals and motivations are the same as ours. We fully realize that officers in the Department are often caught in the crossfire of pressures from the field on the one hand and political and legal compulsions on the other. The originators of these compulsions on their part have no doubt acted from eminently commendable motives of promoting what they deem to be the public interest. If they are sometimes not as well acquainted with the problems of the Foreign Service as they should be and therefore prone to miscalculate the results of their actions, that is largely our fault for not presenting our case with forthrightness and lucidity.

All the measures to which I shall have to refer as contributing to a lowering of Foreign Service morale were undoubtedly meant to be in the public interest and deemed necessary in the context of the times. Whether they accomplished their commendable purposes fully, or whether these measures might have been better administered is beyond the scope of this article. Our only interest here is to insist at the outset that our position be not misunderstood by emphasizing that everyone in the Foreign Service favors closer integration of our personnel components, strict but just security measures which will weed out the truly disloyal, and sensible economy measures which will trim the service to fighting form without impairing its essential functions.

But we feel that the Foreign Service, and by this we mean the *Foreign Service* which performs the traditional consular, economic and political functions, *is not now overstaffed and has not been so for a number of years.* We are convinced in fact that the Foreign Service proper since the war has been seriously understaffed in view of its expanding functions. There may be individual exceptions to this statement at favored posts, but taking the service as a whole we believe it holds true.

Actually, what has happened is that the swelling ranks of other government agencies have entered the foreign field and sent thousands of American employees abroad. Information programs, economic aid programs, occupation forces, military assistance programs etc. have all contributed to the number of government workers abroad performing functions which supplement and sometimes duplicate those of the Foreign Service. In most cases the Foreign Service has been

given administrative responsibility for the support of these other programs with the result that organizational distinctions have become obscured in the eyes both of the public and of Congress. Congressmen and economy-minded citizens travelling abroad see large numbers of American government employees, specially in the lush posts like Paris, London, and Rome. Many of these employees impress the visitor as drawing unusually large salaries and seem to be enjoying an inflated standard of living.

Now to the average American and often also to travelling officials who should know better, all Americans working abroad for the government "must be State Department." In this way enormous pressure is generated to "cut the State Department down to reasonable size." When the next Appropriations bill comes up before the Bureau of the Budget and Congress, this pressure is translated into reductions of Foreign Service appropriations, which often do not affect the functions and personnel of other agencies overseas, but on the other hand cut deeply into the traditional functions and job security of the relatively small core of "permanent" Foreign Service employees. The Foreign Service is thus faced on the one hand with the increasing work load of the legitimate expansion of its own traditional functions as well as its responsibility of supervision and policy guidance for the work of numerous other government agencies abroad, while on the other hand it is subjected to reductions of its own personnel and funds.

These are not exaggerations. Let us look at some pertinent facts and figures:

According to figures published by the Allowances Branch, as of July 1953 there were in round numbers a total of 27,500 American civilian employees of the government in foreign areas. Of this number only 5,600 or *about 20%* were properly chargeable to the Department of State. The remaining 80% belonged to such agencies as Foreign Operations Administration (formerly TCA and MSA), U. S. Information Agency, Defense Department, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Veterans Administration etc. It is interesting to note that the Defense Department alone had on its payroll nearly 17,000 civilians abroad or about three times as many as the entire Foreign Service.

But even the figure of 5,600 employees abroad for the Foreign Service is misleading when analyzed, because we find that this figure includes civilians employed by the occupation forces in Europe, which were rather recently transferred from the Defense Department to the Department of State, as well as civilians employed in NATO and a number of other special missions closely related to defense. In fact on further analysis we find that as of June 30, 1953, only about 3,300 Americans were employed in the direct functions of the Foreign Service and this number will be reduced to 2,900 authorized positions by August of 1954.

In other words the entire overseas responsibilities of the Foreign Service must be discharged with about the same number of Americans as there are in an average regiment. The total cost of this service to the American taxpayer is less than the price of one regular aircraft carrier and certainly less than the price of one atomic submarine. The operation of any one of the largest Foreign Service posts costs the American taxpayer less than equipping and running a good anti-aircraft battery, and the cost of the *entire* Foreign Service abroad is certainly less than that of one combat division. Who can honestly say that this is a disproportionate cost for our "first line of defense"?

It is our belief in the Foreign Service that these facts are not fully appreciated by the American people and by our Congress. When articles on "Our Billion Dollar Overseas Bureaucracy" and "The Gravy Train" appear in mass circulation media, these distinctions are ignored and the regular Foreign Service suffers as a consequence. Articles such as these convey an entirely erroneous impression to the American people in that they make no distinctions between Foreign Service employees who have dedicated their lives to the service of their country abroad and are ready to take the good posts with the bad, and those who are employed abroad by other agencies, usually at choice European posts, at relatively high salaries and presumably for a "temporary" period. Incidentally former employees of these agencies who write these sensational articles often do an injustice to their colleagues working in remote hardship areas who are really earning their pay. It is, therefore, up to the Foreign Service and to our Congressional Relations staff in the Department of State to keep these distinctions clear and to drive these facts home to our legislators who are fair minded men and who have no desire to cripple our Foreign Service.

Does this mean that additional true economies are not possible in our Foreign Service? Not at all. In the course of this article certain specific suggestions in this direction will be made. But such possible economies must be viewed in the proper perspective of our over-all Federal Budget.

"the government transports thousands of tons of furniture from one port to another."

Congress and the American people must remember that of the 70 odd *billion* dollars appropriated for all our Federal expenditures in Fiscal year 1954, the entire Department of State *plus* the Foreign Service received only about 65 *million* or less than one tenth of one percent. When considering economies in our Foreign Service the basic fact about our Federal Budget to remember is that the great bulk of our appropriations are committed either directly to defense, or indirectly to the same purpose in the form of Veterans benefits, development of atomic energy, etc.

Every one understands the need for these defense com-


"the cost is less . . . than . . . one combat division"

mitments in the kind of world which has emerged from two world wars into an uneasy peace, but the fact still remains that unless very substantial reductions in defense expenditures become possible in the near future, any talk of balancing the Federal Budget and permanently reducing taxes is chimerical. Any economies which can be made in the *nondefense* establishments such as the Foreign Service will necessarily be marginal by comparison and will not solve the deficit problem. This is the irreducible logic with which any administration in power is confronted.

Therefore, if severe cuts in the Foreign Service appropriations could make a substantial contribution to the removal of the Federal deficit, they might be justified in the public interest even if they resulted in the impairment of essential Foreign Service functions. But since it can be mathematically demonstrated that even *complete elimination* of the Foreign Service would have little appreciable effect on the fiscal position of the government, the wisdom of making cuts beyond the point of diminishing returns is certainly open to doubt. But this does not mean that legitimate economies are not possible. They are both possible and desirable, for after all even if reduction in Foreign Service expenditures will not solve our country's fiscal problems, every little bit counts, and we in the Foreign Service are not only willing but eager to do our share. But let us really study the problem and make economies where they will protect the careers of our employees, enhance morale, and increase efficiency. These goals, within modest limitations, are not impossible to achieve as we shall see later in this article.

We must, however, always bear in mind the background against which these economies must be made, for such measures are inextricably linked with the question of morale in our Foreign Service. Whatever the motives or causes and however commendable the intentions, we must recognize that the Foreign Service has been dealt a number of blows in the past few years. The recent economy measures which culminated in the now celebrated RIF (Reduction in Force) program in the Staff Corps and ASO (Accelerated Selection Out) in the Career Corps, are but the last of a series of setbacks to the Foreign Service. Let us briefly recollect some of these:

(a) Soon after World War II a series of reorganizations and proposals were initiated which to many in the Foreign Service seemed designed to water down the traditional career principle. The War Manpower Act and the Lateral Entry Program permitted individuals from other spheres of activity to enter the career Foreign Service. They were thus able to step directly into positions traditionally reserved for those who had gone through the painstaking mill of strict entrance examinations, slow promotions, and tedious foreign service assignments. Simultaneously the move for "amalgamation" of the various components of the Foreign Service with the Departmental "home service" was initiated. This ultimately resulted in what again to many seemed a weak compromise which neither preserved the career principle intact nor produced a truly unified Foreign Affairs Service.

(b) Next came the security investigations which cast doubt on the cherished tradition of objectivity in foreign service reporting. The loyalty of individual Foreign Service officers was impugned and in some cases resulted in dismissals of officers with records of long service. Although such cases were few, an atmosphere of distrust, fear and suspicion descended over the Foreign Service as a whole. The average American, almost unconsciously, came to link the term disloyalty with the Department of State and its Foreign Service. Promotions and assignments were suspended while every one was investigated and a general feeling of insecurity permeated the service.

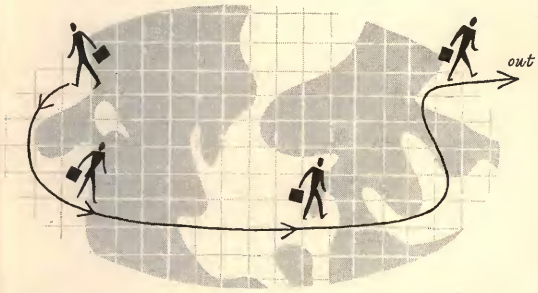
(c) Before the Foreign Service could even begin to recover from these blows, there came a series of administrative measures, prompted chiefly by the urgent need for economy. These measures can best be described as changes in the terms of the employment contract without consultation or the consent of one of the parties, namely the employee. Members of the Foreign Service who were working under one set of rules relating to leave, weight allowances, travel time, length of tour of duty abroad etc., suddenly, in the middle of the stream so to speak, found the terms changed to their disadvantage. Instead of making the new rules applicable only on termination of present tours abroad, or only to new employees who would then be in a position to decline employment if the terms did not suit them, the new regulations were made applicable across the board to employees who had taken their jobs under entirely different terms, and who now found themselves abroad, after perhaps giving up jobs at home, uprooting their families, and in most cases incurring heavy expenses in order to serve abroad. They could of course resign, and many of the best employees did so, although in some cases it meant having to pay their own way home. But the majority who were caught overseas were in too deep for resignation to prove an effective remedy. In any case many were saved this trouble by later being summarily dismissed under the RIF program.

Needless to say, no private enterprise in America with an even moderately efficient labor relations department would consider changing the employment contract in this manner unless it wanted to court industrial strife. True, the government is in a different position. Few will question the *legal right* of the government to change its personnel policies in any manner and at any time. But the *wisdom* of such action from the standpoint of sane labor relations and sound personnel practices is open to serious question. The Govern-

ment, though not *legally* bound to employment contracts in the same sense as private employers, must nevertheless compete on the labor market for its personnel. Unless the government wants to wind up with the dregs of the labor pool on its hands — with workers whose inefficiency precludes their finding jobs in private industry — it will have to observe at least equivalent standards of fairness and respect for terms of employment as private industry now does. After all, the top administrators in the government are eminent businessmen who would not countenance unsound personnel policies in their own companies. How then to explain this paradox?

It is against this background that we come now to the last and most recent blow to Foreign Service morale: the dismissal of substantial numbers of employees serving abroad, on very short notice and often under conditions which caused not only extreme inconvenience, but hardship. In many cases the Riffed employees had to reorient their entire lives on 30 days' notice. Some had to break leases on the houses they were living in which required longer notice than this; the penalty had to come out of the pocket of the employee. Others had to pull their children out of school in the middle of the year thus losing time and tuition paid. Still others on returning to the States found that many employers regarded anyone dismissed by the Department of State as a probable security risk. Such were some of the human effects of the RIF program on the employees who were directly affected. But the effects on the service were more insidious.

The whole story of the impact of the RIF on the Foreign Service has yet to be told, and this is not the place to do so.




"an expert on South Asian affairs is 'bumped' and replaced by an expert on Trieste"

Suffice it for our purposes to make the point that the general impression in the field is that large numbers of faithful employees, who had on numerous occasions been assured that their relatively lower perquisites, as compared to those offered by other "temporary" government agencies, were compensated for by the *job security* and *career nature* of Foreign Service employment, suddenly found themselves jobless, while employees of the "temporary" agencies went merrily along, as they had done for a number of years since the war, drawing their higher salaries and allowances. Moreover, some of these "temporary" agencies continued recruiting even while the RIF program in the Foreign Service was in full swing. In fact some Foreign Service employees, who were Riffed from their "secure" jobs in the Foreign Service, were at once hired by these other agencies which presumably had had no security to offer in the first place.

It is furthermore the general impression in the field that no real economy will result from the RIF program. Admittedly it is a quick and politically spectacular way to show economies on paper — so many employees dismissed here, so many there, the Federal payroll reduced by so many, etc.

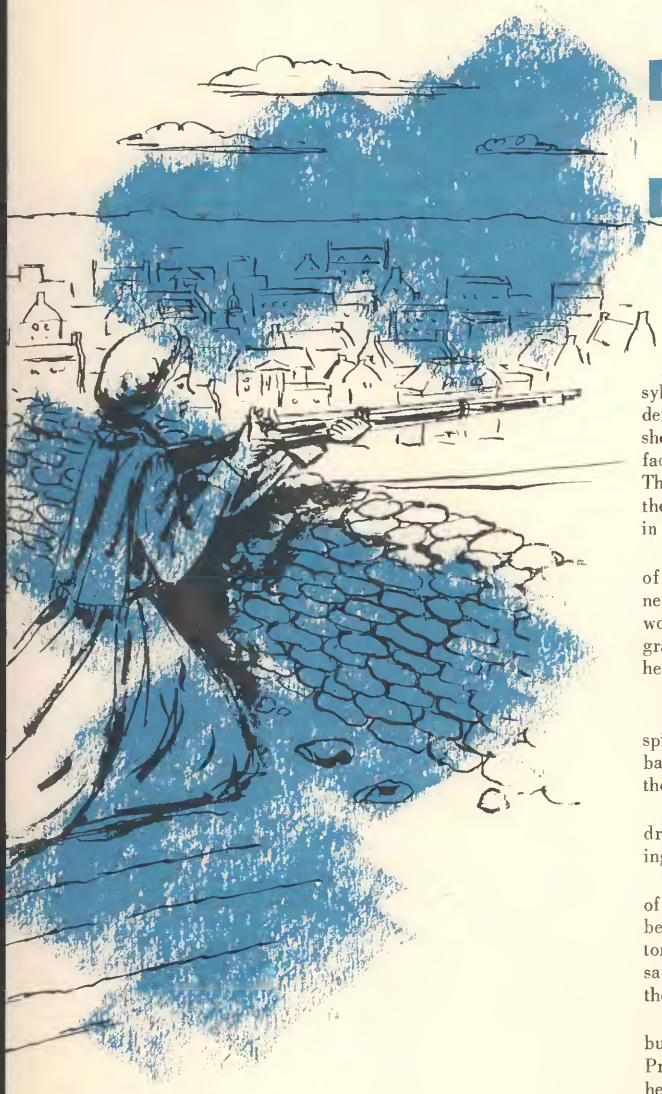
But it is extremely doubtful whether the RIF program produced any immediate economies. We must bear in mind that Riffed personnel had to receive terminal leave payments, their effects and their families had to be shipped from all parts of the globe to their homes. Per diem had to be paid to employees and families while travelling. To replace the Riffed employees, others had to be transferred prematurely; this again required more shipping of families and effects and payment of per diem.

Moreover, replacement of employees skilled in certain lines by others inexperienced in these matters, but enjoying higher job retention rights because of such factors as veterans preference, must have amounted to a pretty penny in hidden costs to the government in lost training time, etc. For example, how is it possible to reckon the cost to the government in wasted man-hours when an expert on South Asian affairs is "bumped" from his job and replaced by an expert on Trieste? Then the South Asian expert in turn "bumps" a North African expert. How long will it be before the man who spent years learning about South Asia will achieve equal usefulness on his North Africa assignment? This is not an academic question. The example mentioned actually happened and was probably repeated many times over in the course of the reshuffle of personnel caused by the RIF.

Moreover, staffs at some Foreign Service posts were reduced below the point of diminishing returns. Is it a true or a false economy to send a well paid career officer complete with family and household effects halfway round the world and then deprive him of secretarial help so that he must spend most of his high priced time on duties of a clerical nature? Would it be considered sound business practice for a company to send a skilled District Manager abroad to sell the company's products in a large geographic area, and then to so economize on his clerical help, his travel money and his expense account, that he could not cover his district adequately, could not entertain and meet necessary business connections (unless he did so out of his own pocket), and could not attend to his essential duties because he was tied down by paper work? It is almost certain that any business executive worthy of the name would answer that such economy is a false and not a true economy.

But at this point it is fair to ask: even if no immediate economies resulted from the RIF, will not the situation level off in future fiscal years and produce economies once the initial cost of the RIF is out of the way? Such a result is extremely doubtful. The answer must be sought in a historical analysis of the vagaries of our governmental structure. This will promptly reveal that the growth and decline of government agencies is closely correlated to the various emergencies faced by our nation in modern times and by the demands which the American people make from such government agencies during this era when we, as a nation, have had world leadership thrust upon us. These demands often result in sudden changes in the political climate of America,

(*Continued on page* 58)



# 1814

*By* Charles F. Knox Jr.

Mrs. Raines was at the counter of her little shop on Pennsylvania Avenue when the courier, on lathered horse, thundered past her doorway. She laid down the bolt of calico she was rewinding, brushed a wisp of gray hair from her face with a calloused hand, and went into the street. The very air, hot and heavy, was charged by the passage of the rider. She saw him pull up his horse in a shower of dust in front of the Indian Queen Tavern and leap to the ground.

Holding her skirts up a few inches from the heavy dust of the Avenue, she started toward the Tavern to get the news. She moved with firm stride, a large, heavy-framed woman with a strong calm face, dressed plainly in widow's gray. Halfway, she saw David, her grandson, racing toward her.

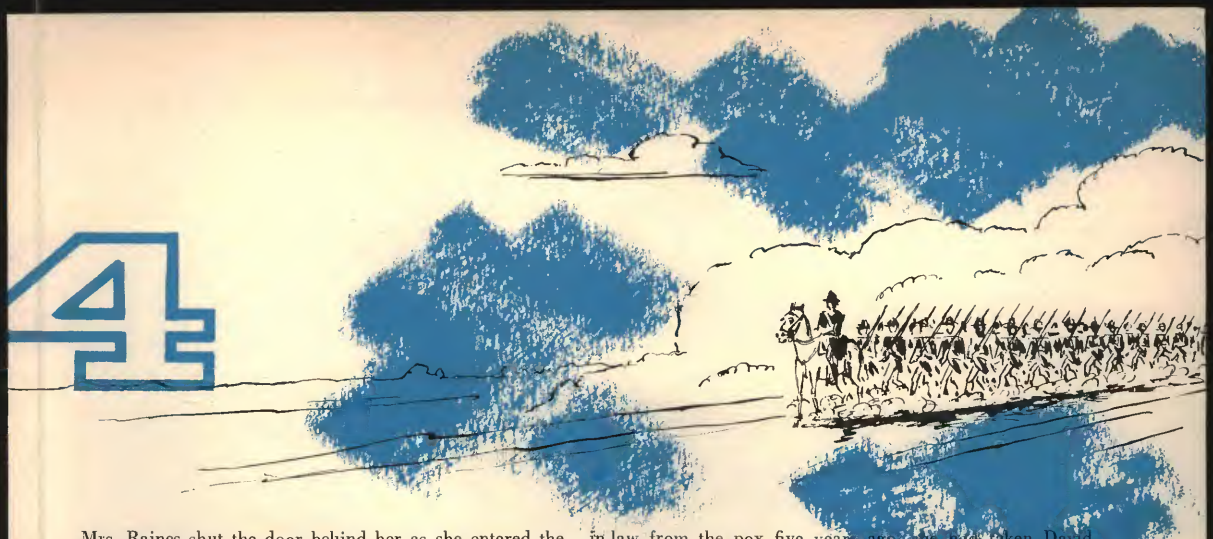
"Davy," she cried. "What is it? What news?"

The boy slid to a stop and his words rattled out like spilled buckshot. "They're coming, Granny! The lobsterbacks are coming up the Potomac. Admiral Cockburn and the British fleet. . . ."

Mrs. Raines gasped. This was what all of Washington dreaded to hear—that the British raider, Cockburn, was sailing up the river to attack the capital.

Davy was looking up at her anxiously, the beginnings of fear in his eyes. The reassuring smile she gave him belied the sinking feeling she felt in her stomach, and her tone was brusque and confident. "Sooner the better," she said. "We've got men and ships. Captain Barney, he's on the Patuxent and he'll catch them as they come up river."

Together, they walked back to the shop, a small neat building displaying a sign "Dressgoods, Ribbons, Notions, Prop. Sarah Raines." Davy's excited babble hardly reached her. After two years of war this, the summer of 1814, was the summer of discouragement and this news was the worst ever. British ships were blockading the seaports from Maine to Georgia. On land the King's army was plundering the Maryland countryside, circling ever nearer to the city of Washington. On the streets and in the taverns there had been much brave talk of fighting to the death if the city was attacked, but along came the dog-days of August and the courage of the townsmen had wilted under the smothering heat. And now the British were coming up the river!



Mrs. Raines shut the door behind her as she entered the shop and pulled down the shade in the window. Trade had been very slow since the war and the unhappy news brought by the courier would further scare off customers. There would be no more business today.

"Davy," she said. "Stop fiddling with your shirt buttons. Run up to the music teacher's and tell Jenny to come home. If she hasn't finished her lesson yet she can finish it tomorrow. Off with you, now."

Davy nodded and sidled toward the door, his bare feet leaving dust-prints on the wide pine floor boards. He was a nice looking boy, with an open, sun-burned face, his tousled hair the color of new rope, his lanky body giving promise of a big man. "I saw Tom at the Tavern, Granny," he said. "He's come into town to see Jenny. He said if the redcoats come through Marlboro he'd join the army and fight them. If Tom joins, can I? He's only seventeen, and I'm thirteen. Aw, please, Granny. . . ."

Tom was Jenny's beloved and Mrs. Raines thoroughly liked the lad. She shook her head. "Eighteen," she said. "Tom's eighteen. And you're twelve. Get along with you."

"Only *just* eighteen," he protested over his shoulder as he left. "And I'm twelve and a *half*."

Alone, Mrs. Raines leaned against the counter and pressed her hand to her forehead. The war was here, now, on her doorstep. There were no menfolk in her family to protect them. There were only herself and her two orphaned grandchildren, David and Jenny. She alone was their protector. If the enemy entered the city and started plundering. . . . She shut her eyes, trying to blot out memories of nearly fifty years:

She saw again the barricade at the fork of the road, heard again the noise of battle. She saw herself, a young woman with a terrified baby clutching at her skirts, crouched behind the breastwork of logs, loading the scorching rifles and passing them up to her husband and brothers. Through the smoke she saw the charging line of redcoats, bayonets gleaming. Then the picture of her husband dead, her brothers dragged away as prisoners of war never to return, the fierce burning of the houses and barns in the town. . . .

All her life she had struggled to overcome the handicap of that other war. Since the death of her daughter and son-in-law from the pox five years ago she had taken David and Jenny to live with her. It wasn't easy trying to feed two young mouths, especially since the war started. And she was old, and tired. The remaining years were too few to make a new start.

She suddenly straightened her shoulders, ashamed of her fears. "Pshaw!" she said. "We beat them before and we'll beat them again." Resolutely, she went back into the kitchen to prepare supper.

The kitchen table was already set with cold cuts, potatoes, and corn bread, and Mrs. Raines was mixing the batter for gingercake when Tom and Jenny arrived. They stood in the doorway of the kitchen, looking at her but not really seeing her, holding hands and with the glow of happiness and love in their faces, each conscious only of the nearness of the other.

Mrs. Raines put the gingercake in the oven and looked at them, her heart quickening at the sight. They made a handsome pair, Jenny small and delicately featured with blond, almost ashen hair, and large brown eyes. Tom, tall and dark, with the leanness of a farm boy and a quick, shy smile that made him seem younger than his years. "How's your pa?" she asked Tom.

"He's fine, ma'am, but he's fretting about the corn. There's been no rain in our part."

"We met outside," said Jenny. "Tom wanted to surprise me, but Davy told me he was in town."

Mrs. Raines shot a quick look at Davy who had slipped into the room and was sniffing the good odor of gingercake with his nose in the air like a hound pup. "Cat will get your tongue sometime you don't keep it quiet," she said in admonition, and Davy flushed and scuffed at the floor with his bare toe.

"Well," said Mrs. Raines, taking off her apron. "Draw up chairs. We'll eat now and save the candles."

They all sat down and Mrs. Raines bowed her head and folded her hands. "Davy," she said. Davy furrowed his brow in concentration, shut his eyes tight, and began, in a galloping voice. "WethanktheeohLordfor. . . ."

"Slower, David," said Mrs Raines.

". . .this. . . .food. Bless. . .us. . .and. . .keep. . .us. . . Amen," finished Davy very slowly.

"You heard the news ma'am," asked Tom, passing the meat platter to Mrs. Raines. "Sounds mighty bad."

"Pshaw!" said Mrs. Raines. "Not so bad. I mind when I was newly married in Pennsylvania. The British came at us then, in '78 I think it was. We hadn't much powder and ball and they drove us back. Even Washington himself couldn't stop them from taking Philadelphia. But we finally beat them, didn't we, And never you fear, Tom, we'll do it again."

"No one is afraid of them," Tom said, "but it's the worst time of year to leave the fields and go to fight. We want to get the corn in before I join the army. We've got to store up something for the winter."

was a weak beast and so he made a harness for himself and pulled along with her, while I guided. There's always a way if you must do a thing."

Jenny looked anxiously at her grandmother. Her eyes were wide in the oval of her face. "I think Tom and his father should come into the city," she said, anxiously. "At least until. . . ."

Tom shook his head, his brows raised in astonishment. "You mean I should leave the farm, Jenny? We can't do that. The farm is all we have, my father and I."

Mrs. Raines nodded her approval. "Tom and his father aren't going to be run off their land like sheep, Jenny. Those redcoats, they're not such a much at fighting. They're

An old print showing the burning of Washington by the British in 1814.

Davy edged his chair forward, his eyes shining. "How far can you shoot, Tom? I can shoot about. . ."

"Be quiet, Davy," admonished Mrs. Raines. Then, to Tom, with an assurance that she didn't feel: "Your farm is in no danger unless the redcoats come up through Marlboro. If they do, you can hide out the cow and the horses. Back in '78 we drove our stock into the woods. They found the horses and took them, but they never did find the cow that we hid in the thicket, and she was a powerful comfort to us the next winter."

"I sure would hate to lose the horses," said Tom. "We couldn't plow without them."

Mrs. Raines' smile was tolerant. This younger generation didn't know much of hardship. "If you have a cow you can plow. I remember my father harnessed the cow, but she

walking right into a trap. There's a deal of men will fight them. The militia. Don't forget our militia."

But later, after Tom had gone and Jenny and David were asleep, Mrs. Raines paced the floor, tormented with doubt. War! She knew war. To Tom, and to Jenny and David, it was a name, a picture, the sound of drums and fifes and quick-stepping feet. But to her war was filth and pain and hunger, and the ground slippery with blood. Troubled in her mind, she went back to the leanto to tuck Davy in, and then she climbed the narrow stairs to her bed in the attic.

The next sunrise heard the rattle of drums as the men of Washington were called to arms. The still air tingled to the thud of feet when the Virginia Militia came swinging in. At the sight of the marching men Mrs. Raines' fears lifted. All would turn out well. The city would be saved.

But there were many who didn't think so. A long and seemingly endless line of frightened people, overloaded pack animals, and creaking wagons piled high with household goods, filed steadily down Pennsylvania Avenue, heading for Georgetown and the back country of Virginia. For these timid ones Mrs. Raines had contempt:

"There they go," she said to Jenny. "Off like a bunch of rabbits at the first wisp of danger. Fine lot of faith they have in our boys!"

Jenny hardly heard. Questions of cowardice or bravery or of the impending battle were not in her mind, except as they related to Tom. Last night he had returned to the farm at Marlboro. Where was he now? Was he safe?

Davy was a faithful bearer of every rumor. Mrs. Raines listened carefully to his eager recital and if veracity seemed to be suffering under the stress of excitement she would reach out and tweak his ear:

"Now, Davy, once again. How many cannon do they say the British have?"

"Well," amended Davy. "At least fourteen or fifteen! And Mr. Monroe rode out yesterday with the Dragoons to spy out the enemy on the Bladensburg Pike. Oh yes, and they say that President Madison has told Captain Barney to burn his ships and come here to help us fight."

"Tomfoolery talk," commented Mrs. Raines. "The President wouldn't do that. Joshua Barney, he's a sailor, not a land fighter."

Late the following day, however, Mrs. Raines stood in front of her shop and watched Captain Barney and his six hundred marines march past, headed for the battle that was forming at Bladensburg. The marines made a brave showing, but Mrs. Raines' heart turned over at the sight. This meant that the enemy fleet could now sweep up the river unchecked and that no land patrols would be sent out to help the farmers of Marlboro defend their homes. Tom and his father were at the mercy of the enemy. Would the men of Marlboro stand and fight or would they fall back on Washington?

The following noon Mrs. Raines sat in the open door of the shop listening to the faint rattle of musketry borne on a hot, uneasy wind. Beneath the cover of her apron her hands were tightly clenched.

The faint crackling of rifle fire was blurred from time to time by the heavy rumble of cannons. "There now!" remarked Mrs. Raines, reassuringly. "That'll be Barney's cannons giving the British what for. Run down to the Tavern, Davy, and get the latest news."

There was no latest. The Tavern was boarded up. The city appeared deserted, waiting behind barricaded doors, hoping for the best, ready to flee if the battle on the Pike turned against the defenders.

As the afternoon wore on the noise of firing sounded nearer to the city. To Jenny's frightened question, Mrs. Raines replied: "The wind is stronger, that's all. The redcoats are chased half way to Baltimore by this time."

After a while the sounds of battle ceased altogether. Mrs. Raines went into the street and anxiously peered up the avenue toward Capitol Hill. The shadows of afternoon lay across the avenue. The sun was reflected in the windows of the unfinished house of Congress.

As she stared, a few running forms met her view. More came into sight, and still more. Men streamed down Capitol Hill and headed up the avenue.

She stood frozen, her hand over her mouth. A man ran past her, dragging his rifle. Another, and another. They were passing by twos and threes now, staggering from fatigue, their faces blackened by sweat and gunpowder. Some turned to glance fearfully behind them. One, seeing her standing there before the shop, paused. "Better leave at once, ma'am," he said. "They'll be here soon."

She stared at him, unbelieving. "What's happened?" she asked, even though she knew the answer.

"It's no use, ma'am. We got beat. We can't fight the King's whole army. Captain Barney got shot down and tooken prisoner. General Winder ordered the retreat."

"And leave this city defenseless. . . ." She turned and went into the shop, a dazed expression on her face.

"Granny. . . .?" said Jenny, cluching at her arm.

"We've lost," said Mrs. Raines. "Go upstairs, Jenny."

Too frightened for tears, Jenny obeyed.

Mrs. Raines closed and bolted the shop door. The sudden collapse of her little world left her in utter confusion. She stood, twisting her hands in indecision, trying to think what to do.

There was a stumbling footstep outside the door and a pounding on the panels that shook the shop. "Mother Raines! Mother Raines!"

Quickly Mrs. Raines drew the bolt and caught in her arms the dishevelled figure of Tom as he fell into the room. He was shaking, and out of breath. His shirt was in tatters. His face was white. "They. . . they came through Marlboro," he gasped. "They killed my father. We had no more powder and he fought them hand to hand with the scythe, but they were too many. It's all gone, burned, the farm, the tobacco shed. . . the cattle." He groaned and clasped his ankle. "My ankle. . . ."

Mrs. Raines bent down and examined the swollen ankle. "It's a bad sprain," she said. She tore a strip from a bolt of cloth and began to bandage it tightly.

Jenny came running down the stairs. She knelt beside Tom, her hands cupping his face. "Oh, Tom. They have hurt you!"

His arms went around her. Then he pushed her from him and dragged himself upright, holding on to the counter. "You must leave," he said.

"I won't leave you," said Jenny.

He swung about and faced Mrs. Raines. "After Marlboro, those that were left joined up with Barney's men at Bladensburg. We took a bad beating there. It's only a matter of minutes before the redcoats will be in the city. Get your things together and run for Georgetown and the river. If you hurry you'll still have time to cross."

Mrs. Raines took Jenny by the arm. "Do as Tom says," she ordered. "Make a bundle of your clothes. Hurry."

Jenny ran upstairs and Mrs. Raines faced Tom. "Try your ankle," she said. "Put your weight on it."

"I'm not going with you," said Tom. "I'll slow you up. Save yourselves. Don't mind about me."

She seized him by the shoulders and shook him. "Either

(*Continued on page* 48)

# *Elements of Modern Peacemaking*

## What Caused The Peacemakers To Fail In 1945

*By* Louis J. Halle, Jr.

*This is the second and final installment of Mr. Halle's article. The first, which appeared in our April issue, examined the successful peacemaking efforts of 1815 and the failures of 1871 and 1919.*

The allies of 1814-1815 had concerned themselves primarily with the establishment of an international order for the maintenance of peace and tranquility. The settlement with France was incidental and France was, after a moment of uncertainty, given equal partnership in the new order. This had been possible because the peacemakers did not identify France as their enemy but only a particular transient regime that, unlike the nation, was disposable.

The United States entered World War I with much the same attitude. We were concerned primarily with the establishment of a post-war international order that would prevent any recurrence of war. Our opponents were assured that we sought "peace without victory."[1] We identified the enemy as the imperialistic and militaristic rulers of Germany, explicitly exonerating the German nation and people.

This was in keeping with an honored American tradition identified most notably with President Lincoln and expressed most eloquently in his Second Inaugural Address. Lincoln's death and the ascendancy of the carpet-baggers had prevented its full realization in the conclusion of our Civil War. The ascendancy of our allies at the peace negotiations in Paris prevented its realization in the conclusion of World War I. Instead, the formulation of a peace was not undertaken for five years after, and by that time too much damage had already been done.

The Napoleonic Wars and World War I were alike won by coalitions, and the same coalitions that won these wars were called upon, in each case, to make the peace. They had to hold together for that purpose. The allies of 1814-1815, while they were divided into two camps by rival ambitions (a fact that gave France her opportunity), were in agreement on common conceptions of the problem they had to deal with and the kind of international order they wanted to establish. The allies of 1919 lacked the common conceptions. In the resolution of the conference table the conceptions of Clemenceau prevailed over those of Wilson, who never allowed himself to know how completely he had been defeated.

Although the United States, with no more moral authority, had more authority as a world power in 1945 one cannot find grounds to believe that the opportunity was as good as the one that had been missed in 1919. The allies were profoundly divided — divided, one may well conclude, beyond the capacity of statesmanship to unite, no matter how resourceful and heroic the efforts that had necessarily to be made. The United States and France had not had a common conception at Versailles, but they belonged to the same civilization and could feel secure in each other's company; the possibilities of communicating fruitfully, of understanding each other's points of view, and of subjecting their differences to meaningful debate were there. The element of personal failure appears to have been strong at Versailles. But the United States and the Soviet Union in the nineteen-forties belonged to different worlds and it is doubtful whether there was any common ground on which they could stand and debate out their differences. What was needed for the establishment of a general peace was peace with the Soviet Union as well as with Germany and Japan; and this was not a peace for which any military victory had prepared the way. As we now see it the United States probably had no choice but to defer the hope of peace and look to her own security.

[1] Woodrow Wilson, address to Senate, Jan. 22, 1917.

Potsdam, 1945: "The allies were profoundly divided . . ."

Those who planned and developed our policy during World War II were mindful of the need for unity among the great powers as a condition precedent to the establishment of any general peace. They emphasized this need in precisely these terms in one public statement after another. They were certainly aware, moreover, of the danger that the United States and the Soviet Union would fall away from each other at the war's end; although it would have been indiscreet for them to speak too candidly in public about this danger. It was, however, precisely the fear that our coalition would not hold together after victory which prompted us to promote the design and establishment of the new world organization, the successor to the League of Nations, before victory. We were also mindful of how much more negotiating strength we had had with our allies before November 11, 1918, than after — so much more that by the threat of a separate peace we had got their agreement on terms which, in effect, they repudiated when, later, we met them at the peace table.

There was another lesson to be learned from the aftermath of World War I. The allies had made the mistake of simultaneously cultivating the estrangement, from them, of Germany and the Soviet Union. This had led by many indirections to Rapallo, to Munich, and on to a second world war. The greater the danger that we should find ourselves in conflict with the Soviet Union after World War II the more urgent it would be to make peace with a Germany and a Japan so reconstituted as to be dependable allies in the defense of Western civilization. And, as we have seen, nothing is more pertinent to the possibility of making peace than the identification of the enemy. It made a vast difference whether Hitler was our enemy, or the Nazi regime, or "Hitlerism," or Germany, or the German people.

An examination of the public statements that our spokesmen made bearing on this question suggests that the prevailing conception was an elaboration of the nationalism that had won the day in 1919. The entities that we dealt with primarily in our thinking were nations, and our whole disposition was to explain the international scene by dividing all the nations into two groups, the good and the bad — or, in the language of the day, the "peace-loving nations" and the "aggressor nations." Two great wars had been brought about because the "aggressor nations" had attacked the "peace-loving nations." It followed that if peace was to be realized after this war the "aggressor nations" must not again be allowed to bear arms, but the "peace-loving nations," so far from again disarming themselves, must have such arms as they needed to police the world and insure that the peace was kept.

During the 1940's it was perhaps easier for us to identify the respective nations of the two opposed species by name than to say by what tests it would be possible to distinguish between them in circumstances other than those of war. We apparently thought the problem would not arise because we knew which were which. The "aggressor nations" were Germany, Italy, and Japan; the "peace-loving" or "freedom-loving nations" (as we sometimes called them) were those that had subscribed to the Declaration of United Nations.

This distinction, which was sometimes made as if it were a distinction in nature, gained such ascendancy in allied thinking that it was given a conspicuous place in the San Francisco Charter of the United Nations, Article 4 of which provides that, in addition to the states participating in its founding, "Membership in the United Nations is open to all

other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter . . .", etc. (The very fact that we gave the new world organization the name of our wartime coalition appears to imply that it would perpetuate the coalition of "good" nations against the "bad.")

There is reason to believe that this concept of a bi-partisan world, a world divided between two camps, was natural to the outlook of the Soviet leaders and was especially congenial to them. The Declaration of Four Nations on General Security issued by the Tripartite Conference in Moscow on October 30, 1943, had declared that the four nations "recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states . . .". It may be that the two Atlantic powers preferred the expression "peace-loving states," which Wilson had used a generation earlier, to such language as the Russians might otherwise have wished to introduce. However, we find the distinction between the two species of states in the mouths of our speechmakers so frequently, and throughout the War, that we cannot say it was foreign to our own thinking. Yet the artificial nature of this conception becomes apparent when, across the intervening years, we look back to such statements as that of an Assistant Secretary of State who, on April 4, 1943, said: "There are four great freedom-loving powers in the world. They are the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China."

So little did we take account of the Jekyll-Hyde character of nations and the consequent sudden transformations which they undergo, as exemplified by France in 1814 and by Germany in 1919 and 1933, that Ambassador Joseph Grew, one of our wisest diplomats, was able to say in an address of October 10, 1942: "... once Japan is destroyed as an aggressive force, we know of no other challenging power that can appear in the Pacific. . . . Once militant Japan is out of the picture, there should remain no threat of further war in the Pacific area. I say this advisedly. Japan is the one enemy, and the only enemy, of the peaceful peoples whose shores overlook the Pacific Ocean." This is what we all thought. Yet before the decade was out we would have been glad of Japanese power to man the defenses against "the peaceful peoples" of China, which had been called one of the four great freedom-loving powers in the world.[1]

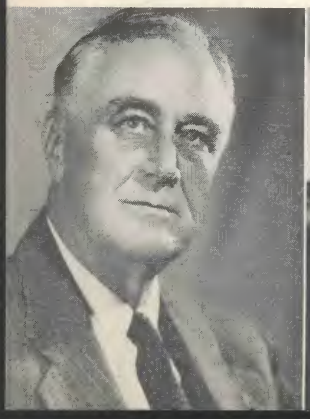
While our public statements implied or declared that we regarded the evil nature of "the aggressor nations" as deep-

Was the enemy Hitler? . . . or the German people?

seated if not fundamental they also suggested a hope that those nations were not altogether beyond redemption. But one had the impression that to redeem them it would be necessary to control them absolutely, to occupy them, and to re-educate their peoples, hoping that, though it would take not less than one generation, they could thereby be converted into "peace-loving" members of the international community. It is plausible to suppose that this conception played a part in our determination to occupy the enemy countries at the end of World War II, as we had not done at the end of World War I, and, consequently, in our decision to require unconditional surrender.[2]

It will be seen that this general conception is not radically different from the conception with which the French delegation came to Versailles in 1919. It anticipates no real peace for an indefinite period but at best a subject-master relationship between two opposed sets of states. It expects the enemies of wartime to persist as the potential enemies of the post-war era even though their wartime regimes are destroyed, for the evil is in the peoples or in the nations. It forbids us even to contemplate the possibility that, if we fall

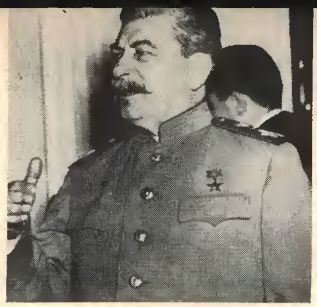
Roosevelt: ". . . the doctrine of popular guilt"



Churchill: Prosperity and disarmament for Germany.

[1]The Atlantic Charter says: "Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential." But, once victory was achieved and the war-making regimes overthrown, how would one identify these potential aggressors?

[2]British Foreign Secretary Eden said on July 29, 1941: "Hitler is not a rare or transient phenomenon in German history. He is a symptom. He is the expression of the present German will and temper which has shown itself over and over again in German history. . . . If we are to have peace in our lifetime the German people must learn to unlearn all that they have been taught, not only by Hitler but by his predecessors, for the last 100 years by so many of their philosophers and teachers, the disciples of blood and iron."



Stalin: ". . . a Soviet intention of transforming Germany . . . into a 'partner' . . ."

into conflict with our wartime Soviet ally, we can look for support to those who had been enlisted or inducted into the ranks of our enemies.

This conception represented a break with the American tradition for which Lincoln and Wilson had been our historic spokesmen. What is more important, however, is that it lacked usefulness, being of doubtful validity as a reflection of the real world.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, who make their own sharp distinction between "good" states and "bad," apparently found it inexpedient to attach that distinction to the national elements in the respective states rather than to their governing regimes. Addressing the Moscow Soviet on November 6, 1942, Stalin identified the enemy clearly and exclusively, saying:

> "In an interview with the Turkish General Erkilet, published in the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriet*, that cannibal Hitler said: 'We shall destroy Russia so that she will never be able to rise again.' That would appear clear although rather silly. It is not our aim to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia. But the Hitlerite state can and should be destroyed. And our first task in fact is to destroy the Hitlerite state and its inspirers.
>
> "In the same interview with the same general, that cannibal Hitler went on to say: 'We shall continue the war until Russia ceases to have an organized military force.' That would appear clear although illiterate. It is not our aim to destroy all organized military force in Germany, for every literate person will understand that that is not only impossible in regard to Germany, as it is in regard to Russia, but also inadvisable from the point of view of the victor. But Hitler's army can and should be destroyed.
>
> "Our second task, in fact, is to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders."

It is not far-fetched to see in this statement a Soviet intention of transforming Germany from an enemy into a "partner," and of wasting no time about it once the victory had been achieved. Stalin, like the dynasts who made the peace with France in 1814, was primarily concerned with what regime governed a country and he distinguished friend from foe accordingly. The eastern European allies of Hitler's Germany when the war was ended were transformed into "peace-loving states" almost overnight by a simple change of regime, and having achieved that status in Stalin's eyes they were not excluded from the new Soviet order by any doctrine of national guilt, as the Weimar Republic had been excluded from the international order of a generation earlier. In fact, they were not even allowed to exclude themselves.

In our own public expressions identifying the enemy we appear to have lashed out rather freely. Reading them now, after the passage of years, one gains an impression of improvisation, which is not the case when one reads the equivalent expressions of the earlier war. It is doubtful that, with respect to the identification of our enemies in World War II, any considered policy was ever effectively established.

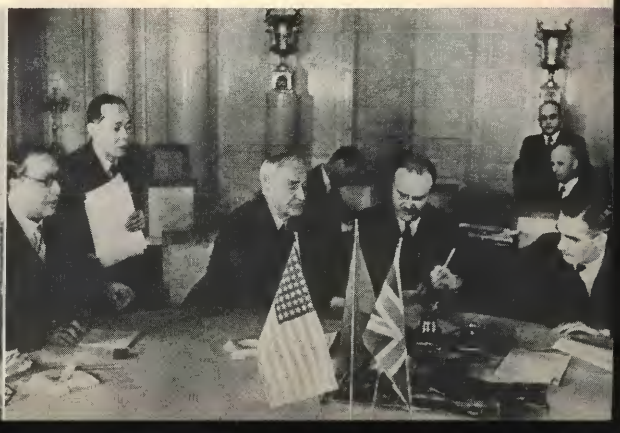
The Atlantic Charter (August 14, 1941) identifies the Nazi regime as the enemy and suggests a magnanimous attitude toward the vanquished nations following our victory. It refers to "the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny" and says that the President and Prime Minister "will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." In the joint announcement of their meeting and agreement on the Atlantic Charter the two statesmen referred to "the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked. . . ." However, in his Message presenting the Charter to Congress the President referred to "the principal aggressor of the modern world — Germany."

In his Message to Congress of January 7, 1943, the President spoke in terms that made the guilt and the threat of the Axis nations independent of the particular regimes that governed them. "It is clear to us," he said, "that if Germany and Italy and Japan — or any one of them — remain armed at the end of this war or are permitted to rearm, they

(*Continued on page* 52)

The Atlantic Conference, 1941: ". . . a magnanimous attitude . . ."

Moscow, 1943: ". . . the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states . . ."



# *they will return . . .*

*By* James M. MacFarland

Low-hanging clouds covered the North Korean countryside one balmy spring night five years ago, as a group of Benedictine monks and nuns were saying their evening prayers. The Korean War was still fourteen months in the future. Suddenly out from the dark surged North Korean secret police in an unexpected raid. Foreign missionaries were thrown into prisons to face starvation, inhuman treatment and "attempts of compulsory atheism."

A gruesome tale of murder and other calculated extermination, of breadless and often waterless meals, of overwork and deliberate denial of medical care, of complete isolation from the rest of the world, and finally of the long train ride across the "empire of silence" has been unfolded by eight missionaries who are now at a quiet mountain retreat near Würzburg in Western Bavaria. They were among the forty-two survivors of an original group of sixty-nine German Benedictines who had been in Korea since the twenties and thirties. Late in January, they returned from more than four years internment at "Death Canyon" prison camp a few miles south of the Yalu River.

"On that terrible night of May 9, 1949, the Communists were carrying out their policy of attempting with a series of thrusts to install Communism in all Asia," remarks a bewhiskered Brother. "They gave us as reasons for our arrests that they wanted to keep us in a safe place where no harm would come to us during the 'present period of danger' and also to ensure 'freedom of religion.' By freedom of religion, they meant freedom from religion, or compulsory atheism.

"This sudden imprisonment of Catholic missionaries and citizens of a country which at no time participated as a belligerent in the Korean War was merely the final step in a policy of harrassment against the church which had existed since 1945."

Following their sudden arrest, the monks and nuns were jammed into a Pyongyang prison where they were kept for three months with twenty people occupying rooms only twenty-five feet square. They were stripped of all their religious garb, prayer books and other effects, were prohibited from making any meditations or observing any masses and were not even allowed to pray with the rosary. Between the missionaries and starvation came a daily two hundred fifty grams in the form of soybeans and potatoes.

A bishop and seven other leading German Benedictines were less fortunate. They had been accused of "sabotage and other high crimes against the State" and had been placed in solitary confinement.

"The only thing we heard of these eight condemned men were their footsteps at all hours of the day and night as they were led from their cells for interrogation," relates a red-bearded Brother who had been in Korea since 1928. "Since we were not permitted to read a word in almost five

(*Continued on page* 58)

Two German Benedictines, wearing suits given them by their Communist captors, being greeted by the Abbot at the monastery near Wurzburg.

German Benedictine monks who spent 4½ years in North Korean prison read newspapers for the first time at monastery near Wurzburg.

# EDITORIALS

## FOREIGN SERVICE ECONOMIES

If Leon Poullada's article in this issue merely pointed up the obvious it would serve its purpose well. Certainly we can agree that the RIF in the Foreign Service was a poor way to economize. The arbitrary reductions in weight allowances, the arbitrary extension of overseas tours of duty, and the arbitrary "bumpings" in the Department which result when jobs are abolished are questionable methods of effecting immediate economies. Considerations of morale, efficiency and the national interest aside, we are entitled to question whether they serve to induce future or real economies at all.

We like many of Mr. Poullada's suggestions for a more realistic tour of duty policy and are happy to report that the matter is under active study by the Department at the present time. We like the idea of having basic furniture provided at overseas posts, because the net and demonstrable saving to both ourselves and the *other* American taxpayers would be considerable. We like the (very logical) idea of tailoring weight allowances to family considerations rather than to mere rank, if only because it seems logical to us that the FSO-5 with three children must ship more *impedimenta* when he is transferred than the married but childless FSO-2.

We especially like some of Mr. Poullada's constructive thoughts concerning the need for a thorough reform and simplification of Foreign Service accounting methods. We are not really impressed with the oft-heard claims of some of the administrative and fiscal experts among us that the present rather monstrous system of budgeting and accounting is the only one that will enable the Department to meet the requirements of the General Accounting Office and the Budget Bureau. The system has gradually become burdensome, cumbersome and unintelligible to the average officer. It is complicated and time-consuming, requiring too many personnel and man hours at the average post. We feel that many of the economies forced upon the Service have been more apparent than real and that many real opportunities to save our always inadequate funds are still being overlooked.

The JOURNAL particularly commends Mr. Poullada's article—and the *spirit* of the article—to the attention of those officers who will be charged with executing the recommendations of the Wriston Committee, the Robert Heller Associates and the new Hoover Commission. His article is one of the best examples of sound and constructive thinking on a subject close to all of us that has come to the JOURNAL's attention in some time. As this issue goes to press there are encouraging indications that next fiscal year's budget will permit the Foreign Service to operate at substantially its present level. If there are no severe cutbacks during FY 1955 we shall have a fine opportunity to stabilize our contracted Foreign Service and effect a number of true economies.

## IT'S STILL AN OUTRAGE!

Reference is made to the JOURNAL's editorials of September, 1952 entitled "Where is Our Library?", of July, 1952 entitled "The Thing", and of April, 1953 entitled "It's An Outrage!"

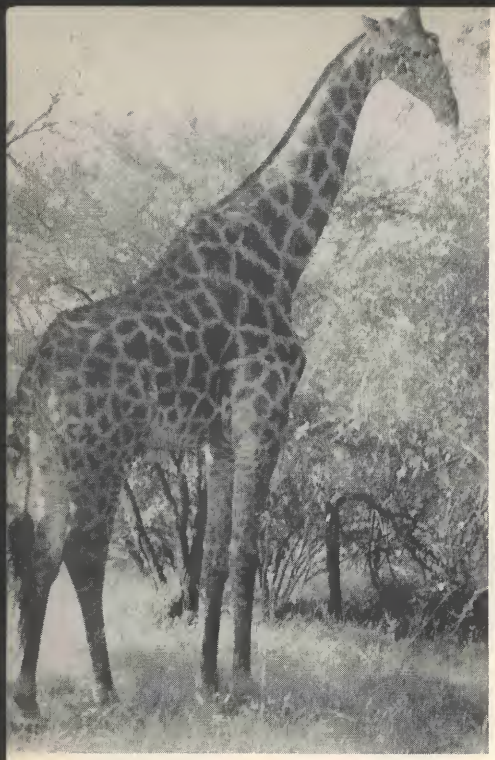
1. Where is Our Library? The question is still unanswered. We have no confirmation of an early report that it was stashed away behind the bus-station at Pennsylvania Avenue and 13th Street, N. W. If it is ever found, we suggest that it be placed in the old red school house that has been carelessly left by someone in a corner of the Department's parking-lot at Virginia Avenue and 22nd Street. (What's that schoolhouse still doing there anyway?)

2. The JOURNAL was always fearless in the expression of its view that that mural Thing inside the main entrance to New State constituted the blackest blot on the record of the Bad Old Administration. Is it conceivable that it may be left unveiled and *in situ* by the Good New Administration?

3. That puddle-filled depression in the paving at the rear entrance to New State has grown deeper and will soon be habitable for frogs.

4. When people used to talk about the mess in "Washington" we always supposed they were referring to the littered condition of the hedge and pavement on the south side of Virginia Avenue between 21st and 22nd. We'll, they're still littered.

5. We repeat for the fourth time: Where is Our Library?



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# SERVICE GL

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1. Salisbury—Five year old John Page Hoover, Jr., son of the Consul-General at Salisbury, thought readers of the JOURNAL would be interested in the picture he took of a giraffe.
2. Helsinki—Present at the unveiling of a bust of former President Hoover at the University of Helsinki are, from left to right, Professor Paavo Ravila, Rector of the University of Helsinki; Mr. Kalervo Kallio, noted Finish sculptor; and the United States Minister to Finland, The Honorable Jack K. McFall.
3. Ottawa—Jack Snow, sponsor of the annual Jack Snow dog-sled race, presents a trophy to the winner, Emile Martel, as Ambassador and Mrs. Stuart look on.
4. Canberra—This interior shot of the Donald A. Lewis' home bears vivid testimony to the contrasts to be found in the Foreign Service. Snapped in the act of nibbling Mrs. Lewis' favorite plant is their pet kangaroo, while over the fireplace is a painting of Greenland, where Mr. Lewis was formerly stationed.

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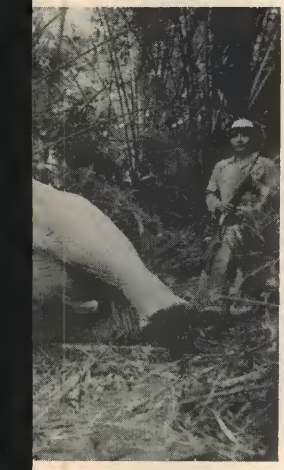
# MPSES



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5. Brussels—Hugh Millard, Counselor of Embassy at Brussels since the fall of 1947, bids farewell to Ambassador Frederick M. Alger, Jr., as he departed from Brussels en route to the United States. During Mr. Millard's thirty-five years in the Service, which ended with his retirement, he served in Paris, the Department, Rio de Janeiro, Berlin, Tokyo, Tehran, Madrid, London, Sofia, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Brussels.

6. Malaya—Eric Kocher with cow elephant he shot on Sunday, February 21, 1954, in the jungle above Kampong, 23 mile, Ula Langat, Selangor, Malaya. Details of the event are related on page 42 of this issue of the JOURNAL.

7. Rangoon—Ambassador to Burma W. J. Sebald recently presented to the Burma Supreme Court a complete set of United States Supreme Court Reports, covering the period from 1790 to 1951 and numbering more than 300 volumes. Ambassador Sebald is shown above with Chief Justice U. Thein Maung of Burma Supreme Court.

# Henry Wriston Speaks to the Foreign Service on Personnel Problems

*A summary of the Informal Comments of Chairman Henry M. Wriston, of the Secretary of State's Public Committee on Personnel, at a Luncheon Meeting of the Foreign Service Association at the Officers Club, Fort McNair, on March 30, 1954.*

It should be made clear at the outset that I speak as an individual and not for the Committee. The members are giving industrious and competent attention to our work. All, save myself, have had Government experience, three of them as Assistant Secretaries of State and one as the present Deputy Under Secretary. My own long interest in this matter has been as a private citizen, but for many years it was a close and attentive interest. We have an extraordinarily able staff who pursue with diligence the data we require. The Committee has not reached conclusions. Therefore, I repeat, these views are personal.

If some of the things I say seem to be critical, it should cause no surprise. The Committee would not have been appointed if conditions were entirely satisfactory—or even reasonahly so. If there is need for the Committee, it must look at what is wrong in order to improve the situation. A mere expression of bland approval of the current status could effect no cure for admitted difficulties.

The matter before us has been studied and restudied over a very considerable period of years. Successive reviews and analyses and researches have been carried out by diverse groups. All reveal high competence and true public spirit. Despite the diversities all have agreed on certain fundamental points:

A. The diplomatic service should not be absorhed into the general Civil Service;

B. Nor should it be ahsorbed into a generalized Foreign Service to serve not only the State Department but to staff all operations abroad—diplomatic, technical, fiscal—for the 28 or 29 departments and agencies which presently have personnel serving overseas;

C. "Above a certain level," which is a strange American expression for an uncertain level, a single personnel system should be established to cover all Departmental and Foreign Service employees in so far as that is practicable.

It is too much to expect that different task forces, committees, study groups or consultants would arrive at the same detailed answers. There are matters where judgment must be used rather than techniques which can produce a "scientific" or precise "correct" answer. Yet repeated reports have all stressed the need for a more nearly unified service.

The time has come to suhstitute action for an indefinite prolongation of the series of repetitive studies. If, as has been alleged, morale is now low both in the Foreign Service and in the Department, the moment for change is propitious.

An appropriate text could be found in a passage from Mr. Gullion's article in *The American Foreign Service Journal*, January, 1949:

> ". . .If the Foreign Service is to get on with the job and get its essential work in the nation's service done, it would stand a better chance of doing so if it and the Department spoke with one voice; if its range of skills were widened by the addition of those found in the professional Departmental services; and if it could always be treated not as some remote pensioner of the Department of State but as its very blood, bone, and sinew."

Nothing I say is intended to be out of harmony with that view, though with other points in his discussion there will be differences.

As to the fabric of my argument, the Terms of Reference laid down for our Committee make it appropriate to use the Foreign Service Act of 1946 as the base line. Therefore I propose to employ passages from the report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs introducing that Act as the outline for my discussion.

This report emphasized that "the base of recruitment, the scope of examinations, and the range of appointment should all be broadened." This ohjective has not been fulfilled. There have been no appointments to the Foreign Service in Class 6 since August of 1952, and according to figures officially supplied to the Secretary of State, only 355 have been appointed to that group under the 1946 Act. In view of the growth of United States interests and responsibilities during the period it must be evident that in no respect has experience fulfilled the hope and expectation of the Committee.

The report asserted that recruitment should be on the basis of merit "regardless of private means." This aim has been impaired, if not defeated, first hy the long delay hetween application and actual commissioning (sometimes over two years). Irrelevant employment such as dishwashing, carpenter's helper, and clerical work (to mention actual cases) becomes necessary in the interim unless the candidate has private means. Employers do not like to take on persons who have passed their examinations and may be called at any day. They know that no matter how long the delay may be the summons, when it comes, is peremptory.

This aim is impaired, in the second place, by requiring the candidate to travel from his home to Washington for oral examinations on "speculation." It is a hazardous speculation in view of the fact that sometimes 45 percent of those who have passed the written examination and received security clearance have failed on the oral test (the average

percentage of failures is 40). People who have to come from the Pacific Coast or the Middle West make a heavy expenditure of money and of earning time. It can most easily be borne by those with private means; it is an undue hardship upon those without independent resources.

In the third place, the long delay often involves almost complete mental stagnation at a time when the mind should be stimulated by fresh and vigorous activity; only if a person has private means can he go on with studies or continue fruitful activities during the overlong interim. The system, therefore, which requires the waiting candidate to get along on temporary jobs on starvation rations unless he has financial resources cannot honestly be said to be recruitment "regardless of private means."

"A disciplined and mobile corps of trained men" with "loyalty and esprit" was another objective of the Foreign Service Act. To a large extent this has been obtained within the Corps, but there are clear evidences of much less well developed discipline under the Secretary of State. The Amendment of 1949 was designed to provide the Secretary with the means of exercising such discipline; in practice it has not done so in anything like the degree that was anticipated. Conclusive evidence on this point is offered by the fact that the "directive" for personnel improvement of March, 1951, has been practically nullified. It would be hard to find another instance of such total disregard of a directive issued by any previous Secretary of State; when a Secretary's directive meets that fate it does not reflect good discipline.

In 1946, the Committee stressed one point as very important: ". . . any service which overdevelops self-sufficiency and evaluates its performance by criteria peculiar to itself belies its name." It seems to me undeniable that in practice many such tendencies have revealed themselves; some of them lie at the root of current difficulties, as, for example, the relative failure of the program for lateral entry into the Foreign Service.

Lateral entry was stressed in the Committee's explanation of Section 517: "Outstanding men should be able to join the permanent Service at ranks commensurate with their age and qualifications." The only suggested limitation was a stipulation that they should not be "in numbers as to nullify the career principle." The report called for "entrance from outside to the middle and upper ranks of the Service" to make it more flexible and effective. This purpose of the 1946 Act has been effectively defeated by the paucity of substantial achievement. Between 1946 and 1951 only 21 persons obtained lateral entrance under Section 517 and in the three years since the "liberalizing" directive of March 1951 only 25 more. Even with the 100 who are now "in process" (a term almost indefinitely flexible in time), it is clear that the objective of the Act has not been fulfilled.

One of the central problems which the present Committee faces is emotional resistance on the part of Foreign Service officers to what some of them think of as "watering down" the professional character of the Service by larger admissions through the lateral entrance.

There is almost exact historical parallel. When the Rogers Act was passed in 1924 many in the diplomatic corps felt that it was being invaded and swamped by the consular staff. At that time there were only 122 in the diplomatic service and they had to "absorb" 511 from the consular service. Resistance to effectuating the intention of the Congress was so serious that a subsequent Senate investigation resulted in a report that the Rogers Act had been applied "in a manner far at variance from the purpose of the legislation." The effort to keep the two services apart led the Solicitor of the Department to write an opinion that a single "efficiency list" was mandatory.

When one looks back at what has happened since 1924 it is clear that after resistance subsided the transition was a success. Many chiefs of mission and persons holding distinguished places today came from the consular service. In the same way in 1939 there was dislike of the idea of accepting the people who had been in the service of the Department of Commerce. Yet they have been well absorbed and many hold important posts. The Manpower Act of 1945 was viewed in a somewhat similar light, but has worked out very well.

It is striking that this problem of better relations between the diplomatic service and the Department should be so old and yet should have proved so intractable. When the Rogers Act was passed former Secretary Lansing said of it:

> "If there is a criticism, it is that the Bill failed to include in its general scheme of consolidation certain officers of the bureaus and divisions, assistant solicitors, and drafting officers of the Department of State, such as chiefs and assistant chiefs of and in fact all officers, who do not belong to the clerical force. It would have improved the Bill if such officers had been graded and made eligible for transfer to the Foreign Service, whenever it seemed advisable to send them into the foreign field. It would unquestionably improve the efficiency of the departmental organization and give them a proper standing not only with foreign diplomats but also with the members of our Foreign Service."

It is thus clear that the problem before us has been acute for well over thirty years. Even at the traditional pace of diplomacy that seems a long time to let so important an issue remain unresolved. Progress has not been forward, its recent drift, indeed, is backward; it will now take virgorous action to reverse an unhealthy trend.

One principal argument against any attempt to expedite the union of the two services has been cited again and again; it is disinclination to accept overseas duties. Yet since 1946 the overseas personnel of the United States Government, aside from the military, has grown enormously. So also has the overseas personnel engaged in business, banking, and other commercial and industrial ventures. It is obvious, therefore, that reluctance to serve overseas has been one of the least important factors in retarding the reform for which Secretary Lansing made so strong a plea just thirty years ago.

Moreover, the fact that there has never been a dearth of applicants for Class 6 in the Foreign Service Officer Corps is further demonstration that "dual" service is not so serious a barrier as it has been made to appear. The willingness of applicants for admission to the lowest grade to wait so long is proof that there is no shortage of competent people ready to serve overseas.

The report on the Act of 1946 laid emphasis on the need for "flexibility" and asserted that the Foreign Service must be "responsive to the constantly changing needs of government." Flexibility has been conspicuous by its absence and responsiveness to constantly changing needs has been noticeably lacking. If the Service had been adequately flexible it would have been alert to recognize much more than it has not only the broad professional, but also the highly specialized, requirements of modern diplomacy.

The theory or philosophy that the Corps should be made up of "generalists" only was far better adapted to the Service of a second-class power with a tradition of isolationism than it is to the leader of the Free World—and its financial bastion. The revolutionary change in the position of the United States, with the consequent expansion of its personnel needs for the fulfillment of its international mission, has forced dependence upon persons from outside the Foreign Service. The reason is that organization had not made room for officers with a high degree of specialization such as economists and fiscal experts, legal advisers, and those exceptionally competent in area-languages. Indeed, in some respects, there has been retrogression in the recognition of specialisms within the Foreign Service.

No one familiar with international relations would impair the status of the professional diplomat; his is a proper and vital career. Nevertheless that particular specialism should not have pre-empted the whole FSO category; it should not have elbowed other experts into the FSR classification, employing temporary appointments to meet what has become a permanent and a vital need.

There is room aplenty for specialists. In the Department alone there are about 1400 places where Foreign Service officers could and should be used. Abroad, 25 percent of all available appointments are in five missions, each one of which is composed of 320 or more people; 50 percent of available assignments are in eighteen missions, each with 125 or more people; and 75 percent are in the 55 posts with 50 or more in their personnel. If in addition FOA and USIA are to be staffed to a large degree by the Foreign Service Officer corps, as I think is essential, it cannot be done satisfactorily by exclusive dependence upon "diplomatic" specialists; there is clearly room for a large number of people with a high degree of other kinds of specialization. The next step, therefore, is a fundamental change in thinking if the Foreign Service is really to meet the demands of present conditions.

That basic change in orientation—to make adequate room for specialists—must be reflected not only in provisions for lateral entry and recruitment of candidates for Class 6, but also in the in-service training of those who are appointed. When the Foreign Service was set up modern methods of induction, training, and administration had not come into use even in business.

Banks and industrial and commercial concerns used to develop "generalists" by tours of duty in each department, or at least in many of them. The purpose was to "familiarize" the promising employee with the different operations of the business. Educational institutions followed somewhat the same pattern; when I began as an instructor forty years ago I taught most of the courses offered in my whole department. Since that time, however, business first, the bank not much later, and now even the universities have abandoned such practices. Only the Foreign Service clings to that sort of in-service training.

Specialization has become so vital an element in today's operations that it has proved much better to develop the individual professionally, rather than "generally," until he has reached full maturity. By that time experience will have broadened him into fields beyond his own specialism if he has genuine capacity for larger responsibilities. One report after another has stressed the fact that political and economic aspects of diplomacy have become inextricably linked; yet there has been far too little reflection of this agreed fact in the recruitment, organization, and assignments of Foreign Service officers.

The 1946 report called for "a continuous program of in-service training . . . directed by a strong central authority drawing on the best educational resources of the country." So far as utilizing the educational resources of the country is concerned, this year only 32 out of 1285 Foreign Service officers are scattered among American universities; twelve are assigned to the National War College. Meanwhile the Foreign Service Institute is almost paralyzed; it exists on crumbs that fall from the Air Force table. Moreover career planning is conspicuous by its absence. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the failure to have a "continuous" program or make more obvious that it has not been directed by a "strong central authority."

Congresswoman Bolton has stated that at the time when we should have been building the finest Foreign Service in the world we have failed to do so. She emphasized that the Foreign Service Act of 1946, a good piece of legislation, has been circumvented and administered in a manner which was never intended. She called attention to the fact that she is a member of a board of visitors or consultants of the Foreign Service Institute and that they have not held a meeting for four years. In view of the importance of Congressional relations such an omission is difficult to explain.

A "more rational and effective deployment of personnel according to natural aptitude, training, interest, and experience" to avoid "conspicuous waste of manpower" was called for in the Congressional report of 1946. Far too little has been done in this respect. The present Committee has been informed of a large number of totally abnormal situations arising from failure to pay attention to this objective.

The 1946 report recommended "a corps of administrative and technical specialists." Yet the entire administrative side has been treated as a stepchild. This is extraordinary, considering the fact that some of our embassies are larger today than the whole Department was not so many years ago. There is widespread belief that the lateral entry program has been inhospitable to applications from administrative officers and that their "failure" on the oral examination has been disproportionately high. It is not possible to determine how fair these complaints may be without more exhaustive study; their existence is certainly adverse to high morale among a group of people essential to the conduct of work in foreign relations in the modern world.

Another respect in which the expectations of Congress have been defeated by time appears in the passage of the

1946 report which stated that "there is not now sufficient mutual understanding and responsiveness between the Department. the Service, and other departments and services of the Government." In the eight years since the Act was passed there seems to have been no basic improvement in the situation. There is, indeed, some clear evidence of deterioration.

One needed reform is to remake the Foreign Service examination in order to provide for more specialized skills, to make it efficient as a prediction of success, and to provide more stimulation to young men during their formulative years. Too much emphasis has been laid on the formal aspects of learning and too little on adaptability, capacity for leadership, maturity of judgment, and readiness to accept responsibility. The first ten years of service should be calculated to stimulate capacity for growth; the long delay in the appointment and the routine character of early assignments often have the opposite effect.

If there was no other reason for reform, the extravagance of present methods should lead to change. Since 1946, 7752 candidates have taken the written examinations. Of those who passed that test 1168 were referred for security clearance. The cost of these investigations was $204,225; they have eventuated thus far in only 355 appointments.

If to this cost we add the expense of examinations, some of which are known and some of which are concealed by the fact that they are carried on by personnel in the Foreign Service or in the Department, the total cost of appointing 355 people to Class 6 ran well above one-third of a million dollars. That is an extravagance which no nation can afford. In one year when 1141 were examined only 77 were appointed. There is no evidence that the 77 were the best of the 1141.

The fact that the examinations have not been effective in choosing the best is shown by the rather heavy "selection out" from Class 6. It seems obvious that if the examinations were really well adapted to their purpose selection out would not become an important factor until Class 4 or 3. Moreover, if there is a worse selective principle than that a man should be ready to stand in the wings for two years or thereabouts at a time of saturated employment it would be difficult to find it.

If I have seemed critical it is because the Foreign Service, far from growing in response to the enlarged responsibilities of the United States, is actually smaller today than it was a few years ago. Even worse, it is dying at the roots for too few have been appointed to Class 6 since the war. The reason usually offered is "budgetary"; the invalidity of this explanation is shown by the small numbers (110 in 1947, 77 in 1948, 65 in 1949, 47 in 1950, and 56 in 1951) added at times when the budget was rising. The Foreign Service needs to expand. There is no time to achieve all the essential growth by complete reliance upon beginners in Class 6. If the Service is to gain the support it deserves, it must expand both laterally and from the bottom. This should be done rapidly, for "gradualism" has been a conspicuous failure.

In the nearly fifty years of its existence the Foreign Service has rendered distinguished service. There are men here today whose lives have spanned the whole period. They have held posts in the Department and as chiefs of mission, not only with high competence but with genuine distinction. It would be no less than tragic if the progress which their distinguished attainments symbolize were now to be lost by failure to take vigorous, imaginative, and continuous steps toward lateral entry of many whose capability is beyond question or through failure to make such reforms in examinations, admission, and appointment procedures as will bring large and competent new classes into the bottom of the Service every year.

Without vigorous—perhaps I should say drastic—action gains once so hardly won are in danger of being lost. If, however, by bold and concerted action current trends are reversed the future of the Foreign Service will be even more brilliant than its notable past.

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## BIRTHS

BROWN. A son, Garry Lyle, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Brown on February 4, 1954 at Kobe.

HELSETH. A son, Gary King, born to Dr. and Mrs. William A. Helseth on February 2, 1954 at West Palm Beach, Florida.

KATZ. A daughter, Tamar, born to Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Katz on February 27, 1954 at the American British Cowdray Hospital in Mexico City.

RICHARDSON. A son, Thomas Elkins, born to Mr. and Mrs. W. Garland Richardson on January 9, 1954 at Tokyo.

RUTHERFORD. A daughter, Constance, born to Mr. and Mrs. M. Robert Rutherford on January 21, 1954 at Caracas.

STONE. A daughter, Pamela Dennison, born to Mr. and Mrs. Galen L. Stone on March 12, 1954 in Washington, D. C.

WARE. A son, David Charles, born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lothrop Ware, Jr. on March 6, 1954 in Vienna.

## MARRIAGES

BEACH-STANFORD. Miss Nancy Lee Stanford was married to Mr. William H. Beach, Jr., son of Mr. William H. Beach, retired Foreign Service Officer, on January 23, 1954 at Snow Hill, Maryland.

DUBOSE-WALZ. Mrs. Deirdre Drew Walz, daughter of the Honorable and Mrs. Gerald A. Drew, was married to Mr. Robert Edwin Mann DuBose on January 30, 1954 in Washington, D. C.

GILCHRIST-TYE. Mrs. Dorothy G. Tye was married on January 2, 1954 to Mr. James M. Gilchrist, Jr., former Foreign Service Officer, in Hinsdale, Illinois.

WHITE-HASALOVA. Miss Dagmar Zofie Hasalova was married to Foreign Service Officer Lewis Marion White on February 13, 1954, at the Foundry Methodist Church at Glen Alpine, Goode, Va.

## JOHN P. DAVIES, JR.

At his news conference on March 23 Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made the following statement:

"The proper officials of the Department of State, after examining the voluminous record in the matter of John P. Davies, formulated a series of questions to Mr. Davies, to which Mr. Davies has replied. On the basis of the information now at hand, I do not find it necessary to suspend Mr. Davies. There are some matters bearing upon reliability which are susceptible of conflicting interpretations and which seem to call for clarification by testimony under oath by Mr. Davies and others. In order to make this possible, I am asking that from the roster maintained by the Civil Service Commission a Security Hearing Board be designated to take testimony.

"Such action as I have requested is taken on the assumption that Mr. Davies will voluntarily accept the jurisdiction of the Security Hearing Board.

"Mr. Davies continues his assignment as Counselor of Embassy at Lima, Peru."

During the question period which followed, Secretary Dulles elaborated on his statement and brought out certain details concerning the manner in which the testimony would be taken by a Security Hearing Board.

He said that the record did not seem to him to be sufficiently clear one way or the other to justify any action in the nature of suspension. He added that it was not possible to require Mr. Davies to accept the jurisdiction of the Security Hearing Board except by the process of suspension or termination, and that if Mr. Davies accepted it voluntarily, then a suspension or termination was unnecessary.

Concerning the make up of the Security Hearing Board, Secretary Dulles said the people on the Board would be chosen from a panel maintained by the Civil Service Commission. He remarked that the Board members would not be connected with the Department, but that fact did not preclude their having had some international experience. He indicated that the Board members would be selected by persons in the State Department, and that he would have some voice in the selection.

The Secretary pointed out that under the regulations setting up the Security Hearing Board, Mr. Davies would have an opportunity to be heard himself, to produce his own witnesses, and to examine or have examined witnesses who appeared in opposition.

Finally the Secretary indicated he would have the opportunity to review or reverse the findings of the Board.

Editorials commenting on the Secretary's statement appeared in Washington papers on March 24 and 25. They are reprinted below:

"HEARINGS WITHOUT END" from *The Washington Post*, March 25, 1954.

"Eight hearings have already been held to determine whether John Paton Davies, Jr., of the State Department's career service is a loyalty or security risk. Eight times Mr. Davies has been cleared. Now Secretary Dulles has decided that he must have a ninth hearing and testify, under oath, to 'clarify' previous answers which are subject to 'conflicting interpretations.' Surely there is something wrong with a system of checking which has already subjected an official's career and reputation to octuple jeopardy and which now compels him to undergo a ninth ordeal.

"Nobody can say that the Secretary has been casual about this unending case. Mr. Dulles, we are told, took the entire record to Berlin and Caracas, and personally gave it time and thought which he should not have had to take away from diplomacy. The latest decision suggests that the Secretary wants the final decision, whatever it is, to be acceptable to decent and responsible men. He has ordered that a new panel be set up, that he himself have a 'voice' in selecting its members, and that its duty be confined to 'clarifying' the subjects still puzzling or obscure. Presumably this means that the outcome will not be at the mercy of Scott McLeod, Mr. Dulles' security director.

"We hope Mr. Davies will submit to this new interrogation with what patience he can muster, instead of resigning, as he must have been tempted to do. This case long ago became much more than a test of Mr. Davies. It became a test to determine whether a nonpolitical career service can function within our American system. If Mr. Davies is to be cleared for the ninth time, we hope that the coming decision will make two things decisively plain. One is that a ninth clearance will be the last, as far as the Executive Branch can make it the last. A foreign service officer should not have to shuttle between a foreign post and a hearing room in Washington, like the unhappy ferry passenger who found himself moving endlessly between Hongkong and Macao because the authorities in both ports were unwilling to have him land.

"The second point is more fundamental. It should be decided and proclaimed, so that all can hear, that a career officer's honest reports of years ago, sent to his superiors in performance of his duty, shall not be dredged up to his detriment years later when the political climate at home has changed. If Mr. Davies is to be judged unfit because there was faulty judgment in any of his reports of ten years ago—and we do not know that there was—then we can think of other officials, including Mr. Dulles himself, who should be disqualified for the same offense. The essential point is that American officials must be free to report what they believe to be the truth from a foreign post or in a staff meeting here, without having to guess whether their position will be politically popular a decade later. The stakes in this matter have become very high. The effectiveness and integrity of American diplomacy will depend upon the outcome."

"CRUEL AND UNUSUAL," from *The Evening Star*, March 24, 1954.

"John Paton Davies, Jr., has not been found guilty of any offense. No formal penalty has ever been imposed upon him. In all but the strict legal sense, however, and despite the language of the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution, he has been the victim of a cruel and unusual punishment.

"His case stands out as a monumental disgrace to any loyalty-security program. Over the years he has been investigated, interrogated, browbeaten, smeared and, in the end, exonerated. Now, Secretary of State Dulles has decided to convene another hearing board to investigate Mr. Davies once again—for the ninth time, according to the arithmetic of a *Star* reporter. How much longer can this sort of thing go on?

"It may be instructive to review a few of the more significant dates and events in the Davies ordeal. In 1951 The Senate Internal Security Committee asked the Department of Justice to seek an indictment against Mr. Davies for

(*Continued on page* 48)

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# THE BOOKSHELF

*NEW AND INTERESTING*

1. **The Second Tree From The Corner** by E. B. White, published by Harper ..... $3.00

A collection of stories, poems, sketches, parodies—many of which have appeared in the *New Yorker* during the last twenty years—by a master craftsman.

2. **But We Were Born Free** by Elmer Davis, published by Bobbs-Merrill ..... $2.75

The main *motiv* underlying these essays is the present unpleasant spiritual climate in the United States. As Christopher Morley says: "This book has guts."

3. **Company Manners** by Louis Kronenberger, published by Bobbs-Merrill ..... $3.00

This is a cultural inquiry into American life and the verdict by this civilized critic is pessimistic: he just does not like a lot of things in American life, including café society, the invasion of privacy, television, etc., etc!

**The Temper of Western Europe,** by Crane Brinton; *Harvard University Press, 1953. 118 pages. $2.50.*
*Reviewed by* HENRY B. COX

This book is an expansion of the James W. Richard Lectures in History delivered at the University of Virginia in April 1953 by Mr. Brinton, who is McLean Professor of History at Harvard. It is in the main a compilation of observations made by the author during a trip to Europe in late 1952, early 1953 and constitutes a soberly optimistic report on the political, economic and psychological state of present day Western Europe.

Alluding at the outset to the pessimistic views expressed by William L. Shirer in his *Midcentury Journey* and the gloomy witness of Arthur Koestler in *Age of Longing*, Mr. Brinton indicates that he was most reluctant to accept in advance the diagnosis of "fatal disease in the collectivity of post-war Western Europe." Six months of travel in Britain, France, Switzerland and Spain confirmed him in his belief that the condition of Free Europe is not only not as bad as many Americans seem to believe but is actually quite promising — politically, economically and psychologically.

Moreover, in spite of the prediction of the prophets of impending doom the author found the Western Europe of 1952-1953 to be not far different from that of the pre-war era. He was, for example, impressed with the relatively high standard of living which most — though not all — Europeans enjoy, with the fact that the Golden Arrow still shoots at a dizzy speed across the plains of northern France, that "haute couture" is still flourishing in Paris and the "patisseries" are still dispensing their delicacies. In particular, he was struck by the extensive rehabilitation of the cities and reeultivation of the land which has gone a long way toward erasing the ugly scars of wartime destruction. As for reports that West Europeans are unhappy and, to quote Thoreau, are living lives of quiet desperation, Mr. Brinton will have none of it. Besides, he questions how any casual observer can detect "quiet desperation" which, if it exists, can only be verified through intimate personal contact.

Having dealt in the foregoing general impressions, the author proceeds to offer more precise data to justify his optimistic view of Europe's present as well as its future. On the basis of United Nations statistics, he demonstrates that Western Europe both as a whole and in each of its constituent national units is "richer" than ever before in its history after two world wars and a great depression. This is true with respect to gross national product, national income and indices of industrial and agricultural production. Even judging from the least favorable set of statistics, *i.e.*, those on daily per capita food supplies, the claim still holds. Mr. Brinton does not, however, underestimate the problems which Western Europe must eventually solve in adjusting to the increasing industrialization of other areas of the world which have heretofore provided markets for the output of its own shops and factories.

Turning to the political scene, Professor Brinton sees the aggressive nationalism of Barre, of Kipling and of *Deutschland ueber alles* as "a much diminished faith," held only by unreconstructed fractions of the population. Democracy, he holds, is still firmly rooted in Western Europe. At the same time he admits that any serious shock to the still precarious material basis of Western European life might see its eclipse in one or more countries.

Looking ahead, the author considers the most promising development would be more effective European unity. But he does not foresee such unity in the form of a federal state which he considers an unlikely possibility. He sees great promise in the contribution of such organizations as NATO, the Council of Europe and the Coal and Steel Community toward the goal of closer European integration.

In conclusion Mr. Brinton discusses the spirit or "temper" of the peoples of Western Europe which is really the central problem of his book. Here he stresses his conviction that there is a great deal of spiritual and intellectual resilience in Western Europe, that the state of mind of its peoples is such that they can face with energy and confidence the task of rebuilding which is also one of building anew. The culture of Western Europe — its art, literature, science — shows a clear vitality, the ability to achieve outstanding new things.

Thus, through the eyes of the professional historian, Mr. Brinton has seen Western Europe in a perspective which leads him to optimistic rather than pessimistic conclusions. While he may at times have indulged in oversimplification and it may not always be possible to share his great optimism, it is nevertheless a refreshing experience to read his book. I would heartily recommend it to every student of the European scene.

**Peace through Strength: Bernard Baruch and a Blueprint for Security,** by Morris V. Rosenbloom, with foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt; *published by American Surveys, in association with Farrar, Straus and Young, New York, 1953. 325 pages. $3.75.*
*Reviewed by* WILLIAM L. SMYSER

This solid volume, rich in quotations from the Elder Statesman, Bernard Baruch, takes its place among the score

of biographies which must be familiar to anyone aspiring to a knowledge of what has gone on behind the scenes in American government at home and abroad throughout the past generation. It is peculiarly fitting that a book about Bernard Baruch should appear just as the economic situation shifts again to approach that of the day when he is reported to have told friends that the time had come to buy bonds. It is fitting that the policies of this man whose name is associated with the so-called "American Plan for Atomic Control" should be the subject of this searching review just at the moment when the world is again discussing another American plan for the atom. Thus Mr. Morris V. Rosenbloom's volume is most timely, and in welcoming it the only problem for the reviewer is the evaluation of its effectiveness and accomplishment.

The book hits its bulls-eye. This author is loyal to his hero, after the current mode of favorably presenting recent Cabinet officers and diarists rather than trying to tear them down as in the mode of the 'Twenties. His admiration for Baruch's foresight, however, does not blind him to the fact that although the financier did really advise some of his friends to buy bonds, and although, by 1929, "most of his own wealth was invested," he could still write for *The American Magazine* of June 19, 1929 that "The economic condition of the world seems on the verge of a great forward movement. . . . " Thus the picture which folklore has given us of a 1929 Baruch who was all-prescient is placed in better perspective, more reassuring for the self-esteem of minor prophets unable to see today what is coming before the end of 1954. On the other hand there has been a consistency throughout Bernard Baruch's career in public service in his warning that we are consuming in a flash of geologic time, deposits which it took eons to concentrate, and in his proposal, from the days when he was Chairman of the Committee on Raw Materials during the First World War, that we follow principles of conservation, substitution, and the development of new sources. The author devotes some time to illuminating the apparent disagreements between Baruch and President Truman, and concludes that the crux of the matter touched Baruch's concern that more support be given the National Security Resources Board and that more urgency be devoted to the drafting of a full-dress mobilization of all resources. From Mr. Rosenbloom's text it seems clear that Bernard Baruch would support today, as he has in the past, such conclusions as that of the Paley Commission that "We will have to become even more worldminded in the future than we have been in the past. . . . " The picture of a devoted and foresighted individual has value not only in its presentation of a leader in our time, but also in its repetition of facts and policies which we would be wrong to forget.

**International Law, Cases and Materials,** by William W. Bishop, Jr.; *Prentice-Hall Law School Series, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1953. 735 pages. $9.75.*
*Reviewed by* MARJORIE M. WHITEMAN

William W. Bishop, Jr. is Professor of Law at the University of Michigan Law School. For some years (1939-47), he was an Assistant to the Legal Adviser of the Department of State. Possibly as a result of the latter experience, the author of this new case-book, treating generally of Public International Law, repeatedly cautions his reader with respect to the importance of non-legal factors in international relations, referring to "the relevance and importance of such other aspects in order to understand any international situation in its entirety and the place of international law therein."

Anyone knowing "Bill" Bishop would expect him to produce, as he has, a volume treating of international law primarily as law, and not as a non-legal, historical, or philosophical subject. Strong emphasis is placed in his work on international law as law, as it is applied in the courts and in the relations among nations.

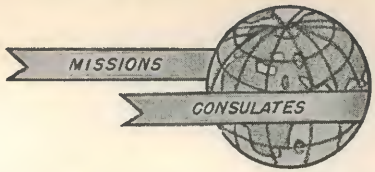
Although described as "an introduction to the field of international law" and as "of most concern to the beginner," the volume constitutes a brilliant reflection of its author, containing as it does a wide range of materials with respect to international law, a wealth of supplementary references to further technical materials, and, all-in-all, up-to-date teaching equipment of a high order.

In the treaty field, Professor Bishop is probably most at home and, as might also have been expected, his book accents the subject of International Agreements by treating of them somewhat *in extenso* near the outset (Chapter II), and by a goodly sprinkling of references to, and quotations from, pertinent treaty provisions or treaty arrangements throughout the remainder of the work. Other chapters treat of: the Nature, Sources, and Application of International Law; Membership in the International Community; Territory; Nationality; Juri diction; State Responsibility and International Claims. In the final chapter entitled "Force and War," particular attention is devoted to the impact of modern developments on the laws of war and neutrality. There are of course spots in the case-book where other scholars might have developed subjects further, as for example, the author's dismissal of the subject of diplomatic asylum in two brief sentences and a footnote (pp. 449-450).

The Appendices contain the text of the Charter of the United Nations, including the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The writer of this review notes the fact that the text of the charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá in 1948, might appropriately have been included. Similarly, the section on "International Organization" (pp. 196-206) is almost wholly devoted to the United Nations Organization with only passing reference, buried in a footnote, to "the Inter-American system."

While the beginning student for whom the volume was especially prepared may be somewhat dazzled, if not bewildered, by the immensity of the planets of thought thrown his way in this superb volume labeled "International Law," he can scarcely fail to be inspired with interest in the subject. The volume will certainly prove a valuable adjunct to the teacher who lacks qualifications, inspiration, time, or ability to do research in this field; to the able teacher, it will be a delight.

# NEWS FROM THE FIELD




## "U. S. CONSUL KILLS AN ELEPHANT"

*By* Peggy Kocher

The above headline, which appeared in the *Singapore Tiger Standard*, is hardly a headline you'd expect to see these days. And we certainly didn't expect anything of the kind when Eric said "Sure," to Colin Marshall's "You must come along some time," at a dinner party discussion of damage done by elephants to a Selangor kampong. Colin is a Forester and Honorary Game Warden of Selangor.

But the next Friday Colin came along in the afternoon, and said, "What about Sunday?" and much to my surprise I heard Eric agreeing to a 5 A.M. departure, with breakfast here beforehand. I wasn't even invited, to my dismay, but certainly very wisely, for I never would have lasted through the day that followed.

They drove to Kampong 21st Mile in Ula Langat District (an area notable for bandit incidents during the past three months). They left the car and still in the dark rode bicycles up a track. They inspected damage to some houses along the Tinton river at dawn, and waded back to their bicycles to go on to Kampong 23rd mile. At one place they had to cross the river on a tree trunk, carrying their bicycles — a practice for which his previous diplomatic experience had not prepared Eric.

By eight they had left the bicycles, joined two local rangers, and a group of Home Guards armed with shotguns, and started on the track of the elephants. It led through virgin jungle, dense and damp. As the sun rose they were rising too, and around ten they found themselves at the top of a hill about 2000 feet up, hot and panting. Footprints had indicated several elephants in a herd, none very big, some quite young. It was surprising to see Colin go over and give the droppings a terrific boot and then feel whether they were warm. But this yielded the information that one elephant was behind the others. And as they started down the other side they could hear him ahead, pulling up bamboo.

It is amazing how an animal as large as an elephant can get through the dense growth without opening it up. The vines still caught at the guns, branches swept their faces, as the party proceeded with the tracker and Marshall about 20 yards ahead of another ranger and Eric. Suddenly the signal came to stop dead, and there was silence as Marshall and the tracker came upon a bull elephant, apparently the leader. The wind was away from the elephants, so they hadn't discovered their hunters. In the green obscurity Colin made out the rump of another elephant, probably a cow, and then between the two a couple of younger ones. He scanned the other side and made out another cow and three more half-grown elephants. All this in a crescent perhaps 40 feet across, as full of dense vegetation as of elephant.

With his large bore elephant rifle Colin aimed into the bull's ear and shot. And with that pandemonium. The bull went down directly, but the rest of the herd split up half moving on down the track, half turning back toward the rest of the party. The Home Guards behind him were streaking off in all directions, but Eric could see nothing. He raised the lighter carbine he had been carrying, and suddenly he had his first glimpse of elephant. One was coming right towards him. It seemed a shame to kill these gentle beasts, but the damage to crops and houses had been extensive, and right now it was self defense. He fired, and then moved off at right angles as he had been instructed, and fired again. There were other shots ringing out from all directions, and it is a wonder they didn't all come back with gun shot wounds.

The cow didn't go down but was dazed and Colin put her out with a shot through the heart as he came back to find out where Eric was. Then he followed after the herd, finished off another cow which had been wounded, and the hunt ended as the rest ran off. But the work had just begun.

This was about eleven. In the course of the morning the man carrying the case with camera and extra ammunition had got scared, and gone back to the village without saying anything — taking the camera case with him! About 3 a large number of the villagers, in great elation over the kills, showed up with bananas, papayas, and coconuts, most welcome after the long trek. The camera bag showed up too, and after suitable records had been made they got down to the strenuous work of cutting off the twelve feet, and splitting the head of the bull to get out the tusks. By 5:30 each foot was slung from a pole, and two by two the party started down the slope carrying the bulky weights, the guns, the tusks, and a big chunk of elephant steak. It took 2½ hours of the same kind of slogging they'd had all morning, through swamp and brush, now heavily loaded, to get back to the kampong. In addition the last 1½ hours were done in the dark, so they stumbled and fell, crawled up, and stumbled and fell some more.

Meanwhile all was not tranquil in Kuala Lumpur. Having more or less expected Eric at noon, I was worried at 5. After checking with Mary Marshall I called the Security Police at 7:15 when it was dark, and for an agonizing hour and a half, while the children had supper, while playing checkers and reading bedtime stories, my mind was going back over all the stories of bandits and their victims I'd read in the six months we've been here. The children wanted to know "What will Daddy do if he has to spend a night in the jungle? Will he build a fire ? What will Daddy eat?" That story was never told, for at 8:45 a police call came through that Colin had just got into Kampong 18th mile. And as I called Mary the lines got crossed and we both talked to Colin himself, exploding with excitement over three elephants having been bagged at once.

He was able to take the car on a road that had been repaired back up to the 23rd mile Kampong where they loaded the 12 feet, 2 tusks, one tail, and 2 large men into a small English car. They got back to civilization and waiting wives at 11:30, glad they had done it. And if anyone wants a good recipe for Elephant Pie I'll send it on request.

(*Continued on page* 44)

## LISBON

In contrast to the rather grim subjects of conversation of the past few months, *i.e.*, economy, transfers, etc., the current major interest in Lisbon has been the holiday season. The latter was highlighted by a party given by AMBASSADOR M. ROBERT GUGGENHEIM in the Embassy cafeteria at noon on December 24. Those invited were all members of the Mission, including Service Attachés, FOA, USIE, and the commanding officer of the MAAG in Portugal.

Ambassador Guggenheim delivered three short informal addresses before the group turned its attention to the eggnog. The Ambassador first gave a farewell salutation and gift on behalf of the staff to POWHATEN M. BABER, popular Administrative Officer, who left for Prague on December 27.

After paying tribute to their loyalty, enthusiasm, and hard work, the Ambassador then presented Length of Service awards to five Portuguese members of the Embassy staff, no others being eligible for this distinction.

He then expressed confidence that, under the leadership of the President, the Foreign Service would continue its traditionally high record as our Nation's first line of defense in critical times like these and concluded his remarks with a brief message from Mrs. Guggenheim and himself warmly thanking the entire staff for the assistance given him since he assumed charge last August.

As it has been some time since news from Lisbon appeared in this column, a brief survey of recent departures and arrivals may be of interest. Departees include: JIM KOLINSKI to Rio, KEN CROMWELL to Lagos, Nigeria, TAN BABER to Prague, CONSUL GENERAL and MRS. CLIFTON R. WHARTON to Marseilles, GEORGE THIGPEN to Havana, and MARIANO SALES to London. Arrivals are: CHARLES GILBERT and family from the Department (replacement for Mr. Wharton), THOMAS HUFF and family from the Department (replacement for Tan Baber), and JULIA SUE SAUNDERS from Madrid.

*Ralph W. Richardson*

## WELLINGTON

With the haze of countless brush fires lying like a dark mist on the hills and the long lazy days of summer slipping languidly past (Wellington is currently enjoying its longest dry spell in 26 years) we can all take a deep breath, sit back and relax, and, perhaps, recall the delightful, though hectic, time we have just been through.

Amid gay decorations of flags, bunting, brightly colored lights, freshly painted buildings, Maori motifs and boundless enthusiasm Wellington citizens excitedly greeted Queen Elizabeth on a sparkling Saturday in January, with the early evening sun still shining warmly through an occasional drifting cloud.

For most of the Embassy staff the week that followed was more in the nature of a holiday than a state visit, coming as it did on the heels of a series of Congressional delegation onslaughts and the whirl-wind tour of Vice President Nixon. For AMBASSADOR SCOTTEN, however, it was a more formal affair. The Ambassador and Mrs. Scotten dined twice with Her Majesty and the Duke of Edinburgh at Government House, joined their party for luncheon at the Royal Wellington Race Meeting, were presented officially prior to a formal reception, and, along with a thousand others, attended the Garden Party.

Probably the real highlight of the week was the opening of Parliament by Her Majesty. On this occasion she wore the magnificent Coronation dress, her diamond tiara flashing in the sun as she was driven through the streets in an open car. For the first time British citizens in this far corner of the world had a glimpse of the pomp and splendor of London.

*Helen C. Scott*


"It's a very popular model with the State Department this year called security check"

## LUXEMBOURG

The HONORABLE WILEY T. BUCHANAN and MRS. BUCHANAN entertained 350 guests at a January 22 reception opening a festive weekend in honor of the Grand Duchess Charlotte, who celebrated her birthday anniversary January 23.

The new Minister and his wife, who arrived here November 28, greeted members of the diplomatic corps from Luxembourg and Brussels in the Legation residence.

Following the late-afternoon reception, the Minister, Mrs. Buchanan and Legation officers and staff attended a buffet dinner given by the British Minister to Luxembourg, the Honorable Geoffrey Allchin and Mrs. Allchin, after which the guests watched a colorful torchlight parade.

The weekend celebration continued on Saturday morning with an impressive Te Deum in Luxembourg's Cathedral of Notre Dame. Following the ceremony, His Excellence Joseph Bech, Luxembourg Minister of Foreign Affairs, was host at a luncheon for Chiefs of Mission.

Minister Buchanan switched from white tie for the church service to morning coat for the luncheon, back to white tie for a birthday party that evening at the Grand Ducal Palace and, later, he and Mrs. Buchanan were hosts at a dance in the Legation residence.

The American Luxembourg Society held a Christmas dinner December 17 in the Grand Hotel Brasseur in honor of the Buchanan family. Among the official guests was Prime Minister Pierre Dupong, who proposed a toast to President Eisenhower. The American Minister toasted the Grand Ducal family. This was the last public appearance of Minister Dupong, who died December 23 following complications from a fall in his home.

*Mary Springer*

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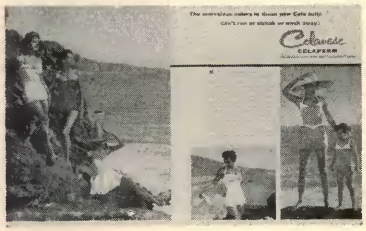


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In addition, all areas of the Department have contributed clerical and stenographic assistance to work with these temporary investigators. While it is hoped that most of the personnel actions requiring Senatorial confirmation will be cleared in time to permit their submission to this session of the Senate, it is contemplated that any such actions delayed beyond the deadline will be sent to the White House for recess appointment action.

***New Class 6 Officers***

The accelerated security clearance program described above will update the prior investigations on 50 or more successful Class 6 candidates. Most of these candidates took the written examination in 1952 and a smaller number in previous years. Their appointments should clear up most of the successful Class 6 candidates who are known to be available for immediate appointment.

Henry J. Clay, Acting Chairman of the International Claims Commission

Henry F. Holland, Assistant Secretary for Inter American Affairs.

***Revenue Ruling***

Appearing on page 4 of the Internal Revenue Bulletin for March 22, 1954, is the following ruling of interest to persons in the field regarding gross income. The ruling states: "Gains realized on the sale of items of property, which are the personal property of the taxpayer, such as personal automobiles or television sets, in a foreign country by a United States citizen living abroad are not exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 116 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code which relates to the exclusion of earned income from sources without the United States in the case of citizens who are residing abroad. Such gains are includihle in gross income under the provisions of section 22 (a) of the Code, and inasmuch as they result from the sale of capital assets are subject to the limitations provided in section 117 (b) of the Code. For the purpose of determining the gain, the cost and the selling price of the property should be expressed in American currency at the rate of exchange prevailing as of the date of the sale. Cf. Rev. Rul. 291, I.R.B. 1953-26,12."

***Miscellaneous***

HENRY J. CLAY, New York attorney, was appointed as Acting Member and Acting Chairman of the International Claims Commission. A graduate of the University of Virginia Law School, he served in the Navy during the war and in 1947 was appointed Assistant Attorney General.

Half of the people who have applied for jobs with the Department's Refugee Relief program have been rejected on "security" grounds, it was reported by Jerry Kluttz in his column in the *Washington Post* and *Times Herald*.

The Consular Agency at Puerto Cortes, Honduras, was officially closed on March 1, 1954. All functions formerly performed by this office will be handled by the American Consulate at San Pedro Sula, Honduras.

CORNELIUS J. DWYER, ex-FSO and former member of the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL, has resigned from FOA effective early in May. He is moving to New York where he will become a petroleum consultant. Address: % National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. 271 Madison Avenue.

MOREHEAD PATTERSON, Chairman and President of the American Machine and Foundry Company of New York, was appointed 1954 Chairman of the United States Committee for United Nations Day.

DR. D. ELTON TRUBLOOD professor of philosophy at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., was named chief of religious policy of the Voice of America, USIA announced.

DAVID W. WAINHOUSE was designated Deputy Assistant Secretary for United Nations Affairs, replacing DURWARD V. SANDIFER, who transferred to the Foreign Service.

MRS. WINTHROP W. ALDRICH, wife of the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, presented twelve American debutantes at Buckingham Palace to Queen Mother Elizabeth and Princess Margaret.

***Princeton Alumni***

The *Princeton Alumni Weekly* for January 22 listed 137 of its graduates who are in the Department of State or the Foreign Service. All but two in the upper ranks, said the *Alumni Weekly*, served under the previous Administration. These two are JOHN FOSTER DULLES '08 and DONALD B. LOURIE '22. Other Alumni listed are LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT '26, EDWARD T. WAILES '25, H. FREEMAN MATTHEWS '21, KARL L. RANKIN '22, WILLIAM WALTON BUTTERWORTH, JR. '25, EDWARD SAVAGE CROCKER '18, JOHN F. SIMMONS '13, W. PARK ARMSTRONG '29.

Also DAVID K. E. BRUCE '19, JOHN PAUL BARRINGER '24, BERNARD ANTHONY GUFLER '25, NORRIS SWIFT HASELTON '25, WOODBURY WILLOUGHBY '25, EDWARD GATEWOOD TRUEBLOOD '26, CHARLES WOODRUFF YOST '28, MARSELIS CLARK PARSONS, JR., '28, MALLORY BROWNE '29, JACOB D. BEAM '29, EDWIN ALLAN LIGHTNER, JR. '30, WILLIAM CUTTEL TRIMBLE '30, ERIC KOCHER '32, and AARON SWITZER BROWN, '35.

***New Four Hole Golfer***

According to CHRISTIAN RAVNDAL, Ambassador to Hungary, a new member has ben added to the membership rolls of the Airfree Golf Club in Budapest.

The Club members, wishing to honor the President, sent him a round silver tray, and offered him life membership in the Airfree Golf Club, in Budapest, "the only four-holer behind the iron curtain."

The President accepted the membership, but commented that he didn't know how often he could come to the Club to play.

**JOHN P. DAVIES** *(from page 38)*

perjury. The request was rejected on the ground of insufficient evidence. The committee tried again in the summer of 1952. No official report has been made public, but the department revealed unofficially last month that the evidence would not warrant grand jury proceedings. Meanwhile, in December, 1952, Mr. Davies had been cleared by the Loyalty Review Board, which found that there was no reasonable doubt as to his loyalty. That board was headed by former Senator Hiram Bingham, and *The Star* is satisfied that its investigation was a searching one.

"This exoneration made no impression, however, on Senator McCarthy. Last November 24, he indulged in a smear attack on Mr. Davies, and, not very indirectly, on President Eisenhower. This is what the Senator said:

'We still have John Paton Davies on the payroll after 11 months of the Eisenhower adminstration. . . Davies was (1) part and parcel of the old Acheson-Lattimore-Vincent-White-Hiss group which did so much toward delivering our Chinese friends into the Communist hands; (2) he was unanimously referred by the McCarran Committee to the Justice Department in connection with a proposed indictment because he lied under oath about his activities in trying to put Communists and espionage agents in key spots in the Central Intelligence Agency.'

"One would have thought that this reckless charge had been adequately refuted by the Loyalty Board's finding, by the informal report that the Department of Justice has found no basis for perjury proceedings, and by the testimony in support of Mr. Davies from such men as General Bedell Smith and George Kennan. But now another investigation looms ahead.

"Presumably Mr. Dulles, who is not sympathetically disposed toward persecution, has what he regards as sufficient reasons for his decision. One earnest hope may be expressed however: If Mr. Davies is exonerated in this ninth inquiry, he should thereafter be left alone. Enough is enough. If someone comes along and demands a tenth investigation, Mr. Davies should be entitled to invoke the protection of the Eighth Amendment."

## IN MEMORIAM

BEEBE. Mr. Marcus Beebe Jr., a State Department aide in Hong Kong, died there on February 23, 1954 of polio.

COCHRANE. Miss Doris Herrick Cochrane, a Departmental Officer, died on March 5, 1954 at Emergency Hospital in Washington, D. C.

CRAWFORD. Mr. J. Forrest Crawford, Foreign Service Staff Officer, died on January 18, 1954 in Panama where he was assigned as Agricultural Attaché.

NELSON. Mr. Beverley T. Nelson, Foreign Service Staff Officer, died on March 29. 1954 in London where he was assigned as Construction Supervisor.

PANGBURN. Mr. Harry Keep Pangburn, retired Foreign Service Staff Officer, died on February 11, 1954 in Acapulco, Mexico, of a heart attack. Mr. Pangburn was consul at Ciudad Juarez at the time of his retirement.

TIMBERLAKE. Mr. Wilbur B. Timberlake died on May 1, 1953. Mrs. Dorothy S. Timberlake died in January, 1954. Mr. and Mrs. Timberlake were the parents of Foreign Service Officer Clare H. Timberlake, Consul General at Hamburg.

**1814** *(from page 25)*

you go, or we all stay here. David and Jenny can brace you up. You can make it."

Jenny came running, a bundle of clothes in her hand. Mrs. Raines took from the hiding place under the stairs the tea cannister that held her life's savings and handed it to Jenny. "Get started," she said. "I'll follow right along."

Tom hobbled out into the street, leaning on Jenny and David. Mrs. Raines started to follow them and then stopped. Quite suddenly and clearly she knew what she must do. The decision left her mind free and cold with resolution. This, at least, she could do for them.

Davy's shrill voice called to her. "Granny, hurry!"

She stood in the doorway and waved them on. "Go ahead," she said. "I'm staying here."

All three turned and looked at her, aghast. Tom cried out: "You can't you can't! Don't you understand? You're a woman, and the soldiers will be plundering and burning. . . ."

"Go on!" cried Mrs. Raines, her voice a command. "Don't stop." Turning, she entered the shop and closed the door shutting them from her sight.

Inside the shop, Mrs. Raines moved with determination. She spoke aloud her thoughts. "They'll be coming from the Pike. That means they'll cross Capitol Hill."

She took the old rifle from above the fireplace, snapping the lock to be sure the flint still struck fire. From a cupboard she took powder and shot and loaded the weapon. Tucking it under her arm, she stepped into the street and pulled the door shut behind her.

Through the dusk she hurried down the avenue toward Capitol Hill. There was the silence of death over the city. She stumbled often in the rutted street, passing carriages and scattered luggage abandoned in the mad flight.

A few stragglers from the battle of Bladensburg slid past her in the dusk. One man, his head wrapped in bloody bandages, halted long enough to cry out:

"Turn back, woman. You've the wrong direction. They're coming from the Pike!"

She paid no attention. If only she wasn't too late. She would be one against many, but it was worth trying. If she could hold back the enemy for a few minutes. Just a few minutes. Minutes were precious. Minutes meant the safety of Jenny, and Davy, and Tom. Minutes meant a lifetime to those three struggling along the road to Georgetown.

She gasped for breath as she climbed the steep incline of the Hill. The great stone building lay to her right. Congress had fled. It was deserted.

She crossed the plaza and turned into Maryland Avenue. Salty sweat stung her eyes and there was a ringing in her head. She stopped abruptly. The clump of cavalry filled the dusk. She wiped the sweat from her eyes and strained to see through the gloom. The shadowy bulk of an advancing column, riding in close formation, came into view. There was no mistaking the scarlet of their coats.

Picking up her skirts in one hand and holding the rifle in the other, Mrs. Raines ran across the street and climbed the low garden wall of the house that stood on the corner

*(Continued on page 50)*

**1814** *(from page 48)*

of the plaza. Dropping to her knees she leveled the long barrel across the wall. She could see more clearly now. At the head of the troop rode an officer, dressed in scarlet and gold, astride a white horse.

She pressed her wrinkled cheek softly against the rifle stock and brought the sight in line with the red coat. She felt a sudden exultation as she drew the bead and pressed the trigger. The crash split the dusk with a roar and a shaft of flame and the recoil threw her violently backward.

Even before she saw the horse stumble forward, pitching the rider into the road, she knew that she had missed her target. Panic overcame her. She got to her feet and started to run. A dozen steps and she fell headlong, her foot caught in the hem of her skirt.

A soldier crashed through the bushes of the garden and a shout went up. "This way, men! Here he is! Halt, or I'll shoot!"

Rough hands seized her and lifted her to her feet, twisting her arms behind her. Her captor peered into her face and started back with an oath. "By God! It's a woman!"

The activity around the headquarters of General Robert Ross gradually grew less as the British army invested Washington that night. It was nearly dawn, though, before the General finished his despatches. He was not a young man, and he was tired. The battle of Bladensburg and the march on Washington had been exhausting and his shoulder hurt from the wrench he received when his horse was hit by the sniper's bullet and he was thrown to the ground. And the weather, the accursed weather! A man couldn't breathe in heat like this.

The General put down his pen and leaned back in his chair. "Is that all, Harrison?" he asked his aide, who stood looking out of the window, waiting impatiently for the General to finish.

"All, except for this death warrant, sir," replied the aide, placing a paper in front of the General.

"Death warrant? What's this all about?"

"The sniper, sir. The one that nearly got you on the plaza as we rode in. The Colonel has ordered the death penalty, sir. It needs your approval."

General Ross leaned forward and picked up his pen. "The Colonel is quite sure of the culprit?"

"Oh, yes sir. No doubt about it. A civilian irregular. She was caught right in the act, so to speak."

The General looked up in surprise. "What? *She!* What do you mean?"

"It's a woman, sir. Very defiant she is, too."

"Tell the Colonel," said General Ross, frowning and putting down his pen, "that the King's army does not shoot women." He picked up the death warrant and tore it into bits.

"But, sir. . . ."

"And further tell the Colonel," said the General getting to his feet, "that he should know better." He put his hand to his head and closed his eyes in weariness. "I may have done many foolish and perhaps some cruel things in my life as a soldier, Harrison. But I've never shot a woman. Not that."

"Yes, sir," said Harrison. "And what does the General want done with the woman?"

"Let her go. Set her free."

"But, sir. . . ." One did not contradict General Ross,

(*Continued on page 52*)

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**1814** *(from page 50)*

but neither did one face with any pleasure the wrath of the Colonel.

The General was looking out of the window. To the west the sky was alight with a great illumination. "Is that the President's House burning?" he asked.

"Yes, sir. The Congress House is already burned out."

"A sorry business," said the General, shortly.

"It will teach them a lesson, sir," said Harrison. "The Americans burned our house of government in Canada. Turn about is fair play. Now they get a bit of their own medicine."

"A sorry business," repeated the General. "Harrison, this war is not to my liking. We may not win it. And do you know why?"

"Oh, sir, I'm sure we'll win. . . ."

The General shook his head. "We are fighting our own breed," he said. "And we may not be able to beat them. We'll stumble around in this wild country, winning a battle here and there, capturing a few cities and towns. But that isn't victory. As we press forward, the Americans will fall back into the wilderness, and if we attempt to follow them the country will swallow us up. Being of our own breed, the Americans don't know when they're beaten. Even the women now fight us."

"But, sir. . . ."

The General straightened up. Despite the heat a shiver went down his spine. It suddenly came to him that he might never again see that England he loved so well, that this wild land would destroy him. "Good night, Harrison," he said, thoughtfully. "See that the Colonel sets that woman free, and then you'd better get some sleep yourself."

A fiery red sun of a new day was pushing up over the horizon as Mrs. Raines, utterly weary, reached Rock Creek. Once free, she had headed toward Georgetown, hoping to catch up with Jenny and Tom and David. She had come along Pennsylvania Avenue, stopping only for a moment to view the burned out remains of her shop. She passed the still smoldering ruins of the President's House; the smoke-blackened walls still stood, but the blank holes of windows showed the gutted interior. "Thank God," she said to herself when a passerby told her the President and Mrs. Madison had escaped.

It was when she was crossing the foot bridge at Rock Creek that she saw Tom. Her heart leaped at the sight, and for the first time tears coursed down her cheeks. He came hobbling toward her on a rudely fashioned crutch. They met, wordlessly, and clung together for a moment, too full for words.

Then, brushing away her unaccustomed tears, Mrs. Raines asked: "Are they safe, Tom? Did you get them across the river?"

"They're safe enough," he said. "I left them on the other side. They're with a preacher and his family. I came back for you. You all right?"

"Yes," she said. "The shop is gone. Burned out. But I'm all right."

"The redcoats haven't reached Georgetown yet," he said. "Let's hurry. I want to get you across the river before they get there. I'd be no good with this ankle in a fight."

She gave him her arm and they continued toward Georgetown. Tom stopped for breath. His swollen ankle was hurting so badly that his forehead was wrinkled with pain. Quite suddenly and unexpectedly despair flooded his face. "What ever will we do?" he asked, his voice shaking.

Seeing the distress in his face and the misery in his eyes, Mrs. Raines' own courage came rushing back to her, filling her as waters fill a well.

"We're all right, Tom," she said, her voice gaining confidence with every word. "We're alive, and we have a little money. Jenny. . . ."

"I can't marry Jenny now," he choked. "I'm poorer than dirt. . . ."

"Nonsense!" she said. "Why, lad, she wouldn't have anyone but you. Of course you'll marry her. She's at a preacher's, you say? Soon as we get there we'll arrange to have a wedding."

"But. . . ."

"No 'buts', Tom. Your farm is gone. My shop is burned out. But wait and see. Our luck will turn. Maybe you're forgetting we've got soldiers like Andy Jackson. Old Hickory, they call him. He's raising an army at New Orleans and will fight them there."

The courage in her voice was contagious and it lit a spark of hope in Tom's eyes. Through a break in the trees, they caught a glimpse of the smooth waters of the river and Mrs. Raines saw quick relief in Tom's face. She knew then that they were going to make it.

She wiped the sweat from her face and smiled at Tom. "You know," she said, "After the war is done, you and Jenny, and Davy and I, we'll all go west together and find some free land beyond the Ohio. We'll start a new home there. I never did like shopkeeping as much as farming. I'm strong yet, lad, and we'll make out."

She turned and looked back on Washington. A heavy pall of smoke hung over the captive city, darkening the sky. But even as she gazed the rising sun shone through the murk, a golden shaft, like a promise of the future. "Look, Tom!" she exclaimed, enthusiastically. "Sun's up. It's going to be a bright day. Just right for your wedding!"

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**PEACEMAKING** *(from page 29)*

will again, and inevitably, embark upon an ambitious career of world conquest. They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy and the teaching of that philosophy which has brought so much suffering to the world." Hitler, according to this, is but a symptom, and the evil must continue "inevitably" beyond our victory and his demise. Italy, itself, we are told, must "inevitably" embark on a "career of world conquest" if it is not kept disarmed after the war. Even with a new Italy in which Mussolini and Fascism have been overthrown we will not dare make a real peace, for the evil is not in Fascism or the Fascist regime but in the nation itself, which belongs to the species of "aggressor" state that the "peace-loving" states must continue to oppose.[1]

(*Continued on page 54*)

[1]Less than two months earlier (Nov. 14, 1942) an Assistant Secretary of State had said that if we could speak to the masses of Italy across the battle line we would tell them: "You are Italians, enslaved today by Fascist masters. . . . You seek to be free. . . . In the truest sense, the armies under the United Nations flag are armies for the liberation of Italy; they are the allies and friends of the mute, plain people from the Alps to Sicily. . . ." But this was overt propaganda.

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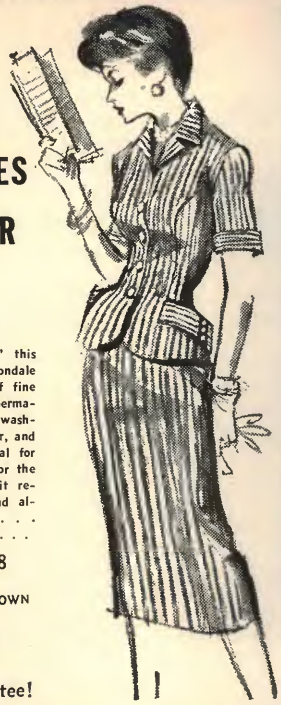

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**PEACEMAKING** *(from page 52)*

In a radio-address on Christmas Eve of 1943 the President read a lesson from history. "After the Armistice in 1918," he said, "we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next fifteen years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them—and even helped them—to rearm. For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace. The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. . . . If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression."

The men of 1814-1815 had found that the seat of guilt was in the ruler. The subsequent development of nationalism led the men of 1919 to find the seat of guilt in that abstraction, the nation. Now the development of the concept of popular sovereignty was leading the men of the 1940's to the finding that the people rather than their rulers were the prime source of guilt. The people of the Axis countries were portrayed as having deliberately placed in power and kept in power representative regimes that carried out their will. Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo were to this extent legitimatized and their guilt reduced to second place. One must necessarily ask how much one could claim for this attitude either of truth or utility.

Unconditional surrender was the logical consequence of the doctrine of popular guilt. If Hitler and Hitlerism, Mussolini and Fascism, Tojo and Japanese imperialism had been the sources of war-guilt, then their overthrow and destruction would have opened the way for a negotiated peace with an innocent successor regime. But a successor regime that represented the people would not do now as in 1918 (when Wilson had refused to negotiate with the imperial government precisely because it did not represent the people), for the people themselves were evil. We could not make peace with the people in these countries if peace meant mutual agreement and reconciliation. We could not make that "peace between equals" which Wilson had called the only peace that can last. We could only require them to put themselves completely at our mercy, for it would be necessary for us to hold them in bondage pending their re-education, reorientation, and reform. They were not to think that they could escape the consequences of our purpose by overthrowing their criminal governments for we had identified them as the real criminals. They had no way out but to fight on.

In his proclamation of unconditional surrender at Casablanca on January 26, 1943, the President said that we did not intend the destruction of the people in Germany, Italy, and Japan, but "the total and merciless destruction of the machinery *they* have built up for imposing totalitarian doctrines on the world."[1] (emphasis supplied).

We have seen that Stalin apparently found it expedient to limit the blame to Hitler and Hitlerism. He now accepted the objective of unconditional surrender, but with a qualification that made all the difference. In his Order of the Day on May 1, 1943, he included the following statement: "But of what kind of peace can one talk with the imperialist bandits from the German-Fascist camp who have flooded Europe with blood and studded it with gallows? Is it not clear that only the utter routing of the Hitlerite armies and the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany can bring peace to Europe?" This left Stalin quite free to conclude a negotiated peace with any successor regime that might, in the course of the war, replace the regime of Hitler. We apparently reserved no such freedom for ourselves.

We did, indeed, make promises to the Axis peoples — but these promises, in the light of other statements that have been quoted, must have been limited in the conviction they carried. On June 14, 1942, the President had said in an address: "We [of the United Nations, in the context] ask the German people, still dominated by their Nazi whipmasters, whether they would rather have the mechanized hell of Hitler's 'new order' or — in place of that — freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want and from fear. We ask the Japanese people, trampled by their savage lords of slaughter, whether they would rather continue slavery and blood or — in place of them — freedom of speech and religion, freedom from want." In an address of October 21, 1944, he said: "We bring no charge against the German race, as such, for we cannot believe that God has eternally condemned any race of humanity." Even this denial of "racism," with its qualifications—"as such" and "eternally" —comes uncomfortably close to being an assertion.[1] "The German people are not going to be enslaved," he continued, "because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery. But it will be necessary for them to earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations."

While we were persuaded that the post-war international order would have to be established before victory because of the danger that our coalition would not hold together after, we foresaw a rather indefinite period of transition before we would be ready to conclude treaties of peace with Germany, Italy, and Japan. "During the war there had been a widespread feeling that since the victors were resolved to establish full control over the defeated states, the negotiation of formal peace treaties could well be deferred for some time. . . . There was also the theory of a cooling-off period, the advocates of which believed that a serious mistake had been made after World War I in negotiating formal peace treaties while the passions aroused by the war were still strong. . . ."[2] It is not clear, in the retrospective view, why delay in making the peace-treaties was apparently not considered to entail the same danger, of a falling-out between wartime allies, as delay in creating the international order.

There is no indication that we had appreciated all the possible implications of the disequilibrium of power that would exist on the Eurasian continent when German and Japanese power were no more. This is understandable in view of our traditional aversion to thinking in such terms. On November 18, 1943, reporting to a joint session of Congress on the Moscow Conference, which had issued the Four

[1]Report in *Christian Science Monitor* of January 27, 1943, which, in accordance with custom, does not directly quote the President.

[1]Immediately after Pearl Harbor, on December 9, 1941, he had stated this more positively, saying, "We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God."

[2]The Brookings Institution: "Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy: 1947."

Power Declaration of intentions with respect to post-war international organization, Secretary of State Hull said: "As the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests."

Nor could we altogether escape being affected by the expedient public attitudes that the times required. One of our Assistant Secretaries of State, who later showed that he was not backward in privately recognizing the danger from Soviet Russia, in the same address in which he listed her as one of the "four great freedom-loving powers" said: "Soviet Russia, when she is victorious, . . . will not, in our judgment, become the victim of any urge to seize great additions to her already huge empire."[1]

One might have expected the British to be more sensitive about the post-war balance-of-power — as, indeed, they were — but they did not demur at the project to occupy and totally disarm Germany in perpetuity. Even before the war Churchill had expressed the view that the great mistake of the allies after 1919 was the dual mistake of trying to destroy the German economy and not intervening to prevent German rearmament. He felt that the allies had insisted on the wrong sanctions. Thus from the beginning of World War II it was dogma with the British (and we agreed for the most part) that the economic provisions of the post-war settlement with Germany should be generous (Keynesian thinking had sunk deep) but that she should be militarily disarmed and kept that way. Reparations were to be in kind rather than in currency.

In a broadcast of August 24, 1941, reporting the conclusion of the Atlantic Charter Churchill said, "There are two distinct and marked differences in this joint declaration from the attitude adopted by the Allies during the latter part of the last war . . . the United States and Great Britain . . . intend to take ample precaution to prevent its [i.e. war's] renewal in any period we can foresee by effectively disarming the guilty nations while remaining suitably protected ourselves. The second difference is this: that instead of trying to ruin German trade . . . we have definitely adopted the view that it is not in the interests of the world and of our two countries that any large nation should be unprosperous or shut out from the means of making a decent living for itself and its people by its industry and enterprise."

Keynes has shown that Wilson suffered some psychological disadvantage at the Paris peace-table because of the general readiness to damn as "pro-German" anyone who persisted too much in pressing for magnanimous terms. The allies of the second War may have been similarly handicapped in discussing post-war arrangements with Stalin. Churchill had actually lost his temper at the ruthlessness of certain proposals put forward by Stalin at Teheran. In any case, there appears to have been a wave of harsh proposals for dismembering Germany or reducing her to an agricul-

[1]In this address the speaker also exemplified the prevalent view of the day that the line-up of "aggressor" and "peace-loving" nations was relatively immutable, saying: "Wisdom, justice, and mere common sense require that China shall be the great Eastern power in the framework of peace." Well before a decade had passed we would have preferred Japan. The great mistake, here as elsewhere, is in identifying national behavior altogether with national character in disregard of the nature of the governing regime.

tural country in a status of economic colonialism, and these proposals appear momentarily to have been accepted by the harassed American and British leaders. In "a note to my colleagues" of January 14, 1944, just after Teheran, Churchill said: ". . . the British, United States, and Russian Governments are I understand agreed that Germany is to be decisively broken up into a number of separate States. East Prussia and Germany east of the river Oder are to be alienated for ever and the population shifted. Prussia itself is to be divided and curtailed. The Ruhr and other great centres of coal and steel must be put outside the power of Prussia."[1]

At last, without agreement among the allies on the ultimate disposition of Germany, came the long wished-for day when Hitler was dead and a "Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Forces of Occupation" in Germany (Eisenhower) received a directive from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS 1067 of April, 1945) on the "Basic Objectives of Military Government in Germany." Part I, 4 provided:

"a. It should be brought home to the Germans . . . that the Germans cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves.

"b. Germany will not be occupied for the purpose of liberation but as a defeated enemy nation. . . .

"c. The principal Allied objective is to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a threat to the peace of the world."

A month earlier (March 1), reporting to Congress on the Yalta Conference, the President had proclaimed a broader objective. "Our objective in handling Germany is simple," he said, "— it is to secure the peace of the future world." And how was one to secure the peace of the future world? Three years later Field Marshal Smuts, referring to the events of 1919, was to say: "The paramount task was to bring Germany back into the fold. It was impossible to cut her out. . . . In 1919 the central problem was the reintegration of Germany, and . . . that is the problem today."[2]

No one can say with untroubled conviction that a different concept and a different policy in World War II would have put us in a radically better position at the end of the fighting. We might have had better aims and missed them, in spite of all we could do. But a larger view would surely have held a greater hope. If we had regarded the Nazi regime in Germany, the Fascist regime in Italy, and the warlords of Japan as our real enemies, rather than the German, Italian, and Japanese peoples, then we might ultimately have enlisted the effective support of those peoples, we might have carried the war to a point at which the peoples themselves would have risen to overthrow their discredited governments. If the "total victory" at which we aimed had been total victory over the masters rather than the masses, if we had required the unconditional surrender of the masters only, then we might never have had to occupy part of Germany and to consent, consequently, to the Soviet Union's occupation of another part; we might never have had to create those "power vacuums" into which the Soviet Union proceeded to expand. Germany might have remained as a guarantor of the security of western Europe; and conceivably Japan would have remained as a check against the advance of Communism in northeast Asia. France had played precisely such a role before the year was out in which Napoleon met his final defeat. Weimar Germany might have played some such role from the beginning if Wilson's great American policy had not given way to the petty nationalistic policy of Versailles. Our anxiety to restore German and Japanese power today, when difficulties have mounted and much has already been lost, gives some cogency to this exercise in retrospection. For, once again, the independent position of the Soviet Union, if nothing else, has made it impossible for us to carry out the wartime decision to hold Germany down, perhaps for a generation, when the war was over.

And even if we suppose that such another policy would not have succeeded in the achievement of its principal aims, that the peoples of the Axis countries would not have overthrown their governments, that 1918 would not have repeated itself, that there would have been frantic resistance up to the final hour when the armies of the West met the Red armies in the heart of Germany — even then it is hard to see how our position would have been worse rather than better. For in that case we could not have regarded our occupation as the continuation of war rather than the inauguration of peace, and we would not have indulged in the repeated mistake of the Western powers of being simultaneously at odds with Germany and Russia.

Surely it is not without significance that the post-war settlements which the allies planned to impose on their defeated enemies in 1919 and 1945 alike had to be abandoned, and in both cases for much the same reasons. In both cases the dominant allied leaders thought that, on the one hand, they could organize a general peace, and on the other hand abstain from making peace with the vanquished. Because we chose, without any real necessity of doing so, to regard the vanquished nations, the peoples themselves, as criminals, whatever regimes they were under, we could not make peace with them, we could not bring them back into the family, we could not seat them at the same table with ourselves. And that meant that we could not make a general peace even though every other circumstance had favored it. A privileged peace for "peace-loving nations" only is not a general peace; by implication it is a tyranny.

It was not feasible for a nation like ours to project a world in which for an indefinite period of years one set of nations were the subjects and another set the masters. For one thing, our subjugation of other peoples would quickly have become unacceptable to us as a matter of conscience, being inimical to our established principles as a nation. Aside from this, however, the master-nations, with discrepant views and rival interests, could hardly have been expected to resist the temptation of negotiating with the subject-nations, which would then find those who were willing to pay a price for their friendship. When that happened the United States would awaken to the fact that, since national security rests no less on consent than on force, it was not in the national interest to cultivate the continuing enmity of any important peoples on the international scene. The fact that a particular people really did have dangerous tendencies, if such were the case, would make this none the less true. In the aftermath of both wars Russia, by standing apart from us, whether at our instance or her own, brought about the loosening of the enemy's bonds. Twice we refused to make peace with a defeated Germany, only to be forced by the recovery of German independence to go about making it anyway.

[1]Churchill: "The Hinge of Fate," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1950.
[2]1948 interview with Roy Forbes Harrod, reported in his "The Life of John Maynard Keynes," New York, Harcourt Brace, 1951.


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**THEY WILL RETURN** *(from page 30)*

years—nor could we write to anyone—it was only after we returned to West Germany that we learned that the bodies of the bishop and one of the seven leaders had been discovered by a French missionary among the bodies of three thousand civilian prisoners murdered before the United Nations troops took Pyongyang in 1950."

From the Pyongyang prison, the forty-two monks and twenty nuns still surviving were transferred to a prison camp at the dead end of what the Benedictines called "Death Canyon." There they languished for eighteen months before they were suddenly moved into Manchuria when United Nations forces stabbed to within twenty miles of the camp during the Christmas 1950 MacArthur offensive.

"Of course, we had no way of hearing about the progress of the war except through news that leaked into us from various sources," the missionaries say. "One day the United Nations planes flew right over our camp and we saw them dropping bombs on a nearby railroad tunnel."

Their Communist masters then dragged the missionaries from the camp and marched them by night almost sixty five miles to the Yalu River which they crossed on a wooden bridge during a driving snow storm. Included in the marching column were hundreds of manacled South Korean political prisoners who provided the Benedictines with fresh news on the war.

With the same industriousness with which the Fifth Century Benedictines built the famous Abbey on a mountain top at Cassino, Italy, these Twentieth Century Benedictines set to work improving on their crude prison dwellings and on farming the unkempt land. At first, all sixty-two were forced to live in two small houses. By the time they departed, the number of houses had quintupled, and the harvests were yielding fairly good crops. The prisoners had even constructed comfortable quarters for the Communist guards and their families who "took care of consuming all the choice food." The captives never tasted an egg taken from the nests of the hens they raised, nor a drop of milk from the cows they tended, nor a leaf from the green vegetables they cultivated.

Despite the measures taken by the monks and nuns to transform the former concentration camp into a relatively liveable area, starvation and overwork combined to take their toll.

"Our Red captors had left us to die alone," says one of the Brothers, "and seventeen of our men and two of our Sisters succumbed to their evil wish. Even the sick were forced to work, and when one was too sick to move, then he was permitted to remain indoors—and his starvation ration was cut in half."

Later during their imprisonment, the missionaries were allowed to observe one mass a day with an old box as an altar and with a home-made crucifix. The camp directors tried in vain to influence them through political lectures. They would even interrupt the celebration of mass by shouting out the names of those who were to report to work details.

On November 19, 1953, the group was moved to a "fattening up center" where they were given good food and outfitted with clothing manufactured in Soviet satellite countries and where they viewed "Soviet culture films" which showed American soldiers snatching babies from the arms of their weeping Korean mothers. At this center they were also provided with doses of tape-worm medicine which had been withheld from them for almost five years. One missionary was found to have scores of worms more than ten inches long.

Before departing from North Korea, each prisoner had to sign a statement attesting to "the wonderful treatment I've received." On the Chinese side of the Yalu River, they were greeted by a German Soviet Zone consular official who gave them some East German newspapers—the first papers they had read since 1949.

At several stop-over points during their two-week trip across Siberia to Moscow in a comfortable sleeping car, the missionaries were permitted to take sight-seeing strolls, but they found that the "superb business and living conditions" that existed within view of the railroad stations suddenly turned to slums as they rounded the corners.

"Between the Yalu and the Oder, people know how to keep secrets," they remark. "Not only do the lips of the people refrain from uttering a sound, but also their faces dare not show any expression."

For the past few weeks, the missionaries have been getting acquainted with the world again through newspapers and periodicals and browsing hthrough the monastery's library. But the Brothers make it clear that they bear no rancor towards their captors and persecutors.

All of them wish to be sent back to Korea, for, as one of them asserts, "our lives are there."

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**ECONOMY** *(from page 21)*

and these in turn are promptly reflected in the expansion and contraction of our governmental agencies.

Therefore we must face the fact that the many and varied functions which the American people have come to expect from our postwar Foreign Service require adequate staffing of our establishments abroad. The trimming of personnel that can be done without impairing essential functions is small from an overall budget standpoint. If cuts are made below that level, sooner or later public needs will require restitution of those functions. It then costs a great deal more to rebuild the service than it would have cost to maintain the staffs intact over the long haul.

Unfortunately these ups and downs not only fail to yield long range economies but seriously impair efficiency of operation. Our government services tend to follow a "boom and bust" pattern, with each recovery being more expensive and less efficient than the one it preceded. This is the story, to give but one recent example, of the Voice of America, whose successive ups and downs have resulted in dispersal of talent which cannot easily be lured back into government service when the pendulum swings upward again.

A study then of the history of our government agencies leads to the inevitable conclusion that drastic personnel reductions are the most evanescent form of economy. In the long run they are cancelled out by compensatory periods of abnormal growth. So having already examined the dubious quality of any *immediate* economies, we may also legitimately entertain serious doubt whether the RIF program will result in *future* economies.

(*Continued on page* 59)

We can then summarize the present position of the Foreign Service by recognizing that in the minds of many of its employees, it has in recent years been subjected to attempts to dilute its career principle; to weaken its moral fiber by attacks on its loyalty, objectivity and integrity; to curtail its employment benefits by moral if not legal breaches of the employment contract; and lastly to impair the principle of job security altogether.

And all this has happened during a period when America is in the midst of a luke-warm war with a deadly enemy, a war which threatens to get hotter by the minute; a time when the Foreign Service should be operating at its highest level of efficiency in order to strengthen our position throughout the world and thus perhaps prevent a war — which is always better and cheaper than having to try to win one.

Our top political leaders all recognize this vital role of the Foreign Service. Both the President and the Secretary of State have referred to the Foreign Service in terms which proves they are fully awake to its importance as to the "eyes and ears of our government abroad." They have often referred to it as our first line of defense. Congressional leaders returning from tours abroad praise the Foreign Service and recognize that it is essential to keep it strong.

Yet the blows have continued to rain on it from all directions; regulations seem to come out almost every other day, each containing some new block-buster for morale; Foreign Service posts continue to be closed, and additional personnel reductions are threatened.

If all this were past history we might be content to let matters rest at that, hoping that normal processes of regeneration and change would in time heal the wounds and restore the spirit. But if we face the future realistically we must conclude that additional economy measures are on the drawing board for coming fiscal years. Should these new economies be translated into personnel policies such as those we have witnessed in the recent past, we may well doubt whether the Foreign Service which was envisaged in the enlightened Act of 1946 can survive.

It is therefore up to us in the field to speak up now while there is yet time for sensible planning. We must come forward with constructive and balanced suggestions on how *true* economies can be effected without impairing the essential functions of the Foreign Service. The word *true* is emphasized because our basic premise must be that any economy which further deteriorates the quality of the service, is in the long run, a *false* economy.

We should make it clear that no one in the Foreign Service is opposed to economy as such. On the contrary we are all for it and consider that in many cases it is both salutary and necessary, but we should explore every possible avenue to effect such economy without further demoralizing and dismembering our staffs. For it is the right of the American people and its Congressional representatives to know that if the Foreign Service is reduced below the critical level it will be infinitely more costly and difficult to build it up again. After all, it is easy to burn a house but difficult to rebuild it. To burn a house a moron plus a match can do the trick, but to build a house requires careful planning, skilled architecture, and laborious construction. Similarly, to preserve a structure may require much more foresight and care than to let it deteriorate by default, but the former course will be much more economical in the long run.

Therefore what this article proposes is that instead of attacking the problem of economy with a meat axe, we use a scalpel and carefully dissect away the diseased tissue, so that not only may the operation be a success but the patient may also survive and be healthier for it. Some of the directions in which legitimate and healthy economies might be made are suggested below. It it hoped that this article will spur others in the Foreign Service to produce additional concrete proposals. After all there is a wealth of talent and brain in the Foreign Service and a problem of such importance to the future of the service should elicit literally hundreds of constructive proposals. To make a beginning therefore the following are suggested:

1. *Tours of duty should be longer.* Yes, the Department has already moved in this direction and received many complaints; we know that. But this proposal is quite different in that it seeks to balance the need of economy with the welfare of the individual employee. The proposed plan should work as follows: All posts should be divided into three "length of tour" categories. These would be determined according to hardship and comfort factors already on file in the Department's Allowances Branch. Based on these factors posts would be divided into:

(a) *Preference Posts* — the really plush posts — the kind any one in the Foreign Service will jump with joy if assigned to. The tour of duty at these posts should be for five years with home leave at the end of the first three years.

(b) *Regular Posts* — The ordinary run of the mill posts where conditions of life are neither luxurious nor beset with severe hardships. At these posts the tour of duty should be for four years with home leave at the end of the first two years.

(c) *Hardship Posts* — these are the places where few people serve willingly; where climatic and other factors place a severe strain on the employee and his family. At these posts the tour should be for three years with home leave at the end of two years, BUT during the third year the employee at this type of post would receive an additional within-grade raise at the end of the first six months and 15 days additional leave for that year which he could use either locally to obtain temporary respite in a more comfortable area or, at his choice, save this leave to add to his regular home leave when next eligible. At the end of his third year at one of these posts an employee would be transferred directly to his next post and his year at the hardship post would count towards his next home leave.

Moreover at these posts an *incentive system* should be worked out to induce employees who have finished their three years' tours to stay an additional year. In return for volunteering for an additional year they should be offered:

(1) An additional within-grade raise at the end of six months.

(2) Twenty extra days of leave for the year to be used at the employee's choice.

(3) The voluntary year should count as a year and a half of overseas service towards the next home leave.

This system of extending tours of duty would result in substantial economies to the government by reducing frequency of transfers. It must be remembered that every transfer means transportation not only of the employee and his family with their per diem, but also his car, his household effects and great loss of work time, etc. If frequency of transfers can be reduced it would mean a real saving.

At the same time under this proposed system the employee is given due consideration and an incentive to serve longer at difficult posts. In the first place it should be elear that this system would not be retroactive. That is it would apply only to assignments made after it was announced. The employee who is sent to a preference post knows he will not get home leave until three years later, but he is compensated by his lucky assignment. One who is assigned to a regular post gets his home leave at the end of the normal two years period and both he and the government benefit by his returning to the same post for another two years. The employee does not have to break up his house, pack, spend time and money which are always involved in a move. The government saves money on transportation of effects, transfer allowances etc. and gets the benefit of two additional years of an experienced employee at the post.

An employee assigned to a hardship post gets additional compensation both in money and in leave for his extra year of duty. He still gets his home leave at the end of two years, but does not have to pack and ship his belongings. The government also saves by delaying the shipment of effects and transportation of family for another year. The cost of the additional leave and the raise will be small by comparison in almost every case.

Quite apart from the money saved directly, it is a well known fact in the Foreign Service that at least six to nine months of an employee's tour at a post must go largely into making the necessary connections, getting acquainted, getting unpacked and settled in a new home, and finally getting re-packed to leave. The amount of lost time varies with the individual and the job, but on the whole the government stands to gain a great deal in effective man-hours from its labor force.

The proposed system can be worked out in further detail by the Department's personnel experts, but the fundamental concepts of reducing the periodicity of transfers coupled with a genuine regard for the welfare of the employee must be observed. The system should be based on the principle of making it attractive to the employee, refraining from any retroactive imposition of new rules, and yet saving the government some money. With careful and well-intentioned study it can be done. Refinements such as graduated incentives for voluntary extension of tour at hardship posts depending on the present scale of hardship allowances could and no doubt should be worked out. But with a will and some careful planning all can be made to benefit the employee, the Foreign Service and the government as a whole.

2. *Shipments of household effects should be reduced.* This is one field where economies are not only essential and can be readily made, but where such economies would also benefit the employees of the Foreign Service. Recently in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL there appeared a letter from an officer in Tokyo describing an old beaten-up dresser which had started its life in Tokyo a number of years before and after travelling several times around the world at government expense, now found itself once again back in Tokyo.

This story epitomizes the ridiculous situation which now prevails. Each year the government transports for Foreign Service employees thousands of tons of basic furniture from one post to another. John Doe, transferred from Bombay to Santiago carried his refrigerator with him, and his replacement coming from Bonn to Bombay has to bring his refrigerator with him. Both shipments are at government expense. In many cases the equipment brought at government expense is not worth what it costs to ship. Moreover it is often not suitable to the new climate, or it cannot be used because of such things as difference in the electric current.

The complications created by the present system are legion and both the government and the employee suffer. Some half-hearted attempts to remedy this situation have been made and certain suggestions put forth, but what is needed is a rational and comprehensive plan to lay before Congress. The following plan is suggested:

All *basic* furniture should be supplied by the government. A careful study should be made to decide what type of furniture falls within the category of "basic." This should he done by getting each post to submit a list of what it considers "basic" for that area. The tendency to do this sort of planning from Washington should be reversed. Certain types of furniture will clearly fall within this classification, e.g., refrigerators, stoves, beds, lamps, air-conditioners, heaters, dressers, sofas, easy chairs, dining room furniture, etc. Other types of furniture will be borderline, e.g., coffee tables, kitchen utensils, rugs, curtains, etc. Whether or not such borderline furniture should be supplied by the government could depend on local conditions.

There is a third type of furniture, the possession of which, to most people in the Foreign Service, spells the difference between a house and a home. There are objects d'art collected at many posts; there are specially handsome pieces to adorn the living room or the dining room; there are junior's toys and daddy's favorite desk as well as his Shopsmith; there are mama's paints and her Chinese vases, and her special bed, ("the only one in which she can sleep really comfortably"), etc. Some provisions must be made for these special requirements which obviously will vary from family to family.

The proper way to do this is to take the present weight allowances and reduce them by the weight of basic furniture which is provided by the government. The balance of the weight allowance should be available to each family to transport its specially cherished possessions. If one family wants to use its allowance to transport beds, or sofas, or dining furniture of which it is specially fond even though the government already provides these items at the post, let them do it by all means. In other words allow room for individual tastes and desires, but reduce the allowance by the standard weight of the furniture the government provides. This will reduce repetitive transportation of furniture and save the government many dollars.

An important reform which should be introduced while we are on this subject is to make the new weight allowances dependent not only on rank and salary of the employee, but also on the number of dependents in his family. The highest proportion of families with small children is to be found among relatively junior employees, who at present have the lowest weight allowances. Yet these families must carry the most paraphernalia invariably associated with growing chil-

dren. The remedy is to add increments of say 1,000 lbs. for each dependent in the family.

Now in putting such a plan into effect, two things must be remembered. The first is that special pains must be taken to insure that furniture provided by the government is attractive and kept attractive. This will require some effort of administrative supervision. But much of the opposition to reduction in weight allowances stems from Foreign Service wives who remember with horror living in drab government-furnished quarters. Yet many of us have seen government quarters furnished tastefully and there is no reason why this should not be the rule rather than the exception.

The second thing to remember is that many Foreign Service families already have a substantial investment in a complete set of furniture. Now if their weight allowances are reduced suddenly they will be stuck with this furniture. The answer to this problem is for the government to purchase from Foreign Service employees any items of basic furniture they already have at their posts. A committee headed by a senior officer at each post could be authorized to arrive at a fair valuation and purchase price. This would at once save the government the shipping charges not only of new items which would have to be shipped to the post, but the cost of shipping the items purchased to another post. If an employee refuses to sell his basic furniture at a fair price, he should be allowed to ship to his permanent residence (or any nearer point), all or any part of his household effects. This shipment would be on a one-time basis, the employee being restricted thereafter to his reduced weight allowance.

This process presupposes of course that the government will undertake to supply basic items of furniture at all posts whether government quarters are provided or not. Otherwise an employee might divest himself of his furniture only to find that at his next post he has to procure new furniture at what might in many cases be a severe financial loss. In other words good faith will be required from all parties to this process.

3. *Government housing* — Substantial long-range savings could be made by providing government housing at all permanent posts. An honest study should be made of housing needs at all posts. Posts should be classified into those where representation will almost certainly be maintained and those which might be curtailed or even shut down in the future under certain circumstances. This cannot be categorical in every case but a sound estimate can be made for planning purposes. Then each post should be asked to submit the minimum number of housing units it would need for its staff, presupposing normal operation. From this figure a percentage could be taken off to allow for possible future reductions and we would come up with a figure representing the post's minimum housing requirements. An immediate program should be launched either to purchase or lease for the government the minimum number of housing units required at each post. Hardship posts and posts where housing shortage is critical should be given first preference in this program. Construction of luxurious Embassy buildings in the plush capitals could well wait until the needs of the service for essential housing are met, and appropriations contemplated for these spectacular projects should be diverted to procurement of basic housing.

Government housing if available at every post will save the government money by reducing payments of rental allowances. The government can buy, build or rent on much more favorable terms than an individual employee. These housing units can then be supplied with items of basic furniture as suggested above. Additional saving to the government over the long haul will also come from reduction in the payment of Temporary Lodging Allowances, since employees could move into their dwellings immediately upon arrival at the post instead of being confined to a hotel for periods ranging from weeks to months. Employees would be saved the tedious moving in and getting settled process and the government would benefit by their being able to devote their energies to their jobs rather than to house hunting and moving.

4. *Simplify Accounting system* — Too much of the administrative overhead of the Foreign Service is unnecessarily employed in disentangling the intricacies of our present accounting system. Accounting procedures now in vogue seem premised on the assumption that anyone dealing with government funds is a potential rogue at heart. Multiple checks and safeguards and endless voucher forms, as well as ancillary reports are supposed to curb this criminal instinct and prevent loss to the government. As a matter of fact the very intricacy of the system makes it comparatively easy for a clever and resolute embezzler to defraud the government. In other words the system does not discourage the criminal though it effectively hamstrings the honest public servant from expeditiously and accurately presenting his accounts. It is realized that these procedures apply to the government as a whole and that they are enforced by the General Accounting Office. But our top government officials have emphasized that where present legislation interferes with economy, the executive departments should not hesitate to propose amendments or even outright repeal.

This presents the Foreign Service with an opportunity to make concrete proposals for reviewing our archaic public accounting procedures. The Foreign Service which must operate on a world-wide basis is specially hampered by the accounting methods now in use. This has necessitated the establishment of "central" accounting posts and "constituent" posts (presumably to avoid duplication), but the truth is that the system is inherently such, that these attempts at simplification usually result in additional duplication of personnel and energies.

Let us take as an example the simple subject of travel vouchers. Why could not employees be paid on a flat basis computed on a tabular scale for their travel to and from posts. Many governments already do this. If employee X of a certain rank is travelling from Washington to Madras with a certain number of dependents, he could receive a flat sum which would include the type of passage he is entitled to, per diem, etc. Then he should be told that he is to get himself to his post by a certain date computed on the basis of *normal* surface transit time. If the employee is sufficiently mature and trustworthy to go abroad as a representative of his country he should be trusted to make his own travel arrangements accordingly. If he is not capable of doing this much for himself, his desirability as a Foreign Service employee should be seriously questioned. Perhaps in the case of very junior employees, or new employees, the present system of travel could be used for their first trip.

Let us just ponder what such a new system of travel would mean economy-wise. At present a number of people in the Department and at posts abroad are occupied in making travel arrangements, booking tickets, issuing transportation requests, computing per diem, making out long and often involved travel vouchers. These vouchers must be reviewed, often reviewed again by the central post, then passed upon by the Department's Finance Division, where a considerable number of other people have to "audit" these vouchers, and finally sent to the General Accounting Office for a final "post audit."

If the employee received a flat sum, one simple voucher could be prepared and no one would have to check to determine whether the traveller was paid at the proper per diem rate for 3½ hours while his plane was grounded in Beirut. Nor would this decision have to be reviewed all the way up the administrative pyramid.

Of course the proposed system will require careful study and preparation in the first instance. And of course certain drawbacks can be foretold. For example a few employees may take the lump sum paid to them for first class passage and travel tourist and pocket the difference. So what! If the employee prefers to travel in discomfort and save some money, the government loses nothing by it. This in any case would be the exception rather than the rule. A few other employees would take more time than allowed for their trip. All right, simply charge it to their leave. Some employees will go to a travel agency to make arrangements for them. That is just fine. So long as it costs the government no more, it seems quite proper to let a private enterprise benefit from the business and remove the administrative burden from the government's back. If there is some question as to trusting the employee with his passage and per diem money in advance, he can be required to enter into a commitment or bond as is now done for travel advances.

In fact this system of lump sum payments could be extended to shipment of effects as well. An employee is allowed to ship a certain weight of household effects overseas. Compute the cost on charts made for the purpose and pay him the money and let him arrange for packing and shipping. If he wants to save some money by leaving part of his bric-a-brac in storage or disposing of it, fine, let him do so. He may want to use the money to replace some of the items after arrival at the post. That too is no concern of the government. This system would have to be tied in closely with the other proposals outlined above for supplying all basic items of furniture at each post and giving the employee a reduced weight allowance for his intimate belongongs.

In addition to the above there are other numerous ways in which modest economies can be made. And we must remember that a series of small economies may add up to a substantial sum. After all the General Services Administration, by simply standardizing purchase of such items as stationery and paper clips, saved enough money last year to run the entire Department of State and the Foreign Service for three years. So why not reconsider such items as the need for drivers at our posts abroad. Most Americans are considered sufficiently reliable to drive themselves at home. They are also often entrusted with valuable government property, funds, and even State secrets. Yet the peculiar attitude has developed at most posts that American employees cannot be trusted behind the wheel of a government car.

The above proposals are just a few of many which have undoubtedly occurred many times to employees in the Department of State and the Foreign Service, by means of which substantial, long range, and true economies could be made. The Department has undoubtedly given consideration to some or all of the suggestions made above. But of course translating these rough suggestions into mature programs requires careful study, a long-range point of view and skillful steering through our bureaucratic mazes. What is needed is the emotional impetus and resolution to push them through. Perhaps the severe shock of the RIF program coupled with the threat of additional personnel cuts will supply the needed incentive in sheer self-defense. If we can prove that we can clean our own house of wasteful practice and save the money in other ways, perhaps our pleas to mitigate the harshness of future personnel retrenchments will fall on more sympathetic ears. In any event it is our bounden duty as good citizens to propose sane, even if less spectacular, alternatives to the dismemberment of the Foreign Service.

At this point the usual objection raised is that Congress will not approve funds for proposals such as suggested above because they involve a substantial initial outlay, whereas savings will be reflected only over a period of years. This same objection is usually raised whenever a rational long range economy is suggested. The answer is that Congressmen who sit on the Appropriations Committee are no different from other conscientious public servants. If a sound business proposition is put to them and the facts are presented in an honest and clear fashion, they are just as reasonable as the rest of us. The writer of this article before joining the Foreign Service had considerable experience presenting budgets before Congressional Committees. He always found them eminently reasonable and willing to listen to facts, specially if the proposals offered any hope of effecting substantial economies. The trouble is that often these committees are approached with the attitude that the Committee is going to be unreasonable. This attitude of timidity has caused our executive departments to resort to all manner of subterfuges and to "sugaring the pill" in their budget presentations. Congressmen are quick to spot such tactics and have therefore, to a large extent, lost faith in the integrity of executive budgets. This writer found that if an Appropriations Committee was presented with the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, including all facts favorable and unfavorable supported by concise statements of the benefits which would accrue to the government if the appropriation was approved, and the detriments if it was disapproved, the result was always an eminently fair and equitable decision.

It is suggested that in presenting these proposals for economy, the Department should state its case in the above terms to the Bureau of the Budget and Congress with implicit faith that it will receive a just verdict. If for some reason beyond our control the decision goes against us, we can at least rest assured that we have presented our case honestly and the responsibility is off our shoulders and rests squarely with the Congress which must ultimately account to the American people.

## TRANSFERS FOR MARCH 1954

| NAME | POST FROM | POST TO |
|---|---|---|
| Anderson, Roberta A. | San Jose | Madrid |
| Armour, Norman, Jr. | Dept. | Nuevo Laredo |
| Bandoni, Joseph P. | Glasgow | Yokohama |
| Birkeland, Carl | Stockholm | Liverpool |
| Blasier, Stewart C. | Belgrade | Salzburg |
| Bream, Gray | Dacca | Amsterdam |
| Brown, Merrill A. | Dept. | Haifa |
| Brown, Robert Lyle | Kobe | Paris |
| Bushong, Martha S. | Martinque | Yokohama |
| Byrd, Richard W. | Canberra | Dept. |
| Cameron, Turner C. J. | Saigon | Hanoi |
| Certosimo, Antonio | Mexicali | Habana |
| Clattenburg, Albert | Montreal | Nice |
| Cochran, William P. | Dept. | Taipei |
| Collins, James F. | New Appt. | Djakarta |
| Collins, Ralph S. | Bad Godesberg | Belgrade |
| Corrigan, Robert F. | Dakar | Seville |
| Crume, John B. | San Jose | Ciudad Juarez |
| Cunningham, Joseph | Beirut | Hamburg |
| Curtis, Glion, Jr. | Zurich | Panama |
| Davies, Donald M. | Dept. | Paris |
| Day, Osborne A. | New Appt. | Kabul |
| Donald, Richard H. | Tokyo | Bogota |
| Dur, Philip F. | Bremen | Colon |
| Finne, Florence H. | Dept. | Managua |
| Gamon, David L. | Tel Aviv | Palermo |
| Green, A. Ruth | Montreal | Belgrade |
| Hargis, Harry R. | Manila | Paris USRO |
| Hulick, Charles E. | Berlin | Dept. |
| Ingraham, Edward C. | Perth | Madras |
| Jelich, John W., Jr. | Tehran | Lisbon |
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| Kling, William | London | Panama |
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| Lancaster, Nathaniel | Rotterdam | Curacao |
| Lanius, Paul B., Jr. | Johannesbg | Stockholm |
| Lawyer, Elvira | Dept. | Rangoon |
| Lewis, James H. | New Appt. | London |
| Lindstrom, Herman E. | Montreal | Rotterdam |
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| Winship, Stephen | Dept. | Perth |
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| Zawadski, Casimir T. | Halifax | Palermo |

## RETIREMENTS AND RESIGNATIONS

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| Clinkscales, Mary | Anderson, Edward |
| Fried, Milton | Dunn, William B. |
| Ireland, Thomas W. | Houk, Walter P. |
| Talbot, Jack V. | Wells, Bradford |

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