

A black and white photograph of ancient Greek ruins, featuring a row of six standing columns supporting a partially ruined entablature. In the foreground, the dark silhouette of a person wearing a head covering is visible, looking towards the ruins. The scene is set against a light, overcast sky.

*Foreign
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JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER, 1955

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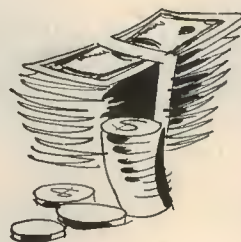
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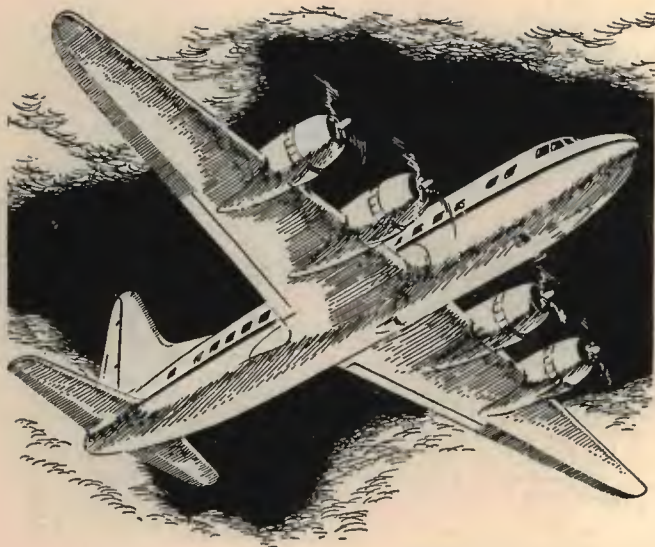
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COVER PICTURE: The ruins at Baalbek, in Lebanon. Photo by Griff Davis, U. S. A. Operations Mission, Monrovia.

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CORDELL HULL

The death of Cordell Hull on July 23, 1955, brought to an end one of the most outstanding public careers we have witnessed in many decades. Rarely has our country had the benefit of statesmanship of such high standard and such far-reaching results as that practiced by this truly great American who was Secretary of State for nearly twelve years—a longer period than any other occupant of that high office.

Mr. Hull's great success at important international conferences was largely due to his obvious honesty, integrity, sincerity and straight-forwardness. Born in a Tennessee log cabin, a raftsman of logs on the Cumberland River, soldier, jurist, legislator, statesman, Cordell Hull has often been likened in many respects, and justly, to Abraham Lincoln.

During his tenure of office, Mr. Hull deeply endeared himself to the members of his staff—from the messengers and elevator girls up to the higher officers. He knew his Department, had visited every division and bureau and was familiar with the duties and responsibilities of each. He formed what was really a small general staff composed of a few of the higher political, legal, economic and administrative officers, with almost daily meetings. None of his innumerable great forward steps in foreign relations was taken until he knew he had all available information on the subject and that every phase of the matter had been very carefully considered.

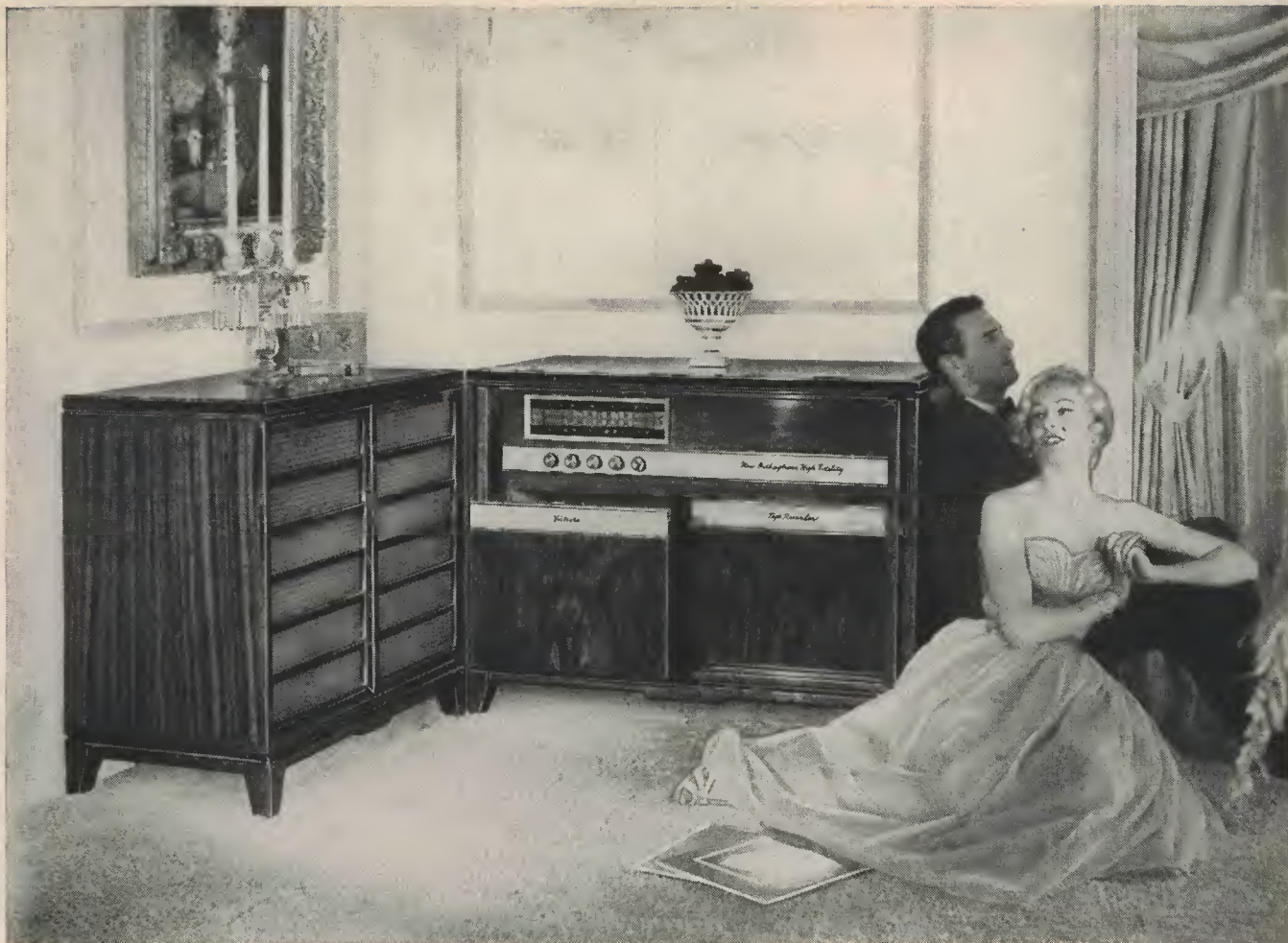
He grew to know and appreciate the Foreign Service as his first line troops and the door to his office was always open to any officer returning from the field with fresh news and reports. At times a vice consul would come into the Department from some especially troubled area, and the Secretary would ply him with questions—sometimes standing before a large wall map of the country under discussion.

For members of the Foreign Service it is not necessary to recount Secretary Hull's many outstanding contributions in the effort toward world harmony—the good neighbor policy in Latin America, the trade agreements program, his intense interest in getting nations together on a friendly and peaceful basis which resulted in the formation of the United Nations, and his unflinching efforts toward a non-partisan approach to foreign affairs during World War II.

In the words of Secretary Dulles before the Pan-American Union on July 25, Mr. Hull "throughout his long life . . . exhibited rugged qualities of integrity and of clear vision which made him not merely a national figure but the international figure which . . . the American States recognized him to be."

The Foreign Service mourns Mr. Hull's departure. He was a great leader, a true statesman, and a proven friend.

H. McB.



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Letters to the Editors

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SELECTION INTO THE SERVICE

Seoul, Korea
July 28, 1955

To the Editors,

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I was much interested in the editorial and in Mr. Orme Wilson's letter on the new Foreign Service examinations in the May issue of the JOURNAL. The letters exchanged between Mr. George Wilson and Mr. Palmer which appeared in the June issue leave me with the belief that something more ought to be said on the subject.

Most of our notions about rigorous examinations are a hangover from college days. We remember Professor Jones, for example, who was a teacher with such high standards that he always had a long casualty list after his examinations. It was generally accepted that the average standard of students who passed Jones' examinations was much higher than that of the group who slid by some of the easier professors. Memories of this kind have left us with the idea that the average standard of a group of new Foreign Service officers will be higher if the examination is a rigorous one taking three and a half days rather than a simplified one that is finished in a single day.

The June issue of the JOURNAL tells us that 4,392 applications to take the FS examinations were received this year. It should be fairly easy for the examiners to set a standard which a candidate would have to measure up to in order to pass. If this should result in only 150 passing, the examination would certainly be considered rigorous in the old college sense. Even if half the candidates passed, the examination would still be rigorous. However, in neither case would the purpose of the giving of the examination be achieved by such a procedure. That purpose is not to pass the candidates who measure up to some standard or other. It is to select from among all the candidates who present themselves a certain number (the number for whose appointment money is available) who possess in the highest degree, relatively, the qualities that are being tested.

In carrying out this purpose the Board of Examiners must first decide what qualities they most desire in new Foreign Service officers. They must then identify those whose presence can be tested by a written examination and make up questions. Great advances have been made in the last fifty years in all branches of psychology but particularly in the field of testing. In carrying out this part of its functions the Board of Examiners has the benefit of this vast body of research and experience which is placed at its disposal by the Educational Testing Service. It also has the advantage of the advice of an Advisory Committee of

(Continued on page 8)

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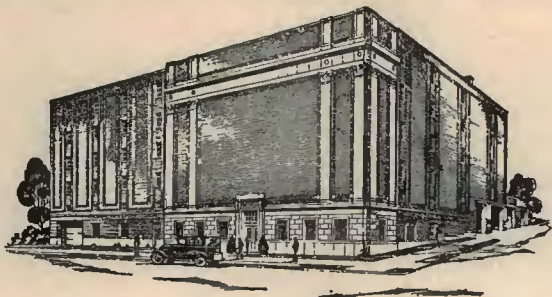
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 6)

distinguished educators. I believe we should concede validity to the conclusions of the Board of Examiners on this subject, supported as they are by the Advisory Committee and Educational Testing Service. Nevertheless, an article describing the *rationale* of the new "simplified" examination would undoubtedly be of interest to the readers of the JOURNAL, although one that would be satisfactory may require more space than the JOURNAL could allot to it.

Some of the qualities that are desired in new Foreign Service officers cannot be tested by a written examination. It is for this reason that more candidates (about twice as many, I believe) are "passed" in the written examination than the Service has room for in a given year. The written examination is a sieve which is used to screen out those candidates who are quite clearly so lacking in the qualities that are tested by the written examination as to be unacceptable. As is well known, the final selection is made in the oral examination in which the examining panel takes into account all of the qualities that are desired in new appointees. However, the fact that many more than can be appointed are "passed" in the written examination makes it unlikely that any really first-class candidate will be rejected by any examination the Examiners are likely to give, whether it is the old "rigorous" one or the new "simplified" one. Especially in view of the wide latitude resulting from this practice, it has long seemed to me that there was little excuse for continuing the old examination system with its high per capita cost and the time lag that resulted from the long drawn-out job of marking the papers.

The Editors state that the longer examination forced the aspirant to undertake extensive preparation in those fields which are commonly accepted as necessary background to an understanding of the conduct of international relations. This is to assume that with the shorter examination the competition for appointment will become less severe than formerly. However, the fact that only five to ten per cent of the candidates in a given examination can be appointed will continue, as in the past, to provide serious aspirants for appointment with all the stimulus they need to prepare themselves for their prospective careers (though not necessarily for the examinations) as effectively as possible. Although the old form of examination undoubtedly stimulated many candidates to undertake special studies, they also brought the Washington "cram schools" into existence. All will probably agree that the type of preparation they gave candidates was of an essentially superficial character.

In a certain sense there is a third examination after the candidate has survived both the written and the oral. No examination system is fool proof. The old examination resulted in some bad selections and we can expect that the new one will also register its failures. However, our legislation provides that officers in the lowest grade shall be in a probationary status. Those who do not measure up to the high standards of the Officer Corps during their first years can be dismissed at any time. New officers are, therefore, under constant examination of the most rigorous type during their first years and the dismissal of those who do not measure up results in a higher standard for the Corps.

I share very few of the fears that are expressed in different quarters concerning the standards of the Officer Corps of the Service of the future. The work of the Service must inevitably have a strong appeal for American young men

(Continued on page 10)



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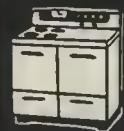
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 8)

and women if it is presented to them properly. The article in the June issue of the JOURNAL about the Department's success in interesting college students in taking the examinations is most encouraging news in this connection. Since one of the important qualifications in a young officer is adult experience of living in the United States, I believe we would get better officers if we could interest a larger number of capable candidates from the 25-26 age groups who are four or five years out of college. This may be impossible in the present tight labor market. In the meantime the Department will undoubtedly continue its present efforts which are sure to produce good results.

Other factors are also operating to maintain high standards in the Officer Corps. The impressive record which the Department has made in the last three years has vastly improved the Department's press and raised the Department and the Foreign Service in the general estimation of the public. This improved standing is the background against which the Department can look for able and better prepared people in its recruiting campaigns. The program of training which was incorporated into the Foreign Service Act of 1946 is finally being implemented. It will provide new impetus and encouragement to many officers to improve themselves and equip themselves to give better service. Of great importance also is the support that the Service is being given on administrative problems by the Secretary, the Under-Secretary and other senior officers of the Department. This will inevitably be reflected in improved morale and *esprit de corps* and these are both conducive to a higher standard of performance.

Carl W. Strom

BEX UNDER JOSEPH C. GREEN

Charlottesville, Va.
July 27, 1955

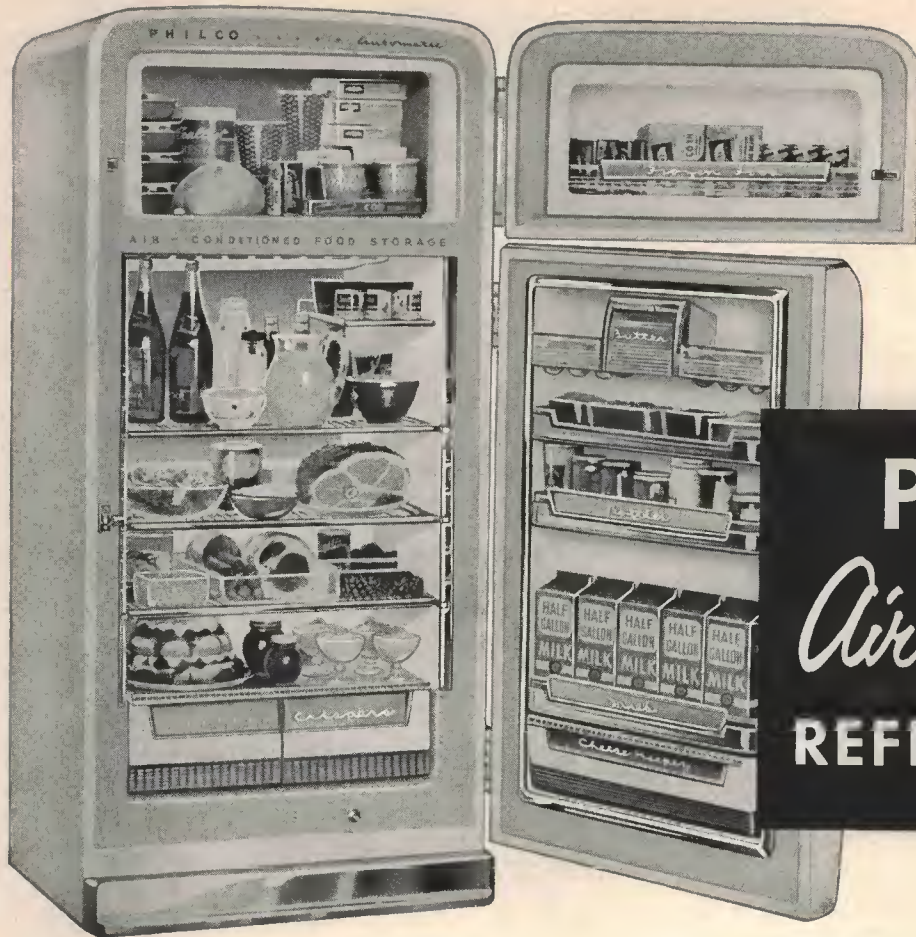
To the Editors,

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I was a Deputy Examiner of Foreign Service candidates from 1950 to 1954. During the first half of this period the Chairman of the Board of Examiners was Joseph Coy Green. In his insistence on maintaining the traditionally high standards of character and education for admission to the Service, Joe Green personified the Rock of Gibraltar. The political waves mounted and beat against him with ever increasing fury. Even the JOURNAL, to the sorrow of many of us (I became one of its editors at that moment), published a long attack on the standards he upheld by a candidate who had been unable to meet them. Joe Green stood firm. At last, however, all was desolation about him and it was evident that he would have to go, a sacrifice to the very cause that the JOURNAL has been espousing so creditably.

Mr. Green's successors were good and dedicated men but there was no longer any ground for them to stand on. Inevitably (I give only my own impressions) they were overborne by the pressures of the times, pressures that represented the widespread public misunderstanding of a politically defenseless Service which constituted an elite by virtue of its standards and requirements. Political power was gravitating steadily to those who were against educated men in government—those who preferred the uneducated because, in dealing with foreigners, they were more likely to kick them in the teeth, as all good Americans

(Continued on page 12)



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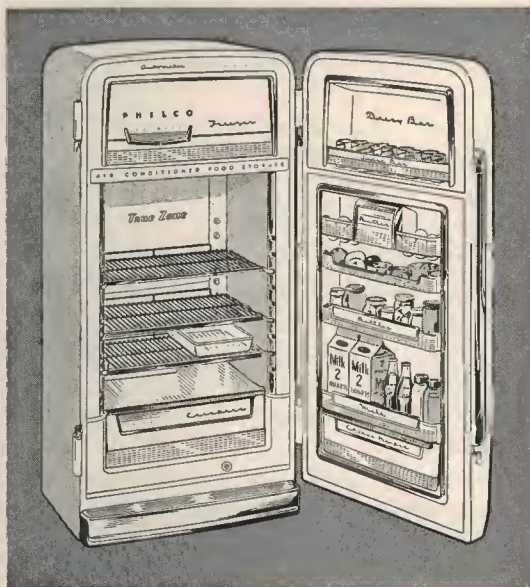
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 10)

should. I have myself sat on an examining panel and heard one of the new examiners (who could not have passed the examinations under Joe Green) answer his own question—"What is Americanism?"—after the candidate had failed to do so to his satisfaction. "Americanism," he said, was whatever was opposed to "United Nations-ism." Joe Green, I thought, was well out of it.

Joe Green's fault, if he had any, was that of Coriolanus. If he had resisted the forces of darkness less, if he had compromised in time, perhaps the ultimate disaster of the "Wriston Report" would have been averted or mitigated. But I doubt it.

Under the circumstances, am I right in believing that the JOURNAL did not mean to identify Joe Green with the slackeners when, on its May editorial page, it stated that the progressive slackening of entrance requirements for Class Six has been apparent "over the last ten years"?

Louis J. Halle

(Editor's Note:) The JOURNAL wishes to reassure Mr. Halle and its other readers that it did not intend in any way to identify Mr. Joseph Green with a lowering of the standards for entrance into the Foreign Service. On the contrary, the JOURNAL is deeply aware of the fine contribution Mr. Green made in providing a real entrance examination and of his valiant efforts to maintain a high standard during his tenure of office. For this he has our deep admiration and gratitude and the JOURNAL is happy for this opportunity to correct any misunderstanding which may have arisen on this score.

As we said in an editorial following Mr. Green's resignation, "All those who cherish the high standards of the Foreign Service, as an instrument of our national policy, owe him a debt that cannot be measured. In that post, which he has occupied for the past six years, he has given an example of fearlessness, integrity and dedication from which we may take heart at a time when the public credit of government service has been impaired by lesser men."

IN MEMORIAM

HULL. The Honorable Cordell Hull, former Congressman from Tennessee and Secretary of State under President Roosevelt, died at the age of 83 on July 23, 1955, at the Bethesda Naval Hospital in Washington.

MCDERMOTT. The Honorable Michael J. McDermott, for many years a State Department press officer and recently Ambassador to El Salvador, died on August 5, 1955, at Providence Hospital in Washington.

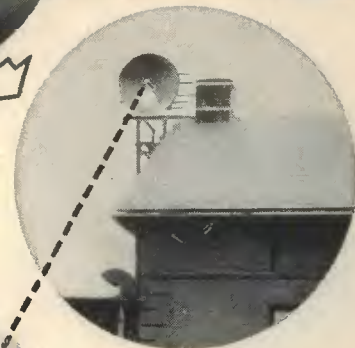
PEURIFOY. The Honorable John E. Peurifoy and his nine year old son Daniel were killed in an automobile accident in Thailand on August 12, 1955. Mr. Peurifoy, who at the time of his death was serving as American Ambassador to Thailand, had also served as Deputy Undersecretary of State for Administration and as Ambassador to Greece and Guatemala.



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BY
**JAMES B.
STEWART**

STILL OUT THERE PITCHING: Of 107 officers promoted effective July 24, 1930, the following are still active:

Unclassified (\$3,000) to Class VIII (\$3,500)
LEO J. CALLANAN AUGUSTUS S. CHASE
JULIUS C. HOLMES RUFUS H. LANE, JR.
JOHN H. MORGAN WILLIAM T. TURNER
Class VIII (\$3,500) to Class VII (\$4,000)
JOHN N. HAMLIN
Class VII (\$4,000) to Class VI (\$4,500)
HERBERT S. BURSLEY WALDEMAR J. GALLMAN

FLETCHER WARREN
Class VI (\$4,500) to Class IV (\$5,000)

H. FREEMAN MATTHEWS
Class V (\$5,000) to Class IV (\$6,000)

HAROLD H. TITTMAN
Class IV (\$6,000) to Class III (\$7,000)
JOSEPH E. JACOBS

Twenty officers were promoted from Class III to Class II and seven from Class II to I but none of them are still in the Service.

WANT TO SELL AN ARTICLE? MR. TYLER DENNETT, Historical Adviser, who was chairman of the first Publications Committee created by SECRETARY CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, gives this advice in the JOURNAL to those who would write for publication: "Running rapidly through the files of the Publications Committee one can easily formulate a few rules which might save Foreign Service Officers a good deal of wasted effort.

"Most of the articles which have been considered by the committee have been too long. . . . Generally speaking, the chances of acceptance by an editor diminishes in inverse ratio to the length of the article. Two thousand words is better than five thousand, and from seven hundred and fifty to twelve hundred is better still.

"Popular magazines rarely are interested in articles of a purely historical nature. A manuscript ought to start with the present, with some immediate, lively human interest. This rule, of course, does not exclude the use of historical background but most editors regard history as taboo.

"Manuscripts are very often prepared for some particular periodical, but without first consulting the editor as to whether such a subject would be acceptable. Editors always welcome suggestions from writers and are glad to examine outlines of proposed articles. Foreign Service Officers have not yet come to realize how desirable it is to invite the interest of an editor before preparing the manuscript. . . ."

THE SECRETARY BUZZED TWICE: Reference above to Mr. Hughes recalls an episode which occurred on the first day he was in his office as Secretary. It was told by WILLIAM R. CASTLE who, at the time it happened, was Chief of

(Continued on page 16)



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WRITE FOR CATALOG

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO (from page 14)

the Division of Western European Affairs. "My buzzer rang," said Mr. Castle, "and the Secretary said in a rather gruff voice: 'Will you come down immediately.' I went down to his office and found him holding a memorandum I had written on some subject or other, I do not remember what. He said, 'How do you expect me to do any decent work as Secretary of State if I get from you people under me such silly memoranda as this?' I returned to my office feeling very unhappy and thought my services would no longer be needed. But in half an hour my buzzer rang again and when I went down to see the Secretary, rather expecting to be discharged, he was standing with the same paper in his hand and a smile on his face. He came forward and said: 'I have sent for you to apologize for my horribly bad manners. I was tired out and the first page of your memorandum seemed to me totally wrong. When you left and I read the rest of it I found that you had put all the arguments for the wrong side on the first page and had refuted them vigorously and clearly on the succeeding pages. This is just what I wanted and I thank you and apologize again.' What could one do except love a man who had the courage to apologize instantly to a subordinate when he knew he was wrong. I found him always a wonderful man to work with."

BAY-MARTIN. Married at Bucharest, Rumania, on July 24, 1930, Diplomatic Secretary CHARLES ALEXANDER BAY and Miss Opal Alydia Martin.

STEWART-RIVERO. Married at Matanzas, Cuba, on July 5, 1930, Vice Consul WARREN C. STEWART and Miss Esperanza Rivero.

WOMEN CONSULS AND DIPLOMATS: The *London Daily Telegraph* gave the British Foreign Office view against the appointment of women to the Diplomatic and Consular Service as expressed at a sitting of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. Among the reasons put forth were: Foreigners preferred to negotiate business and commercial transactions through the agency of men. Some consular work would be repugnant to women. Many of the posts are unhealthy and dangerous.

A BRILLIANT SMILE THOUGH DOWN AT THE HEELS: Shortly after the first World War a flashily dressed caller at the American Consulate, Chihuahua, asked for a ticket back to the United States. He had earned "big money" in a munitions factory but the war was over and he was "dead broke." The Consul had no funds but he noticed a large gold watch-chain draped over his caller's fancy vest. He suggested that he take his watch and chain to the bank and that they might be accepted as security for a loan. The young man looked at his chain and, shaking his head said, "Oh no, I couldn't give up the watch my Mother gave me! I'd rather give up this diamond." And there set in a front gold tooth was a big sparkler.

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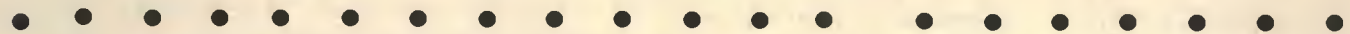
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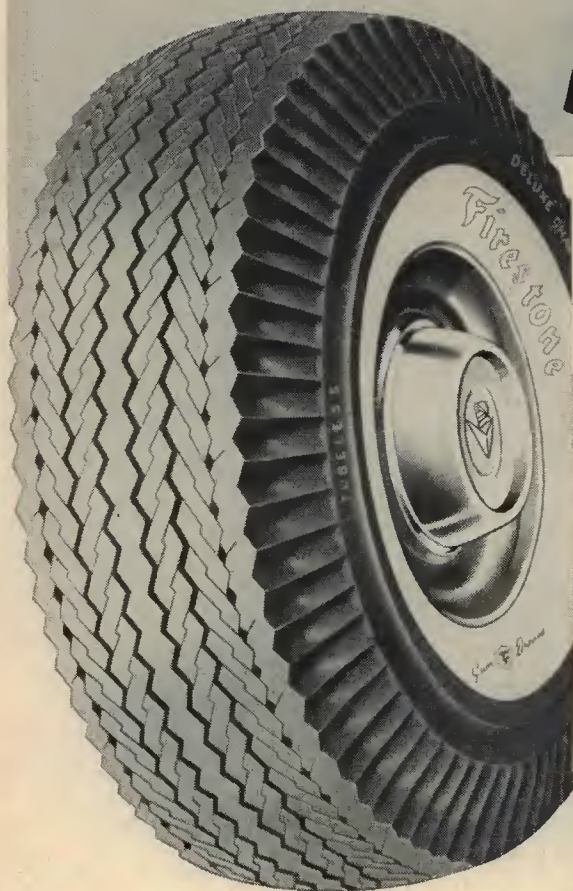
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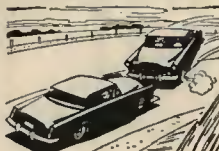
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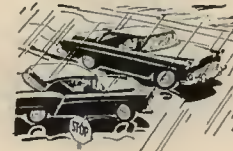
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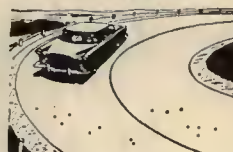
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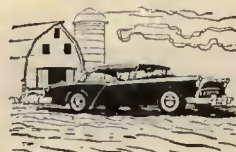
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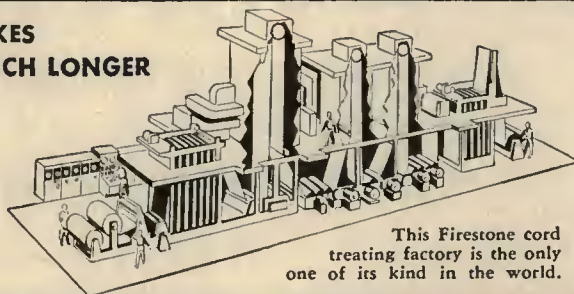
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Appointments and Resignations

FRANCIS O. WILCOX, Chief of Staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs succeeding David McKendree Key, retired Career Minister who resigned July 31. A native of Iowa, Mr. Wilcox received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Iowa in 1933, and also received the degree of Doctor of Political Science from the University of Geneva in 1935.

Formerly a professor at the University of Louisville, he joined the U. S. Government in 1942 and worked in the field of Inter-American Affairs and as International Organization Analyst in the Bureau of the Budget.

Mr. Wilcox was one of the Committee of Judges that selected the winners in the JOURNAL's recent essay contest.



JULIAN FISKE HARRINGTON, formerly Minister and Consul General at Hong Kong, was nominated Ambassador to Panama. A Career Minister, he entered the Service as a clerk and became a career Officer in 1925. Mr. Harrington has served in nine foreign posts. During his assignments to the Department he has been Assistant Security Officer, Deputy Director General of the Foreign Service, and Director of the Office of Foreign Service. Before becoming Minister at Manila in 1951 he served as a Foreign Service inspector.

HAROLD M. RANDALL, whose last assignment has been as Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs in Havana, was appointed U. S. Representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the Organization of American States.

In August 1930 he was appointed Assistant Commercial Attaché at Santiago. From 1938 to 1944, he served in the U. S. Embassy at Buenos Aires. During this period he became a career FSO, attaining the rank of First Secretary. In 1944, he was transferred to Asunción, Paraguay, and the following year was named Commercial Attaché and First Secretary in Madrid. Since 1948 he has served in the Department, in Mexico City and in Havana.

HENRY J. PARKMAN, Assistant Chief of the United States Mission, Berlin, resigned effective September 1. A Boston attorney who served many years in the Massachusetts Senate, Mr. Parkman was Government Affairs Advisor to the U. S. Military Government in Germany, 1946-47, and from 1949-1950 he was the U. S. Representative on the International Authority for the Ruhr. In 1950 he was appointed chief of the ECA Mission to France.

Jefferson Caffery Honored

In June the HONORABLE JEFFERSON CAFFERY received the Laetare Medal from the University of Notre Dame which

(Continued on page 38)

Our Top Winners



Lincoln Gordon, since July 1, 1955, William Ziegler Professor of International Economic Relations, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; graduated from Harvard College *summa cum laude* in 1933; D. Phil (Oxon.), 1936; instructor, associate professor and professor at Harvard 1936-41, 1946-50; government experience includes work with: National Resources Planning Board, National Defense Advisory Commission, War Production Board, United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, Munitions Board, European Recovery Program, Economic Cooperation Administration, Office of the Director for Mutual Security, U. S. Operations Mission, American Embassy, London.

Perry Laukhuff, taught Political Science at Sweet Briar following completion of his education at Otterbein College, Harvard University and the Academy of International Law at the Hague; a FSO from 1937 to 1953, serving in Milan, Berlin, Stockholm and Washington; Director of the Office of German Political Affairs, 1949-1952, and then Special Assistant to the Director of the Bureau of German Affairs until resignation; writer and consultant on foreign affairs, presently engaged on a special project for the Woodrow Wilson Foundation; most recent article: "How to Bargain With Russia", in the June issue of *Harper's Magazine*.



David Felix, Phi Beta Kappa and Trinity College (Hartford) graduate in 1943, is now studying and writing in France; after four years as a reporter on the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, became a contract writer with the Marshall Plan Mission in Vienna; speaks "fluent German and spastic French"; served as an artilleryman in the 27th Infantry Division; has just completed a year's economic study program with *Faculté de Droit* of the *Université de Paris*.

Robert C. Bone, Jr., a candidate for his Ph.D. degree at Cornell University; a graduate of Haverford College, he served in the Army in 1942-46, then the Foreign Service; will spend the coming academic year in the Netherlands working, under a Ford Grant, on "The International Implications of the Western New Guinea Problem"; September issues (current) of *Foreign Policy Bulletin* and *American Political Science Review* contain articles by Mr. Bone's on Indonesian politics and government.



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Droit of the *Université de Paris*.

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THE HUMAN ELEMENT

By PERRY LAUKHUFF

In writing on this subject, the temptation is to concentrate attention at once on the more formal aspects, on organization in its primary sense. The mind begins to focus on paper plans, on outlines of "organization" as an efficiency expert might think of it in planning a large industrial set-up. Details begin to dance before the eyes—recruitment, promotion and retirement, salaries and perquisites, leaves and tours of home duty, special knowledge vs. breadth of ability, services for other government agencies, the limits of the career principle, understaffing vs. overspending, means of bringing the ruinous "security" mania within bounds, and all the other perennial subjects for debate.

I reject these problems, important though they be, in favor of quite another approach. It seems to me that this search for planning perfection is in fact a search for paper panaceas. It reflects an optimistic but misplaced reliance on mechanics which has afflicted the Foreign Service, and indeed the Government at large, for some years. It may well be that with the growth of government and of our Service to unwieldy size there is no longer any means of approaching its organization except "by the book." It may be that there is no way of handling the problem except in an impersonal way which substitutes rules for judgment. But I for one am not willing to admit that we must surrender to this mechanistic concept which smacks more than a little of Germanic arbitrariness. Need we give up without a struggle? Should we not make a resolute effort to preserve the human element, to break through the suffocating layers of rules and standards prescribed almost *in vacuo*?

We can never get away from basic plans. We shall always have to have a Rogers Act of one sort or another to set up a framework. We shall doubtless always need Hoover Commissions or Wriston Committees to have periodic looks at what has been draped on the framework and how it ought to be rearranged. But these things will not give us lastingly good and serviceable representation abroad. That can only be accomplished if the human material in the Foreign Service is right, if the human relations in the Service are sound. The larger any organization, as everyone knows from observation, the more difficult it is to keep a heart in it; to subordinate codified standards to flexible human

standards. This is not a problem peculiar to the Foreign Service but one which faces most areas of endeavor in this over-size, machine-dominated age. Yet it seems to me to be particularly essential to the delicate, sensitive task of formulating the foreign policy needed to save our country in this uproarious world that we attain an unusual combination of individual freedom and precision teamwork. Too much reliance is being placed on "organization." No system can be devised which will select, shift around, develop and promote good Foreign Service Officers, let alone turn out ready-made foreign policies, in the manner of a lunch machine spewing forth antiseptically wrapped sandwiches, without a great deal of intelligent human intervention along the way.

Plan Not Everything

No, we cannot pin our faith on more and better plans for amalgamation or integration or whatever the mode of the moment chooses to call it. No one has ever demonstrated that serious dissension or bad foreign policy came out of separate home and foreign staffs. And I doubt that anyone can demonstrate that harmony and good foreign policy will result simply from lumping together people who have to go on doing different jobs calling for different skills.

Nor can we altogether pin our faith on new plans for scholarships. No one has ever demonstrated that bad foreign policy resulted from bad material let in under the system of open competitive examination, or that good material was kept out under that system. And I doubt that anyone can demonstrate that scholarships disposed of as congressional patronage will of themselves call forth the natural-born diplomatists in our midst to spark a foreign policy which will end all our national worries.

Nor, to turn our attention for a moment to the saddest of current organization problems, can we base our hopes on a more costly and more intrusive "security" corps, fastening itself like an incubus upon the harassed servants of our country abroad. No one has ever demonstrated that a single member of the Foreign Service ever betrayed us or defected, or that the country ever suffered the loss of a secret by the act of any Foreign Service Officer. I doubt if anyone can demonstrate that a safe and sound foreign

IN THE SERVICE

Essay Contest Winner—First Prize in Category "A"

policy will blossom benignly under the heavy hand of a political police.

No, this way lies more error, more disappointment, more futility. These and other aspects of all the myriad "plans" for a sound Foreign Service are all manifestations of a society and an era which rely on blueprints and machines instead of a steady eye and a sound judgment, on mass production by belt and by rote instead of quality and perfection. If we want in our Foreign Service the equivalent of a fine lifeless machine-made reproduction rather than an original painting by a master, we will be content with a proliferation of plans and rules instead of a search for men and the means of freeing their minds and hands.

Take just two examples from observations which I have made in the course of many years in the Foreign Service. I suppose opinions will differ. Yet these things are real to me and I observed them repeatedly, both as a novice and as a mature senior officer. They are matters of intangible evaluation. They are not necessarily the only or even the central things wrong with the Service. But they illustrate the kind of evil, or perhaps it would be better to call it defect, which needs constant thought and study, which is largely untouched by all the plans for reorganization and which, if unremedied, will always leave the Service limping along, a too-frail support for a country in need of the sturdiest possible arm in its service abroad.

Use of Administrative Ability

The first defect I have observed is that the Foreign Service has never known how to recognize and use administrative ability. At least I put the problem this way. Perhaps the Service just hasn't cared to bother with administration. Or perhaps it is devoid of men who have such ability. I do not believe the latter is the case and I prefer to consider the problem in the terms I first used. There aren't any rules or abstract standards by which to measure this problem. There is also a handicap in being unable to cite names and cases in the discussion of it. So the matter can only be considered on the basis of subjective observation and judgment.

The fact is that there are at least a fair number of men

in the Service who understand how to run an office efficiently and with a minimum of uproar and friction. We've all run across them. Occasionally we've even seen them given a chance to use their ability. I have had the privilege of serving under three such men. On the other hand we've all seen offices headed by colleagues who either had not the foggiest notion of discipline and teamwork and efficient use of manpower, or who mistook iron tyranny and erratic interference for sound administration. Sometimes—but not always—it works out that the natural-born administrator is wasted on political reporting or trade promotion for which he has little talent. Sometimes—but not always—the man who is floundering forlornly and futilely in a sea of administrative or inspection duties, or who is simply ignoring the job which has devolved upon him, is a keen analyst and lucid reporter who ought to be kept free for that kind of an individualistic job. These are descriptions; you supply the names from your own experience.

What is the explanation? Perhaps the efficiency reports, stereotyped as they have become, with rows of neat little boxes to record check marks on this and that, do not carry the information about a man's ability or inability to run things and to lead his colleagues in a fruitful joint effort. (I leave aside all mention of those horrors of current administrative practice, the job descriptions!) Or the efficiency reports may lack the requisite information not only because of their increasingly mechanized character but because the rating officer himself has no feel for administration and therefore cannot recognize the ability in others; or because he makes no serious effort to report on administrative capacity, being under the impression that this is a matter of relatively little importance in the Service. Another possible explanation is that although the reports may carry the information, the mysterious powers who make assignments have never paid very much attention to such information. I am rather inclined to favor this explanation, after having seen the degree to which assignments have developed out of a mixture of personal acquaintance, favoritism, regional rivalries, chance, propinquity and economy considerations!

(Continued on page 42)



The Honorable George F. Kennan

The Future of Our Professional Diplomacy:

The article reprinted below originally appeared in Foreign Affairs, July, 1955.

The idea that the United States of America ought to have a professional service for the performance of diplomatic and consular functions abroad had its origins in the final years of the last century. By 1914 it had already found recognition in the creation of separate career services for these two main branches of activity. Its fruition was reached in the mid-twenties with the passage of the Rogers Act, which combined the two existing services into a single "Foreign Service of the United States." High hopes prevailed at the outset for the future of the new combined service. No one doubted that a corner had been passed. The United States Government, it was assumed, would now proceed to develop in permanence a good professional arm to assist in the work of representation of this country abroad and to act as the main source of information and advice for American statesmen and envoys who were themselves not likely to be professionals. In the ensuing years a number of trustful young men, among them this writer, took the prescribed examinations and entered the new Foreign Service, confident that the country had made up its mind about the virtues of career diplomacy; that it wanted a real professional service; that the basic principles underlying the Rogers Act had been permanently accepted; and that one could rely on the uniformity and stability of the conditions in which, from then on, the competition for advancement and recognition would proceed.

These hopes and expectations, as experience was to prove, were largely unfounded. Those who nurtured them had failed to take account of the unsuitability of the American governmental system for the promulgation of any sustained administrative program (particularly one calling for the annual appropriation of sizeable sums of money) that was not supported at all times by the enthusiasm of some interested domestic pressure group. But beyond that it gradually became apparent that the rationale of the Rogers Act was poorly understood outside the small circle of its authors

and the members of the Foreign Service itself. Neither the public at large, nor the press, nor the leaders of succeeding administrations, nor the majority of the members of succeeding Congresses, had any very clear idea of what was involved in the experiment or cared very much whether the Foreign Service, as envisaged in the Rogers Act, prospered or languished.

Since the development of a good professional service is a long-term operation, where the normal time-lag between decision and result in major matters is measured in decades rather than in years, this lack of comprehension and of sustained interest was gradually to prove fatal to the experiment. One by one, the principles on which it was intended that the new Service should operate were neglected, distorted or abandoned. I shall not attempt to recount the involved and painful stages by which this decline took place. The immediate causes were numerous and varied. The constantly recurring failure of senior government officials to understand why the Foreign Service should be treated any differently from the Civil Service as a whole; the endless jealousies aroused by what seemed to many the glamorous and privileged nature of the Foreign Service function; the tendency of other government departments, more powerfully supported in Congress than was the State Department, to set up competing foreign services; Mr. Roosevelt's dislike of the Service and unconcern for its future; the complete suspension of admissions for periods of years on end, a procedure which starved the Service at the bottom and sharply disbalanced its age structure; the failure to clarify the relationship of the Service to the war effort in 1941-1945; the proliferation of parallel and rival organizations during and after the war; the latter-day illusion that "management" is something wholly divorced from function, and the consequent burdening of the Service with a succession of administrative heads who had no experience or under-

(Continued on page 48)

2 VIEWS



Dr. Henry M. Wriston

*The article reprinted below originally appeared in
The Providence Evening Bulletin, June 28, 1955.*

Mr. Kennan has made many valuable observations in his article. On many significant points there is little difference of opinion between us. In some places where his emphasis is different from that of the Secretary of State's Public Committee on Personnel, the variance arises not so much from contrary views as from the terms of reference—the range of authority—under which the committee operated.

On the matter of security, for example, Mr. Kennan writes as an individual. Speaking as an individual I recently made several of the same points, though in different words and with a more sympathetic approach to the problem. As a committee, however, we had no mandate to deal with the security problem as a whole; we were limited to observations regarding the administration of the security program in the Department of State. On this subject our remarks were pointed and explicit: "The committee has examined the actions taken by the Secretary of State to implement Executive Order 10450 and can report that the program has been drastic and thorough. . . . Investigations of such sensitive character should be conducted with the professional impartiality associated in the public mind with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Only as these investigations are carried out with the most scrupulous objectivity will the American people have confidence in their findings, and the apprehensions of government servants be abated.

"If the security program is to achieve its true purpose of protecting the government and the American way of life, it must be so administered that it does not impair the things it is designed to preserve. And among the things that must be protected for the Foreign Service is the tradition of frank and objective reporting that long has constituted one of the State Department's most enduring sources of strength.

"The committee, on its part, has been impressed by the high standards of devotion and loyalty animating the men and women of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. It does not hesitate to urge the American people to reinvest their confidence, without reservation, in the

character and steadfastness of both the Department and its diplomatic arm. The rising public confidence is certain to reinvigorate the spirit of a national service which has been hurt beyond its just due."

The inferences are plain enough. The committee went even further; during our meetings the Foreign Service Inspection Corps was transferred by the Secretary to the Security Administrator; we immediately urged its transfer to the Undersecretary for Administration, which, after a lapse of time, was done. To say that the committee failed to face up to the problem is to overstate the point; we proposed the only reform within our power, its administration in the department. We had no authority as a committee answerable to the Secretary of State to tell the President to alter Executive Order 10450. As individuals some members did express their views on the subject to the President.

There is, however, one basic difference in point of view between Mr. Kennan and the committee. He cites a former French cabinet officer, Jules Cambon: "While democracies would always have diplomacy, it was a question whether they would ever have diplomatists." This negative evaluation of the capacity of a democracy to have a professional foreign service Mr. Kennan accepts as his own. He not only adopts Cambon's skepticism as a sound generalization, he applies it specifically to the United States. In a pessimistic spirit he asserts as fact "the unsuitability of the American governmental system for the promulgation of any sustained administrative program (particularly one calling for the annual appropriation of sizable sums of money) that was not supported at all times by the enthusiasm of some interested domestic pressure group."

This utter defeatism about democracy in its relationship to the professional is astounding. That it comes from a seasoned career diplomat, charged to represent America abroad, is even more astonishing. Just what sort of government and, more specifically, which governments in the world

(Continued on page 45)



Alice K. Turner, daughter of William T. Turner, St. Mary's School



William McCabe Richardson, son of Garland Richardson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology



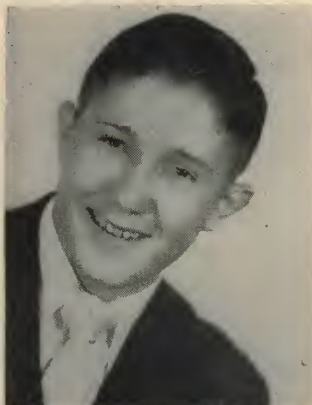
Lynn Franklin, son of the late Lynn Franklin, Virginia Military Institute



Mulford Jay Colebrook, son of Mulford A. Colebrook, Earlham College



Diane Bell, daughter of James Dunbar Bell, Oberlin College



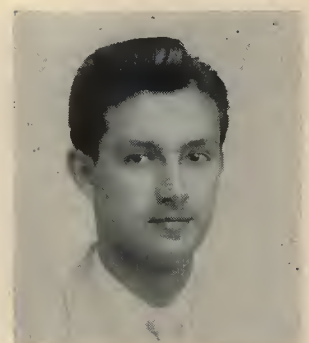
Philip Arnold Vigil, son of Abraham Vigil, Trinidad State Junior College



William Edward Beauchamp, son of William E. Beauchamp, Jr., Middlebury College



José Leopoldo Romero, Jr., son of José Leopoldo Romero, Georgetown University



Ernest Guaderrama, Jr., son of Ernest S. Guaderrama, University of California

Foreign Service Scholarship

Charles B. Hosmer and American Foreign Service Association Scholarship

Alan F. Atwood	\$450.00
Elinor S. Backe	450.00
Lynn W. Franklin	450.00
Edwin Anthony T. Newton	450.00
Walter Alan Ray	450.00
Philip A. Vigil	450.00

Foreign Service Journal Scholarship

Alice K. Turner	500.00
-----------------------	--------

William Benton Scholarship

José L. Romero, Jr.	500.00
Michael N. Zirkle	500.00



Edwin Anthony T. Newton, son of the late Elmer Newton, Harvard College



Cartherine Randolph, daughter of the late John Randolph, University of Florida



Elinor S. Backe, daughter of Sverre M. Backe, Wheaton College for Women



Michael N. Zirkle, son of Vernon W. Zirkle, University of Virginia

Scholarships Awards

Robert Woods Bliss Scholarship

Ernest Guaderrama, Jr.	500.00
Arthur S. Warner	500.00

Loy W. Henderson Scholarship

William McC. Richardson	500.00
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Overseas Foreign Service Scholarship

William Edward Beauchamp	375.00
Mulford Jay Colebrook	375.00

Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship

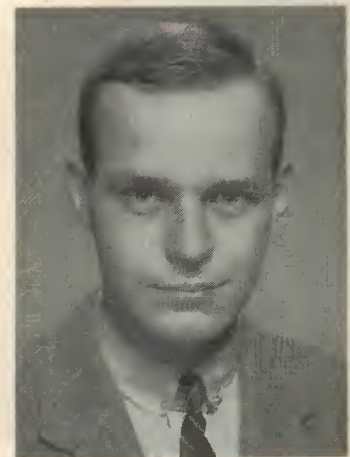
Diane E. Bell	400.00
Diana E. Carr	400.00

Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship

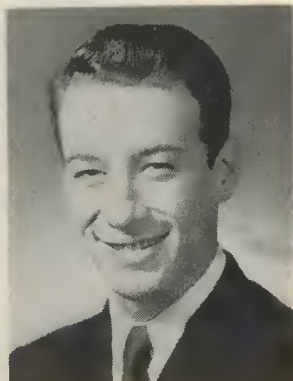
Mary Catharine Randolph	one-half of trust
John A. Washington	income for each



Diana Elizabeth Carr, daughter of Robert McDill Carr, University of California



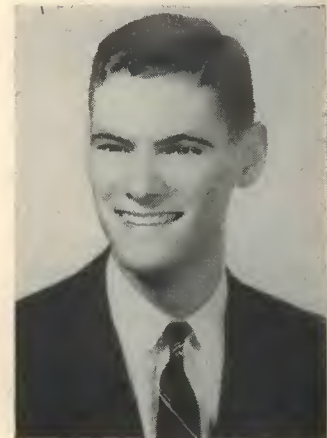
Allan F. Atwood, son of the late Franklin Bailey Atwood, Brown University



Walter Alan Ray, son of the late Guy W. Ray, Massachusetts Institute of Technology



Arthur S. Warner, son of Gerald Warner, Washington and Lee



John A. Washington, son of S. Walter Washington, University of Virginia

The Passing of

By DOYLE V. MARTIN

Tugbe VI was the king of Anecho. While one might argue that the distinction of reigning over a kingdom of only 900-odd square miles and containing a population of less than 200,000 is a minor one these days, the fact remains that there are few enough monarchs in the world today who have the right to wear a royal crown and who are received officially by the President of France. King Tugbe VI could and did claim both these distinctions. Although the kingdom is a small one, it dates back at least to the end of the seventeenth century and the royal family has held the throne since before the time of the kingdom's recorded history.

Tugbe Lawson's kingdom of Anecho comprises the southeast corner of Togo and the capital is a small city with the same name located on the Togo-Dahomey border in West Africa. Although the origins of the kingdom are obscure, it was apparently founded by members of the Mina tribe escaping repressions in neighboring Dahomey some three hundred years ago. These tribesmen established their authority over the local Ouatchis whom they still rule today. The area of Anecho was also the first point of European penetration in Togo and Lake Togo (which bounds Anecho on the west) gave its name to the whole territory. It seems that the word "Togo" in the Ewe language means "behind the sea" and was the name given to the lake opening out of the coastal lagoon and to the village on its banks. Thus, to the coastal native, anything inland was "Togo" and the name remained.

The original contacts with Europeans were not happy ones and the whole coastal area of the Bight of Benin is still known as the "Slave Coast." If it were possible for thousands of colored Americans to trace their ancestries back to their African origins, they might well find that their family trees originally grew not too far from little Anecho. In those days, it was considered quite usual in West Africa to conduct raiding parties into neighboring territories and to sell the people captured to the European dealers on the coast. It was in this unfortunate connection that the first mention of Anecho to be made in recorded history appeared in the journals of Danish merchants located at Christiansborg (now Accra, Gold Coast), who bought and shipped



slaves from Anecho in 1775.

With the suppression of the slave trade, European interest in West Africa turned to more legitimate types of commerce and commercial houses established temporary trading posts at Anecho. However, no permanent establishment was maintained until 1864 when France persuaded the king to recognize the paramount influence of France in the kingdom. This recognition was followed in 1883 by the establishment of a formal protectorate which was destined to have only a very short life.

In 1884, the merchants of Hamburg persuaded the German Government to intervene at Anecho on the grounds that a disputed succession to the throne endangered their investments. The young German Empire, conscious of the prestige attached to colonial possessions, sent a gunboat to Anecho and removed the pretender, one William Lawson. Claiming British citizenship (an apparently continuing con-

TUGBE VI



nection in the Lawson family), William Lawson was put ashore in Lagos. However, the troubles at Anecho continued and the "Legitimist" party, alleging British designs to place William Lawson on the throne, presented (possibly with strong German encouragement) a petition to the German Consul requesting German protection. Immediately thereafter, a treaty was made with the Chief of Lomé and the German Government notified the British Government that the coastal area of what is now Togoland was under the protection of His Majesty, the Emperor.

This *fait accompli* was recognized by the Powers at the Berlin Conference and under a convention signed in December, 1885, France abandoned all claim to Anecho.

That a succession in Anecho might have been disputed is hardly surprising since almost every one is. This matter of successions has been an important one in the history of Anecho since the choice of elderly men for the throne means

that the throne is often vacant. The succession question is equally important at the moment because following the death of Tugbe VI, the country is again in an *interregnum*.

The monarchy being partially elective and partially hereditary, the field is open on the death of a king for bargaining similar to that which used to accompany the election of the Holy Roman Emperors. The use of the terms "legitimist" and "pretender" in connection with the disputed succession which gave the excuse for German intervention seems, therefore, slightly strained.

In order to offset this element of instability, tradition has evolved a certain continuing symbol of unity. On the death of a king of Anecho, his personal staff, which is the symbol of his authority, remains in place in his council chamber. This staff is about five feet long, usually of polished ebony, and is surmounted by a figure in gold or silver representing his particular symbol or totem. Each sub-chief also has such a staff and for a period of three years after the death, these chieftains come to the council chamber with their staffs of office and bow before the staff of the departed king in recognition of the central authority even during times when the throne is vacant. These staffs are an important symbol and when a chief is unable to attend in person, he may send a representative bearing his staff who thus symbolizes his continuing submission to a continuing authority.

These three years immediately after the death of a king are a time of intense jockeying for position, bargaining, and promises. Of particular importance during this period is the selection of a Prince Regent to exercise continuing administrative unity since, obviously, the person so selected has the inside track to the throne. It is all in the family, however, since everyone concerned is named Lawson. The origin of this name was probably in Nigeria since there has been a continuing family connection with Lagos. In any case, this large family has managed to claim for itself all the principal chieftainships of Anecho and the foundation of the kingdom itself may derive from this fact. Therefore, although the throne passes to a near relative (usually a nephew) of the last king, each village advances its claim on the basis of its "turn" to claim the throne for its chief. The royal crown passes in solemn procession from village to village resting in each village during the appointed period of claims and negotiation. With such a large family judiciously intermarried, there is plenty of scope for a great deal of negotiation and it is hardly surprising that a family quarrel broke out in 1883.

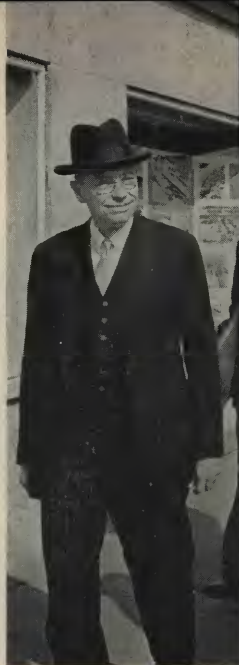
Tugbe VI was born in Anecho and given the name of Fio Lawson. As a young man he went to Lagos and entered the British Civil Service. Most of his life was spent there and it was not until his late sixties that he returned to Anecho to retire. However, his position as a nephew of the former king and his own abilities caused him to be selected as Prince Regent upon the death of the king and then at the end of the three-year period of mourning to be elected to the throne itself as Tugbe VI. Unfortunately, his reign was a short one. The chiefs are usually the village elders and

(Continued on page 41)

Service Glimpses



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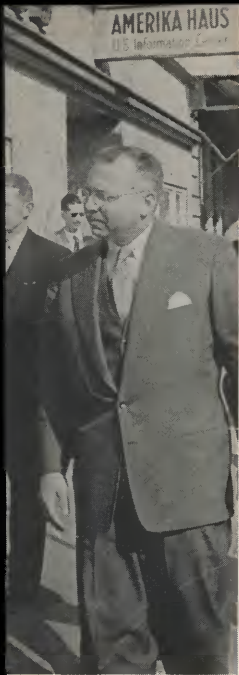


1. TANGIER—As the Honorable Julius C. Holmes and Mrs. Holmes landed in Tangier from the Gibraltar ferry, they were met by Lieut. Com. James G. Brady, USN., and Mr. William Witman II, Counselor of Legation. A previous landing in Africa was made by Mr. Holmes, when as an Army Officer in World War II he went ashore from a submarine with General Mark Clark in order to arrange for the North African landings.

2. STUTTGART—The Honorable James B. Conant, accompanied by Edward E. Rice and Frank S. Hopkins, visited the Stuttgart

Amerika Haus. The visit took place on May 25, when Ambassador Conant made a swing around Germany following the resumption of German sovereignty, making a formal call on each State Government in his new status of Ambassador rather than High Commissioner.

3. WASHINGTON—Ambassador C. L. Simpson of Liberia, Momulu Dukuly, Acting Secretary of State of Liberia, Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, and Assistant Secretary of State George V. Allen. The photo was taken on the occasion of the Acting



2



3



5



4

Secretary of State's call on Mr. Hoover at the Department of State on May 25, 1955.

4. SEVILLE—The photograph above was taken after a concert given by Marion Anderson in Seville in June. From left to right: Mr. Franz Rupp, accompanist; Mrs. Juana Vogt, Public Affairs Officer; Miss Marion Anderson, and Consul Francis L. Spalding.

5. MILAN—The Honorable Clare Boothe Luce and Consul General E. Paul Tenney being escorted from a reception, evening of

America Day at the Milan Fair, by the multi-lingual Italian Girl Guides to the United States Exhibit.

6. NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY—The group above were photographed following the presentation to the Honorable Jefferson Caffery of the Laetare Medal. From left to right are: the Honorable Robert Murphy; Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President, Notre Dame University; the Honorable Jefferson Caffery; Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

The following appointments, promotions, and designations were sent by the President to the Senate on July 13, 1955:

Promotions

Class 1 to Class of Career Minister

John M. Allison	Sheldon T. Mills
Douglas MacArthur, 2nd	Joseph C. Satterthwaite
Lester D. Mallory	Miss Frances E. Willis

Class 4 to Class 3

Anthony Clinton Swezey

Class 6 to Class 5

S. Cole Blasier	Edward L. Killham
-----------------	-------------------

Appointments to FSO Corps

Class 2

Robert G. Barnes	Rufus Burr Smith
Harry N. Howard	Harold C. Vedeler
Ernest A. Lister	Joseph J. Wolf
Howard P. Mace	

Class 3

Louis Bohmrich	J. Bruce Hamilton
William H. Byrd	David Handler
James J. Byrnes, Jr.	Austin P. Maley
Samuel De Palma	Charles P. Nolan
Millan L. Egert	Richard W. Tims
Robert A. Fearey	

Class 4

Arthur S. Abbott	Richard F. Kitterman
Robert S. Black	Miss Frances H. Lafferty
Mrs. Marie W. Cannon	Henry J. Lilienfield
Paul B. Carr	Mrs. Ruth E. McKee
Philip F. Cherp	John H. Morris
Kennedy M. Crockett	Elmer C. Pitman
William Giloane	Miss Francoise G. Queneau
Robert S. Hoard	Herbert Spielman

Class 5

Ralph A. Booher	William A. Mitchell
Ramon M. Gibson	Anthony F. O'Boyle
Theron S. Henderson	Leon Pukach
Andrew I. Killgore	Robert B. Williams
Raymond W. Laugel	Carlos M. Yordan
Hobart N. Luppi	

Class 6

James H. Bahti	John M. McIntyre
Martin A. Dale	John J. Mullin
Stockwell Everts	Richard W. Murphy
Stephen G. Gebelt	Herbert S. Okun
Richard L. Gross	Kenneth M. Rabin
Holsey G. Handyside	John Reed
Charles W. Henebry	Warren E. Slater
Charles S. Kennedy, Jr.	John Sylvester, Jr.
Samuel Lee	

Designations

To be Consuls General

E. Tomlin Bailey, FSO-1	Thomas K. Wright, FSO-2
John Willard Carrigan, FSO-1	Douglas Jenkins, Jr., FSO-3

To be Consuls

Fentress Gardner, FSS	John A. Noon, FSS
Francis J. Hejno, FSS	Henry T. Robertson, FSS
John R. Higgins, FSS	Larry W. Roeder, FSS

To be Consuls and Secretaries

Jacob D. Esterline, FSR	Louis P. Napoli, FSR
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To be Secretaries

Leslie S. Brady, FSR	Frederick T. Merrill, FSR
W. Bradley Connors, FSR	Nedville E. Nordness, FSR
Walpole Davis, FSR	John E. Pickering, FSR
Joseph S. Evans, Jr., FSR	Allan L. Swim, FSR
Thomas E. Flanagan, FSR	

To be Vice Consuls

Charles M. English, FSR	Justin Sloane, FSR
-------------------------	--------------------

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTION

The following nominations were sent to the Senate on July 28, 1955.

Promotion

Class 5 to Class 4

Miss Louise Schaffner

Appointments to FSO Corps

Class 1

Howard A. Robinson	Walter K. Scott
--------------------	-----------------

Class 2

Ward P. Allen	John F. Killea
Norbert L. Anschuetz	Laurence C. Vass
Thomas T. Carter	

Class 3

George O. Barraclough	Paul F. Hart
Jim M. Clore	John H. Lennon
Meade T. Foster	Vincent P. Wilber
John R. Garnett	

Class 4

Harris H. Ball	Eugene C. Martinson
Mrs. Elizabeth C. Bouch	Larry W. Roeder
Robert C. Johnson, Jr.	William J. Supple
Joseph T. Kendrick, Jr.	

Class 5

Robert C. Huffman	George R. Phelan, Jr.
Miss Helen Jean Imrie	Robert A. Stein
Herbert Kaiser	Philip F. Vandivier
Gordon D. King	

Class 6

Robert F. Andrew	Richard Rueda, Jr.
James C. Curran	David B. Timmins
Richard D. Forster	

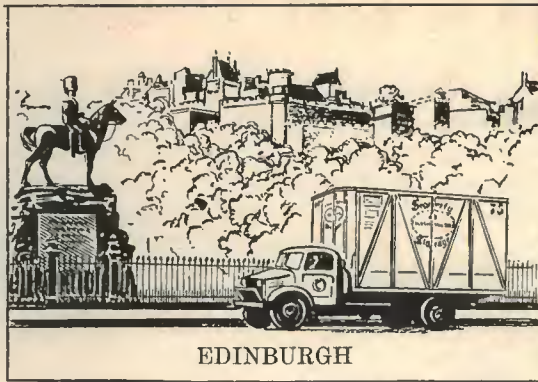
Designations

To be Consuls General

Donald D. Kennedy, FSO-1	Philip W. Ireland, FSO-3
William O. Boswell, FSO-2	Francis L. Spalding, FSO-3

To be Consuls

Wallace Clarke, FSO-5	Collin E. Ostrander, FSS
Hugh A. Crumpler, FSS	Joseph W. Thoman, FSS
Joseph A. Kitchin, FSS	Harold G. Tufty, Jr., FSS
Henry Bartly Lee, FSS	Philip Raine, FSR
Stuart P. Olsen, FSS	



Security steel lift van in Edinburgh

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Security Storage Company of Washington

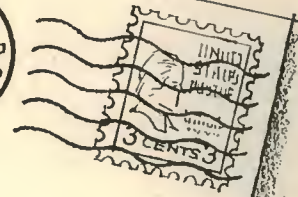
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Daniel W. Bell, President



MEMBER FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION—MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

EDITORIALS

WHITHER THE CONSUL?

If you entered the American Foreign Service before the last war, the chances are you started out as a Vice-Consul. You probably reported for your probationary assignment to a veteran Consul who taught you the facts of Service life while you compared him with your mental image of what the American Foreign Service Officer should be. And in your mind the personification of the Service may well have been a heroic figure of the Yankee consul—shrewd and sturdy under our flag at the far outposts—lending dignity and meaning to the title and receiving meaning and dignity in return.

Heroic or not, about half the men and women in our Service in 1940 were serving in consular posts; the great Consulates-General represented a pinnacle of achievement in the Service—and consular service was recognized as a major element of our representation abroad.

Some figures we received from PER the other day set us to thinking about the changes that have occurred—and wondering how our Consulates can be made most effective in the new Service and how the unique value of consular experience can be understood and shared.

The Service today is about three times as large (6405) as it was in 1940, but the number of people serving at Consulates has remained constant at around 800. From FSO-1 through FSS-9, the job classification patterns for the Service show only 577 regular consular positions.

In April 1940 there were 223 consular posts; in April, 1955 the number had declined to 157.

It is true that many colonial dependencies have become independent; some of our Consulates have been converted into diplomatic missions. In other places, Consulates have been closed in an economy drive. The improvement of communications and the creation of "special purpose posts", together with a centralization of work at country capitals have further circumscribed the consular field.

Many of these changes were inevitable and some desirable. For the Service, however, one result has been that consular experience is becoming a rarer one. There are now "consular sections" in Embassies, and indeed consular work is looked after in a section of the Department entitled the "Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs". No doubt the routine substantive problems of our Consulates receive special attention under this arrangement. But we are a far cry from the emphasis which prevailed when the Consular Service made up a preponderant part of the Department of State and its concerns.

Consular work can be drudgery. It can also be the most stimulating and challenging work in the Service, as our "convinced consular officers" are well aware. Nowhere else in the Service is there likely to be a greater need for grassroots resourcefulness, for human understanding, for versatility. At its best, a full-blooded consular life can make the Secretaries' stint in the chanceries seem pallid and dusty.

But how to convey this sense of consular vocation to the new Service with its shoals of experts, its *ad hoc* appointments, and its centralized management?

There must be many ways our readers can think of to give consular work greater recognition and to improve its qual-

ity, but what the consular branch deserves is no more than its due as an advanced element of our first line of defense.

Detailed suggestions appear less important than a widening realization of the opportunity and the problem which it should be the duty of the veteran officers to impart. The administration of the Service from top to bottom will, we trust, reflect this awareness. The value and the rewards of consular service should be emphasized in recruiting and training. The large Consulate with its variety of political, economic and personal problems should still be regarded as the training ground *par excellence* for the fledgling officer.

It may also be time, we think, to re-examine the delegation of so many responsibilities for the management of outlying Consulates to consular sections within the embassies and legations. Standardization and managerial symmetry are all very well, but there is something which saps the vitality of a consular establishment in having its decisions made, its budget established, its reports coordinated, and its procedures directed in detail by the diplomatic mission. (In this connection, Third Secretaries are encouraged to hold Consuls General in proper awe!)

When new housing is undertaken, consular establishments should never be lost sight of at the end of the queue.

(Continued on page 40)

THE ESSAY CONTEST

Owing to the widespread and continuing interest aroused by the recently concluded JOURNAL essay contest on "The Organization of American Representation Abroad," the Editorial Board is gratified to announce plans for the creation of a permanent fund for future contests set up in such a way that contributions thereto will be tax exempt. Thus, it is anticipated that contests will be held from time to time to stimulate thinking on subjects affecting the Foreign Service and the conduct of foreign relations.

The contest record clearly indicates its signal success. Since March 1954 when announcement was made, the contest has engaged the active support of a large number of public officials, students, and observers interested in the subject. One hundred and sixty-two manuscripts in all categories were submitted and their content, scope, and quality amply endorse Secretary Dulles' statement that the subject was "one that concerned all the citizens of our American democracy in which the wisdom of the many is paramount." Much credit and appreciation is due to all who participated and especially to the distinguished panel of judges who selected the winning essays, a task requiring months of analytical and comparative reading.

Also of particular interest is the generous and ready response to requests for donations to provide funds for the prizes given. While a number of large donations were received, a very substantial portion came from small contributions of five and ten dollars, thus indicating the wide interest created. It is hoped that the permanent contest fund now being set up by the Association will continue to receive equal support on a continuing basis from all those interested in the Foreign Service and the conduct of foreign relations. Plans for the next JOURNAL essay contest will be announced in due course.

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NEWS FROM THE FIELD



MILAN

A quick check through my personal file of *Foreign Service Journals*, which, however is complete only for the last five years, revealed that Milan has not been heard from for some years. When I first arrived in Milan I wondered about this, since Milan is the real capital of Italy for all activities except government-to-government relations. Milan is the industrial and commercial heart of Italy, the source of the courage, the ideas, the initiative, in commerce, industry and politics. The citizens of Milan are sophisticated, modern, and above all, proud to be Milanese. Milan is the 5th or 6th most important city in Europe. Everything happens in Milan. Why has nobody mentioned this lately?

The answer to that question became clear when I realized that it has taken me three or four months simply to find the time to write these notes. The Consulate General here can do its job only if everybody works night and day. The busiest period was probably during the world-famous Milan Fair in April. This is the largest, most complicated and most highly organized Fair in the world,—which has been continuing for 33 years and which attracts over 4 million visitors annually. This year the United States government participated officially for the first time and the presence of AMBASSADOR LUCE and Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks added to the excitement.

Just as the Milan staff began to recover from the Fair period, its popular and able Consul General, MR. E. PAUL TENNEY was suddenly transferred to become Executive Director of EUR in the Department. That was a real and unexpected loss to us, though a gain for the Department. The staff then and now consists of CONSUL EILEEN DONOVAN (formerly of Tokyo and Manila) as Acting Principal Officer; VC AL CIZAUSKAS (formerly of Surabaya and Djakarta) as Economic Officer; VC EMMETT FORD (formerly of Rome and Germany) as Administrative Officer; VC ROBERTA MEYERKORT (most recently of Mexico) as Citizenship Officer. VC TIM BURKE (formerly of Sofia) is the veteran among us,—he and MARY ELLEN have been here since 1950, his two little sons were born here and a third new Milan Burke is expected shortly. VC JOHN HAIGH departed for home leave shortly after the Milan Fair, and is expected back late in July. VC ARTHUR ALLEN, the Political and Labor Officer, left with MRS. ALLEN and their five children late in June, on home leave and is expected back late in August. ROLAND PAUL continues efficiently to supervise the Mail Room, and will shortly receive his 10 year award. Our colleague and friend, FRANCIS (TONY) DI LUCIA, the Treasury Representative, has recently been joined by EDWARD HUGHES. IRIS RIZER, recently of Georgia, KAY BRENNESHOLTZ, recently of Calcutta, and CONNIE LUMARDI, recently of Istanbul, complete the American staff of the Consulate General. There are four USIS Americans here—MARSHALL SWAN who arrived recently from The Hague as PAO; BOB NICHOLS, Information Officer; SANDY

SIMS as Cultural Affairs Officer and EDNA KRAMPNER as secretary.

Our seventeen Italian staff members constitute the backbone of the Milan Consulate General. Anyone who has been assigned here at any time during the past 30 years will remember Mr. Alberto Morahia, who continues in the Economic Section to provide advice and guidance on business matters here. Several have completed, and many others are approaching their 10 years of service. One of our favorite people, Ferruccio Minetti, who heads our janitorial staff, celebrates his tenth anniversary shortly. Since, due to some technicality, Ferruccio has been a contract employee for the past two years, he will not be eligible to receive a 10 years service award, but will receive a Consulate General award for faithful and loyal service.

The Consulate General is looking forward to the visit of FOREIGN SERVICE INSPECTOR BERNARD A. GUFLEER shortly.

Leave periods for the small staff here have been few and far between, but Milan, as you probably all know, is an excellent place from which to begin leave if you can get it. The beautiful lakes Como, Maggiore, Garda to the north, the Italian and French Riviera to the south, Florence, Venice, Rome, Naples, Capri are all within reach. Milan itself possesses one of the most beautiful Gothic cathedrals in the world, topped by the golden "Madonna." (There are those who think Chartres is more beautiful, but this is certainly a moot question). The Duomo and Leonardo Da Vinci's "Last Supper" are visited by thousands of tourists yearly. The tourists, after spending a day in Milan, usually go on to the lake region. Few tourists, but many American and other foreign businessmen, Congressmen and Senators are our guests during the winter months, when Milan is usually closed to air traffic due to fog, smog and rain. When spring comes the smog rises and so do the spirits of the staff here. Come and visit us any time. During the Milan Fair period, however, if you have not made hotel reservations a year ahead, you would be well advised to buy an air mattress and rent a space in the park.

Eileen Donovan

KUALA LUMPUR

It was a big day for this post when on June 1, 1955 the Consulate was officially raised to the status of Consulate General. In the evening an informal gathering was held at the home of CONSUL and MRS. CHARLES T. CROSS, where consular and USIS personnel and their spouses had been invited to celebrate "Elevation Day." CONSUL and MRS. WILLIAM J. FORD were co-hosts at the party, which honored both the increased status of the office and the promotion in consular rank of CONSUL ERIC KOCHER, the new Consul General-Designate. About twenty Americans and twice as many Malaysians (of Malay, Chinese and Indian extraction) attended the celebration.

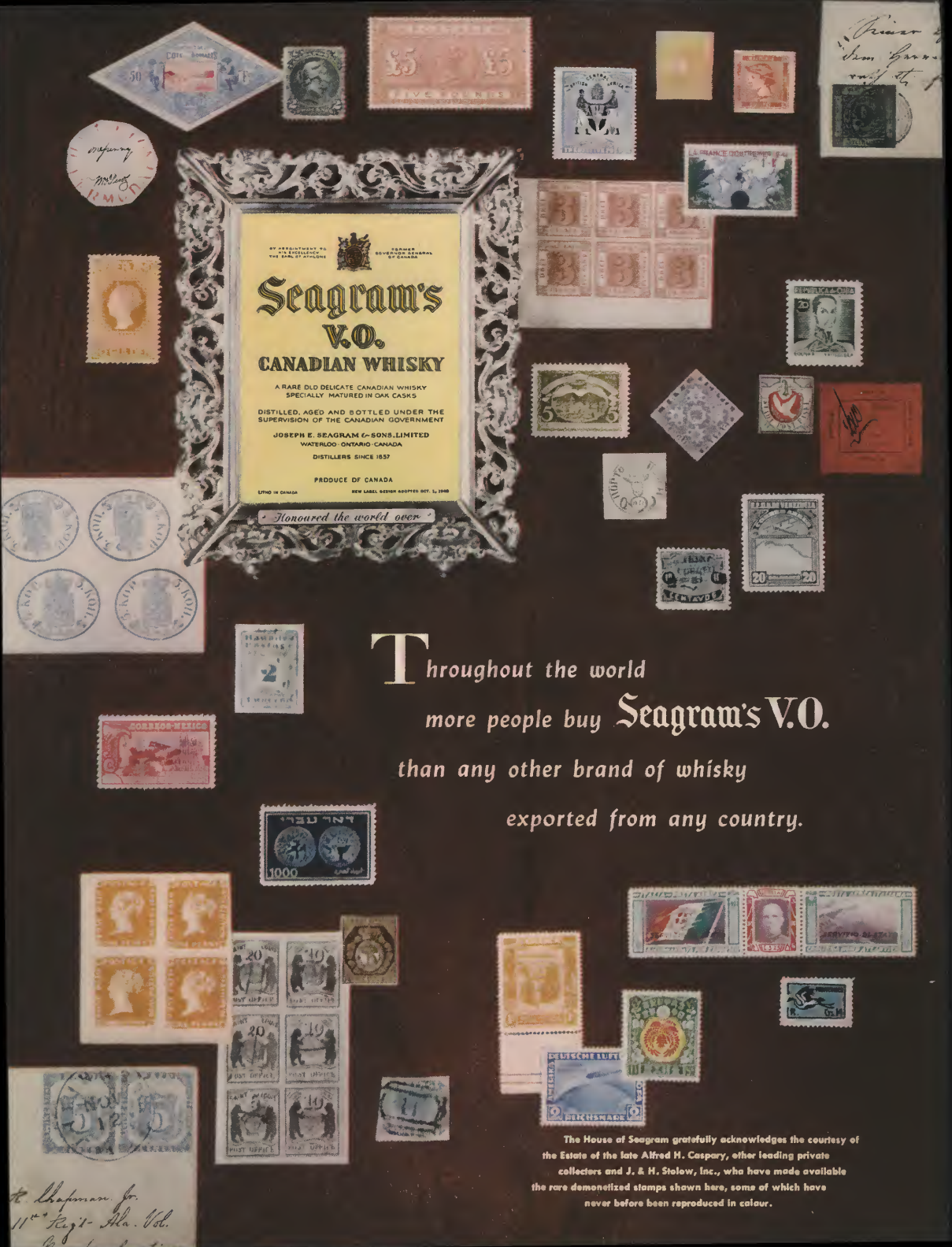
Consul Ford speculated on the increased work that would

(Continued on page 38)



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Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING

By FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Le Visiteur Royal** by Henrik Pontoppidan, Translated by Marguerite Gay and Ulla Morvan, published by Albin Michel, Paris, France.....630
French Fs.

Short stories of Danish life of the 1880s. Vivid, realistic little gems in a recent French translation of the great Danish novelist.

2. **Auntie Mame** by Patrick Dennis, published by Vanguard\$3.50

Zany doings of a flamboyant unrepressed Manhattan female in the gay twenties and the less gay thirties. A best seller.

3. **Georges Auguste Escoffier** by Eugène Herbo-deau and Paul Thalamas, published by Macmillan\$4.50

Disciples of the great French chef known as the "King of Chefs and the Chef of Kings" recount the interesting life of the successor to Vattel and Brillat-Savarin. Best read before meals.

NATO—The First Five Years, by Lord Ismay; *North Atlantic Treaty Organization, publisher. Printed in The Netherlands, available at Acme Code Company, 507 W. 33rd Street, New York 1, New York. 1955, approx. \$2.00, 280 pp.*

Reviewed by WILLIAM NUNLEY

Lord Ismay's comprehensive report on the first five years of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is hardly the sort of book that one chooses for entertainment or relaxation. It is both a history and an encyclopedia of NATO activities, and certain portions of the volume are necessarily rather technical. At the same time, the complex story of NATO is told in a lucid narrative style that makes for easy reading—a style somewhat reminiscent of Churchill's memoirs of the Second World War. While in one sense the book is a product of the NATO International Staff as a whole, the basic material having been compiled by many hands, the actual task of writing the report was largely performed by Lord Ismay himself. His personal touch is evident throughout.

As a reference work, "NATO—The First Five Years" is invaluable. It contains a much larger quantity of useful information about NATO than has ever been gathered in one place. It provides detailed coverage of the origins and development of NATO, the civilian and military organizational structure, NATO's principal programs and supporting activities, and NATO's major accomplishments to date. A sizable assortment of charts, tables, and maps help to

illustrate the narrative. In addition, many of the important documents bearing upon NATO's work—the Treaty itself, related treaties and supplementary agreements, communiqués of NATO meetings, etc.—are presented as appendices.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of the Ismay report is the skillful simplicity with which certain intricate operations are treated. The veil of secrecy behind which much of NATO's work is necessarily conducted has not prevented Lord Ismay from painting a comprehensive and well-rounded picture. To the layman, such subjects as the NATO Annual Review and the NATO infrastructure program have often seemed mysterious; Lord Ismay easily dispels most of this mystery. He also turns the spotlight as never before upon the non-military activities and relationships that have evolved within the alliance.

Whatever may be the future of the Atlantic Community, it is apparent that the present relationship among fifteen countries of Europe and North America is one of the most significant political developments of our time, and that for many years to come a goodly portion of the total activities involved in the conduct of American foreign policy will be intimately related to NATO. The Ismay report should prove interesting to any person who wishes to learn more about the Atlantic relationship. It is virtually indispensable to diplomatic or military personnel who are directly concerned with any of the numerous functions which constitute the NATO program.

Experiment in Education: What We Can Learn from Teaching Germany, by William E. Hocking. *Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1954. 300 pages. \$5.00.*

Reviewed by HOWARD TRIVERS

One often reads nowadays scholarly and historical books of excellent quality and yet not bearing a distinctive mark of the author. Ernest Hocking, Harvard Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, has written an extraordinary book, bearing the giant mark of his profound and lively mind. No one else could have written it. Some of you will remember his *Spirit of World Politics*, published in 1932, which Near Eastern experts still speak of with awe and admiration. Students of German affairs from now on will speak similarly of the above book.

Professor Hocking was a student in Germany in 1902-3. In 1948 at the age of 75 he revisited Germany, experiencing there the post-war German situation and the problems of American policy and practice in the occupation. From the background of a man who has loved the best in German thought, he gives a careful analysis of the German problem, defines the viciousness of Nazism, points to the Defeat and the Nuremberg Court as the major correctional educators, and deals with American efforts to "teach democracy and democratize teaching" in Germany. Together with an analysis of essentials and first principles, Professor Hocking sets down with charm personal narrative vignettes which enliven the book.

Our task of reeducating Germany, in Professor Hocking's view, was impossible: "What Defeat could do, we need not do; what Defeat could not do, we also could not do." Germany's renewal could not come through any teaching of ours, but "through the self-righting reflection of Germany on its own experience."

The dean of American philosophers has considered with the fullness of his ripe wisdom certain essentials of our contemporary situation. This is a book for those who are not afraid to ponder.

Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy, by Ingvar Svennilson, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. *Columbia University Press, New York.* 1955. 342 pages with index. \$4.50.

Reviewed by E. E. SCOLL.

This complex and detailed study was prepared by Professor Svennilson (University of Stockholm) under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and in cooperation with the Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. Since the work is devoted to the study of competitive market economy, the Soviet Union is not included. While the data and analysis cover, wherever possible, the period 1880-1950, the report is mainly concerned with the economic growth of individual European countries and industries from 1913 to 1938.

The study finds that during the latter period the European economy progressed at a surprisingly slow rate. The output of European agriculture increased at an average rate of 1.5 percent per year and the product of manufacturing and service industries increased at an average rate of 2 percent per year. Population growth amounted to 15 percent during the period, so that the resultant average annual national income and real income increases per capita amounted to 0.8 and 0.6 respectively. Professor Svennilson cautions, however, that an analysis of these aggregates must take into account the increased leisure accompanying the shortening of working hours achieved during this 25 year period and the widely differing standards of living and rates of progress of the individual countries for which data were combined in attaining these averages.

In his study Professor Svennilson presents a new formulation of the problem of economic growth and traces in detail the interrelationship of the elements contributing to growth or stagnation. He suggests that national economic growth is at least in part a function of the "transformation" of an economy, including in his definition of the term, changes in methods of production (i.e. increased mechanization); changes in input-output ratios; development of new products; shifts in consumption patterns; changes in distribution of labor force, etc.

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henceforth devolve on the post if only by reason of the extension of its title from "American Consulate" to "American Consulate General"—an increase of almost fifty per cent in the number of syllables to be written or pronounced. He then congratulated the new Consul General on behalf of the entire staff, and proposed a toast to a well-deserved advancement in rank.

In reply, Mr. Kocher commented on the significance of the elevation of the post with respect to its American and Malayan personnel. He pointed out that it was the first consulate general to be established in the Federation of Malaya, and would entail increased obligations as well as increased prestige. In conclusion he read the following ditty hastily composed by Mrs. Kocher for the occasion:

"Here's to elevation
And a new Malayan Nation
May you share our jubilation
At this party's inspiration.
We have long had intimation
Of our imminent inflation
But there still is exultation
At its final realization,
But, enough of peroration,
Just forget all hesitation;
Do away with reservation
And enjoy the celebration.
Let's all drink with great elation,
Here's a toast to elevation."

Glasses clinked, and the party ended only after numerous bottles of champagne had been emptied.

Benjamin Cramer

KOBE-OSAKA

The American and Japanese members of the staff of the Consulate General assembled at a farewell party on May 28 to mark the retirement from the Foreign Service of two of their senior associates, FSO GLEN W. BRUNER and FSL ICHIRO SUZUKI. Mr. Bruner joined the Foreign Service in 1931 and is departing for the United States on retirement on June 9, 1955. Mr. Suzuki's record of service is indeed a unique one, extending over a total period of 48 years. Joining the former American Consulate at Kobe on March 15, 1907, he served continuously at that office until its closure upon the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States in December, 1941. Resuming his Foreign Service connection with the postwar American Consulate General at Kobe-Osaka, Mr. Suzuki performed further faithful and diligent service until his retirement became effective on May 31, 1955.

At the party, American staff members presented Mr. and Mrs. Bruner with a rare Japanese *kakemono*. The presentation was made by CONSUL GENERAL RALPH J. BLAKE. The Bruners plan to return to the United States for an extended vacation after which they will return to Japan to take up residence at Tokyo where they have been re-assigned as Methodist missionaries, resuming activities they relinquished when Mr. Bruner entered the Foreign Service with the former American Consulate at Nagasaki in 1931.

Mr. Suzuki was presented with an appropriately inscribed silver cigarette box at the farewell party already mentioned.

Ralph J. Blake

had been awarded to him in 1954, at the time when Mr. Caffery was serving as American Ambassador in Egypt. The Laetare Medal is awarded annually to outstanding Catholic men and women and is generally considered to be the most outstanding lay award in the American Catholic Church.

The Department was represented at the presentation ceremony by the HONORABLE ROBERT MURPHY, Deputy Under Secretary, who read the Secretary's statement on the occasion which stated, in part:

"It is with deep personal and professional satisfaction that I greet the University of Notre Dame's choice of Jefferson Caffery to receive the Laetare Medal.

"In bestowing this medal upon him Notre Dame honors a devoted public servant for more than forty years of productive labor in the field of diplomacy. It recognizes his numerous contributions toward better understanding between nations. And it pays tribute to his unremitting zeal in striving for and winning friends for his country. . . ."

The Honorable Charles Bohlen and Mrs. Bohlen

In a highly complimentary article about AMBASSADOR BOHLEN published in the *New York Times Magazine*, Clifton Daniel said of him:

"Ambassador Bohlen is neither a crystal-gazer nor an alarmist. Anyone who talks to him about Soviet politics soon learns that, while he has certainly achieved the status of a pundit, he does not aspire to the mantle of a prophet or the banner of a crusader.

"He is an observer, analyst and commentator, alert to trends of policy, quick to appreciate their significance, and pungent in analyzing and defining them. Reporting policy trends that may be of interest or importance to the United States Government in its own policy-making is clearly the main function of the American Ambassador in present circumstances. Mr. Bohlen works at it."

Stewart Alsop, who has been running a series of articles about his trip to Russia in *The Washington Post* had this to say about Mrs. Bohlen:

"A rather astonishing example of official contact between Americans and Russians was provided by the Fourth of July Party given by the American Embassy here. The party was certainly a success. All the most important Russian leaders attended, despite the absence of Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen. A French diplomat here attributed this triumph to the fact that 'the entire Presidium is in love with Mrs. Bohlen'; and certainly Mrs. Bohlen was the heroine of the occasion."

Second World-wide Golf Tournament

The second World-Wide Golf Tournament is now underway. Inclusive dates for American Foreign Service personnel and their spouses to participate are from August 15 to September 25, and from the interest shown it is expected to double the 35 post participation which was had last year.

The Callaway system of handicapping for the 18-hole competition will be used which does not penalize the good golfer excessively or prevent the lowliest golfer from winning in his flight. Entrance blanks and additional information have been sent to all posts and are obtainable from administrative and personnel officers. The entrance fees are \$2.00 and entry blanks and fees must be forwarded to the State-USIA Recreation Association Offices at the earliest possible moment. Late entrants or those who might be delayed by time and distance factors may forward fees, entry

(Continued on page 40)

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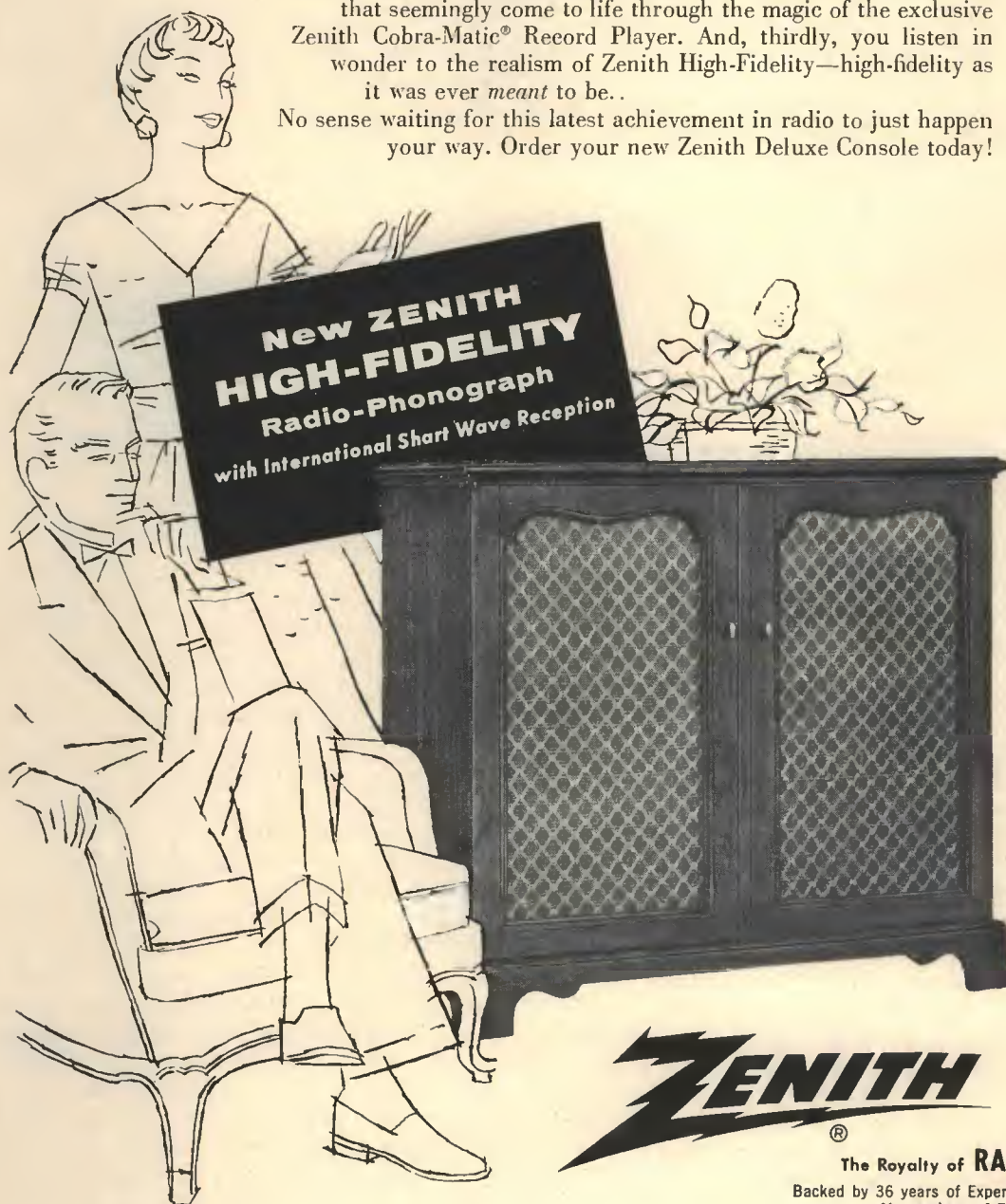
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One of the finest radio chassis ever produced! Brings in more stations of greater distances on Standard Broadcast and 3 International Short Wave Bands than you ever thought possible.



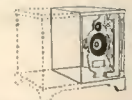
Exclusive Zenith Cobra-Matic Record Player

Plays any size and speed record on the market. Not only 33 1/3, 45 and 78 RPM records, but all speeds 10 to 85 RPM—including the new 16 2/3 RPM "talking book" speed.



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blanks and attested score cards at the same time, but in such event the applications etc. must be in the mail not later than October 1st.

ICA (FOA) American personnel and their spouses are being invited to participate with State and USIA this year and it is hoped that this will result in a much greater number of entrants.

A large number of champion and flight trophies and cups will be presented to winners. In addition, permanent trophies headed by the Secretary's and the Director's cups (State-USIA) will have the names of winners inscribed and remain on permanent display in the Department.

The Department phase of the Tournament will be held at the East Potomac Golf Course in Washington on the 14th and 15th of September. Advance indications are that over 200 men and women from State, USIA and ICA will enter the Tournament here "at home."

Personals

DAVID K. E. BRUCE, State Department official and former Ambassador to France, was elected to the Board of Trustees of Johns Hopkins University. Ambassador Bruce, who served as United States Ambassador to France from 1949 to 1952 was appointed special consultant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on Western European unity.

GEN. WALTER BEDELL SMITH, former Under Secretary of State, was appointed board chairman of the American Heritage Foundation. The Foundation will undertake a national non-partisan campaign to persuade all eligible citizens to register and vote in the 1956 elections.

YOICHI OKAMOTO, deputy chief of the Visual Materials Branch of the USIA's International Press Service, was one of the world's 273 photographers represented in Edward Steichen's collection of "The Family of Man," exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery. The photograph displayed is one of Hareld Kreuzberger, the famous dancer, made in 1950 when Mr. Okamoto was covering the Salzberg Festival.

Then and Now

A two-part article on the history of the Department since 1930 was published in the *State Department Bulletin* recently.

Twenty-five years ago, Department of State employees numbered 4,726, and the total appropriation was \$15,415,214. In 1940, following a decade in which the functions of the Department expanded but slightly, the employees numbered 5,444 and the appropriation was \$22,378,497. In 1950, the Department had 26,449 employees, and an appropriation of \$331,150,417. Between fiscal '53 and fiscal '54, employees of the Department decreased in number with the transfer of functions out of the Department into the new USIA and FOA.

In 1930, the Department was housed in the old State, War and Navy building. It now fills the New State Building and twenty annexes.

During the ten years of the 1930's, the Secretary of State attended four international conferences. These were the London Economic Conference, and three international conferences at Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Lima. Secretary Dulles, during the past year, has attended five major conferences—at Berlin, Geneva, Manila, London, and Paris.

All of the major geographic areas are more heavily staffed now than they were in 1930. The Division of European

(Continued on page 45)

BIRTHS

BLAKE. A son, David Laurence, born to Mr. and Mrs. James J. Blake on July 7, 1955, in Arlington, Va.

HEATER. A son, Brian Lane, born to Mr. and Mrs. Russell C. Heater on May 24, 1955, at Port-au-Prince.

L'HEUREUX. A daughter, Susan Marie, born to Mr. and Mrs. George Hervé L'Heureux on July 19, 1955, in Washington, D. C.

HILL. A son, Alan Glynn, born to Mr. and Mrs. Jesse C. Hill on July 16, 1955, in Miami, Fla.

PFEIFFER. A son, Harry F., 3rd, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harry F. Pfeiffer, Jr., on June 22, 1955, in Washington. Daughters Claudine and Ellen were born in Kobe and Sapporo, respectively.

SCHWAB. A daughter, Katherine Jeanne, born to Lt. John J. Schwab, Jr. (USMC Aviation), and Mrs. Schwab (nee Jean Rose L'Heureux) on July 16, 1955, at Cherry Point, N. C.

STOKES. A son, William Hughes III, born to Mr. and Mrs. William H. Stokes, Jr. on June 2, 1955, at the Clinica de Occidente in Cali.

SUTIN. A daughter, Deborah Jean, born to Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence N. Sutin on September 1, 1954, at Great Falls, Montana.

STAFF CORPS PROMOTIONS

The following Staff Corps promotions were processed during the month of June:

From Class 12 to Class 11

Burton, Cecilia A.
Bushong, Martha S.
Cattoche, Joseph N.
Colburn, Mary
Connors, Mary A.
Davenport, Edward C.
Denham, Gloria
Figura, Thaddeus J.
Galey, Jacqueline
Galutia, Irving D.
Goodman, Albert P.
Gordon, Patricia J.
Johnson, Theodore E.
Knickerbocker, James F.
Kozuch, Frank
Larish, Anthony W.
McCarvey, Virginia

McCluskey, Margaret L.
Nielsen, Preben
Oplinger, Gerald G.
Overdorff, Mary H.
Savage, Francis J.
Seguin, Henrietta S.
Swankowski, Eugene
Tavoularis, Georgia
Thompson, Laura M.
Vaughan, Marguerite
Armstrong, Louise E.

From Class 13 to Class 12

Carrell, Donna A.
French, Nancy J.
Peceri, Michael B.
Powers, Eileen F.
Wetherbee, F. Elaine

WHITHER THE CONSUL (from page 32)

The adaptation of the Selection-Out system to the new Service is going to be difficult at best. One test of its efficacy will be the way in which it assesses consular skill in relation to all the newly categorized specialties which it must now evaluate.

Assignment policy should assure that top-ranking officers have knowledge and experience of consular problems. Experience in charge of a Consulate should be considered especially useful preparation for becoming Chief of Mission.

From Luanda to Tabriz, from Calgary to Surabaya, our country relies upon men whose daily efforts are a trial and preparation for still greater service.

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 Canadian Whisky
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What are the results? One result is office after office slackly run or run with unnecessary petty rigidity. This means personal unhappiness, bickering, misuse of manpower, waste of money and talent, and, in direct terms of foreign policy, uncoordinated and undependable reports and recommendations and a weak and erratic exertion of American influence on the world stage. If this sounds too strong, modify it to accord with your own observations. But this describes some of the Service establishments I have known.

Separate Administrative Corps

One end result has been the development of a virtually separate administrative corps in the Service. Men have been brought in from the outside "to relieve the Service officer of this unproductive set of administrative duties." This is said in a tone which implies that these duties are not only unproductive but unpleasant and slightly beneath the level of the Service's tastes. But administration can mean control, and if the Service wishes to influence policy it must also accept administration as an honorable and vital adjunct to policy. These men brought in as "housekeeping specialists" have sometimes had little knowledge or appreciation of the substantive work of our government's representatives abroad. It cannot be gainsaid that sometimes they have been "efficient" and knowledgeable about such mundane and essential matters as budgets and bookkeeping. But their very apartness has further eliminated the human element from this vast machine. And they have sometimes gained powers of decision in a Foreign Service establishment which has been to the serious detriment of our work abroad. There is no substitute for a working chief who knows what we're after, who knows his people and who knows how to regulate their work so as to weld them into a smooth agency. Give the Chief technical assistants as they are necessary, but let them be only that.

What is the remedy for this defect? There is no sure one and certainly no mechanical one. It would help, of course, if we went back to an uncomplicated efficiency report, designed to get the rating officer to tell simply and fully everything he can about the officer's abilities and performance. It seems to me more important that each rating officer should say honestly and in his own way what he knows than that all reports should be compressed into a standardized mold for the sake of a somewhat fictional uniformity of judgment. It would help even more if a sustained effort were made to keep track of men reported to have administrative know-how and to use them as required as heads of offices or at least as administrative heads. Let's worry less about rank and more about results. It is a costly and questionable luxury to continue to appoint men as Consuls General and Ambassadors just because they are senior in rank or good at representation or are keen observers. Promote these men, yes, and extract the last bit of fruitfulness from their indispensable talents. But the man who cannot manage and use his organization doesn't have the requirements for the top job. It should be evident that the man who leads, the man who is the United States in any given place, must be a rounded man. He at least must be a generalist, or more aptly a bundle of specialists in himself.

Most of all, perhaps, it would help to impress constantly the importance of administrative ability on all officers. Rating officers should be told to look for it, encourage it and report it—and to raise a plain warning flag where it is conspicuously absent. Junior officers should be told it is a

prized asset without which they cannot get to the very top. It is my belief that if the Service will admit its shortcomings in this field and emphasize its desire to correct them the picture will slowly improve. Then, and only then, will our representation abroad be in a position to exert its full energy to good purpose.

The second defect which I should like to cite is, if anything, even more difficult to measure and to treat. To put it as clearly as I can, it seems to me that although the Foreign Service is, as a rule, capable of observing and reporting in an efficient and sometimes brilliant manner, it is very short on the ability to plan rapidly and act promptly. This point may be violently disputed. I would be the first to assert that there are quite a few exceptions, and thank God for them. I merely cite a generality which I myself believe to be true and have run up against.

In former times the Service had a different function and a different tempo. Its job *was* largely one of observing. The diplomatist's life was an honorable and pleasant one, devoted to creating a good impression of America abroad and to giving our Government due (and literary) warning of impending events. The second World War ended all that, decisively. It put the United States squarely in the forefront of all international life. It meant that we became the observed even more than the observers. It meant that more initiative, more active intervention, was demanded rather constantly from our representatives in many a troubled spot and many a ticklish situation. It meant that in some countries our Foreign Service officers were thrown into the grinding mill of occupation duties alongside the military, were plunged into the business of actual day-to-day government of foreign countries. The work of the diplomatist has become, if not dishonorable, at least beset with many pitfalls, some of them dug quite unnecessarily by his own compatriots, but that's another story. His work has become if not unpleasant, at least sometimes dangerous, frequently frustrating and almost always arduous.

Demand of New Situation

It is my observation that an otherwise admirable, even magnificent, corps of public servants has not always measured up to the demands of this new situation. This was perhaps particularly noticeable in occupation areas where the Service was put up against a prime set of doers, but it has impressed me likewise in the Department itself, and elsewhere. For reasons for which I cannot find a fully satisfactory explanation, Foreign Service Officers generally tend to carry a manner of reserve, to be over-cautious, to be too insistent on assembling every last fact and weighing every minute implication, to be too afraid of making a mistake, to be too hesitant to make a decision. I have seen this paralysis of action cause our foreign policy to miss more than one boat. I have seen otherwise very able Foreign Service Officers lose precious time hemming and hawing, consulting, demanding more observation of the situation, seeking more "instructions," doing anything to avoid making an unpleasant determination. Finally, in many cases, someone on the outside has simply picked up the ball and run, in disgust or in glee. Part of the low estate to which the Foreign Service and the State Department have fallen in recent years is surely due to this quality of aloof indecisiveness.

I do not know precisely why the Service is like this. It may be the hangerover of traditional ideas and attitudes from easier days. It may be a too close curb held by the home office. It may be that our examinations and our selection

processes are geared too much to strictly intellectual standards—and intellectuals are notoriously bad at rapid decision-making.

If we can agree that there is any serious modicum of truth in what I am saying, then surely in this case as in the case of the lack of good administration a process of recognition, effort, emphasis and selection will work a slow improvement. There is no ready way to find and to tag the ability to decide and to act. But the State Department could seek to relax the reins of minute and even trivial instructions which have so slowed up its representatives abroad and deadened their initiative. Again, rating officers should be told to look for the quality of decisiveness, to encourage it and to report it or its lack. Naturally they should continue to report that So-and-So writes well, has a good understanding of political factors, is a smooth promoter of American trade, is vigilant in enforcing the visa regulations, makes friends readily, speaks four languages fluently and has a wife who is a charming and discreet hostess. But what the Department must insist on knowing in addition is whether So-and-So can use all this ability and charm to make rapid plans and decisions. A steady campaign of emphasis on this quality would tend to bring it more to the front in those already in the Service. But perhaps even there it can be ferreted out if enough thought is concentrated on the problem.

Hard to Measure Human Qualities

These are but two samples of hard-to-measure human qualities which it seems to me are badly needed as the very basis for any successful organization of American representation abroad. It is all very well—and necessary—to consider ways and means of improving the paper organization of the Service. It is all very well—and necessary—to consider ways and means of providing the most attractive terms of service and tenure. It is all very well—and necessary—to have a fresh look now and then at the chain of command, or the flow of reports or the services rendered, to eliminate waste motion and gaps and overlapping. But in spite of all the shortcomings which may exist in these matters, there is present, and long has been, the human material to create a brilliant foreign policy. It only wants proper recognition, evaluation and use. We must not become so bemused by organization that we lose sight of the men and women who make up the organization. Unless we center our attention on the qualities we want in those men and women, above and beyond mere intelligence and loyalty, we will fall short of our needs and our possibilities. No amount of recruitment, integration, high salaries, regular inspection, forms, security checks, pension plans, liaison arrangements, institutes or appointment of careerists to ambassadorships will give us the representation we need in the world today. On the other hand, if the Foreign Service has in it the kind of people whose very qualities will make it strong, confident, tightly-knit and decisive, the national interest will be well served, and no mistake about it. Mechanics are important but they can always be tinkered with. It's the *people* we have to depend on.

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by the time one reaches sufficient eminence to be selected for the throne, he is likely to be elderly indeed. Having come to the throne in his late sixties Tugbe lived to reign only two years.

The death of the king was announced at 1:00 a.m. on May 30, 1955, and came at the end of a long period of illness. The climate being very tropical, no time was wasted in preparing for the state funeral and it was scheduled for 4:30 that afternoon at the royal palace at Zebe (the residential suburb of Anecho). In a sense, it was fortunate that this sad event should have taken place on the holiday of Pentecost since it was thus possible for a large number of the subjects of the kingdom as well as the officials and dignitaries of Togoland to pay their respects. It was obvious that they should wish to do so since, in addition to his position in the traditional life of his community, Tugbe occupied official positions in the civil administration of Togoland. His activities had earned his designation as the civil mayor of Anecho, as deputy to the regional French Commandant, and as a member of the Council of Advisors to the Commissioner of the Republic in Togo.

Shortly before the hour appointed for the funeral, the groups of officials and mourners made their way to Zebe. The palace was approached through several narrow, unpaved streets and finally, through a narrow alley about a city block long. At the end of the alley was an unmarked gate opening into a courtyard absolutely massed with people. Although it was difficult to see how the courtyard could hold them, there must have been about five hundred people attending.

The palace itself is a two-story structure of cream stucco with the usual wide verandas found in tropical climates. The building extended around two sides of the courtyard and another similar building opposite was pointed out as the women's quarters. In the courtyard were several big, old trees and strung from the house to these trees were woven mat shades which gave the whole courtyard the appearance of a tent. In the center of the yard was an improvised pulpit complete with a quite modern public address system.

Officials Attended

At the appointed time, the Commissioner of Togoland and his official party arrived. This party consisted of the Directors of all of the Government services in Togoland plus the regional commandants of Anecho and the neighboring regions and their assistants. In their snow-white full-dress uniforms and gold braid, there was no doubt that they represented official France in paying respect to a departed official of high respect.

Seated to the left of the French officials (and opposite their assistants) were the traditional authorities of Anecho. In the front row sat the two "Traditional Ministers" of the court wearing their sashes of office. These ministers held positions under the king roughly similar to that of a grand vizier. Behind them sat all the village chieftains in their official robes and holding upright their staffs of authority. These staffs were surmounted by figures in gold or silver hand-carved in the shape of an antelope, a tiger, a star, or some other symbol.

Behind the pulpit and forming the fourth side of a square in the courtyard was a black-robed choir. With

their very neat appearance in the choir robes, they would have fitted perfectly in a church of a colored congregation in our own country. The illusion was heightened when they started to sing well-known hymns such as, "Shall We Gather by the River" in good harmony even though they sang them in their own rather guttural language.

After the first hymn had been sung, the casket was borne in by ten bearers and it appeared that the whole morning had been spent in preparing it for the funeral. It was covered with a hand-woven cloth on which designs were embroidered in gold and colored threads and the cloth was then covered by a mass of artificial flowers. Four posts from the corners of the casket supported a canopy of a similar cloth. Following the casket were three girls who appeared to be between eight and twelve years old, dressed in their finest, and each bearing a cushion made of gold-embroidered cloth. On the first cushion rested the silver crown, on the second, the various medals and decorations bestowed on the late king, and on the third, a gilt fan. The fan was never properly explained although it was apparently another symbol of royal authority.

The crown is of solid silver, hand-carved, with no jewelry inset. It is about the size and same general shape as the royal crowns of England with a wide headband from which rise four strips of silver to a height of about eight inches. Where the four bands meet at the top of the crown, they are surmounted by a large maltese cross. The cap inside the crown is of a lavender velvet.

Ceremony Began

As soon as the casket was in place before the pulpit, the crown was placed on top of it and the three young girls stood in a line in front of it. Then the ceremony began.

At this point, it became apparent that the ceremony was to be a completely Protestant one. The long period of activity of the Christian missionaries has obviously left its mark along the Bight of Benin and this Methodist ceremony was an indication of it. Nevertheless, one could not help but be surprised at this ceremony since the life of the late king must have contained some rather definite compromises between paganism, Islam, and Methodism.

For example, the symbols of authority and many of the tribal practices spring directly from paganism. Yet, Tugbe was himself a Muslim until late in life. This fact was pointed up on the arrival of the casket when a number of women began to wail. These women were, it developed, the wives of the late king. Although it was not possible to see how many there were, there must have been twenty-five or possibly thirty-five present. It is quite possible, of course, that the whispered explanation may have been misunderstood and they may have been merely the women of the household rather than wives.

That there were at least several wives was not in doubt, however. Having become Christian in his later years, Tugbe did not divest himself of his wives who remained with him and remained Muslim. Wives or not, the women wailing in the background all appeared to be from thirty to forty years younger than he himself must have been. Lest one be unduly scandalized by these apparent compromises with conscience, it is well to keep in mind that in a primitive society where religion and social customs are so intermixed, a complete break with tradition and family and tribal beliefs and customs is a very difficult matter indeed.

(Continued on page 56)

HENRY M. WRISTON (from page 23)

do have "suitability" for the proper employment of professional diplomats?

Mr. Kennan purports to document his defeatist dogma by an appeal to history. He speaks with approval of the Rogers Act of 1924 which supplied the first broad statutory foundation for our professional Foreign Service. He seems to think the act was hailed by the professional diplomats who had been serving in two separate services under a series of executive orders and some fragmentary statutes. In point of fact, many in the diplomatic service were more dubious of its soundness than he is of the recommendations of the committee.

Starting with this historical error he cites many causes for the failure of the promises of the Rogers Act. In his catalog of errors the majority are administrative, such as "failure of senior government officials to understand why the Foreign Service should be treated any differently from the Civil Service as a whole," "Mr. Roosevelt's dislike of the Service," "the complete suspension of admissions for periods of years on end," and so on. His last and clinching argument is "lack of comprehension for the nature and exigencies of the diplomatic function on the part of a great continental society." He concludes: "As of the year 1953, it is no exaggeration to say that the experiment of professional diplomacy, as undertaken by the United States in 1925, had failed."

If 30 years have shown only a record of failure, if the American system is incompatible with a professional corps of diplomats, all his subsequent observations become irrelevant. If reform is foredoomed by the nature of democracy generally, and the American system in particular (and he gives no reason to regard the future in any more optimistic light than the past), the enterprise should be abandoned.

Discerning Use of Professionals

The committee has no such doubts of the capacity of American democracy to make discerning use of professionals in diplomacy. The nation has learned to do it with the military. It is learning to do it with scientists, not as rapidly as one could wish, but speedily nonetheless. Moreover, the record of the diplomatic service under the Rogers Act (and its successor, the Foreign Service Act of 1946), while not perfect, is far from failure. Indeed, when Mr. Kennan goes on to other topics, he admits as much. He has respect for the earlier examinations; he speaks with feeling and eloquence of the function of the Foreign Service officer abroad, which he clearly implies he and his fellows discharged not only faithfully but skillfully. When Mr. Kennan thus reverses his logic, I agree with him. The whole committee agreed with him when it urged the public to "reinvest their confidence, without reservation," in the Service.

Mr. Kennan's doubts as to the validity of democratic concepts extend to education, upon which his views are shocking. For example, he regards as inevitable "the further decline in quality of undergraduate education that is to be expected from the anticipated vast increase in college attendance in coming years." Does he know so little of American educational history as to suppose that his favorite institutions for those of "breeding" were better a century ago because they were smaller?

It may be remarked parenthetically that some of the ablest and most effective diplomatic professionals in our service graduated from those less well-known, if not humbler, insti-

(Continued on page 46)



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NEWS TO THE FIELD (from page 40)

Affairs in 1930 had 29 officers in Washington and 548 overseas. In 1955, the Office of European Affairs had 132 officers in Washington, 932 overseas. The Near East, South Asian and African area in 1930 had 9 officers in Washington and 97 overseas. In 1955, this area had grown to 141 officers in Washington and 512 overseas.

The Far Eastern area, in 1930, was staffed by 11 officers at home and 163 overseas. In 1955, there were 114 officers in Washington, 433 overseas. The Latin American area grew from 22 officers in Washington in 1930 to 111 in 1955. At the same time, the field staff developed from 312 to 1,125.

Buildings owned by the Department of State in 1926 were 6 office buildings and 30 residential units, with 311 units leased for office space. In 1955, the Department owned 137 office buildings, and leased 549 office units. The number of residential units owned in 1955 were 64 Embassies or Legations, 590 residential properties and 513 apartment units. The Department also held on short-term lease, in 1955, 1,379 residential units.

The security function was one of many which showed a phenomenal growth over the past twenty-five years. In 1930 the investigative function of the Department was carried on by a Chief Special Agent and seven employees. In 1955, 280 persons were engaged in investigative work in the United States, and 60 persons abroad.

In 1930, 78 employees issued 203,174 passports; in 1954-55, 240 employees issued 434,644 passports. In 1930, 318,268 visas were issued. In 1954, this number had grown to 605,289 visas.

tutions of higher education of whose capacity "to give a college student the type of liberal education he requires for Foreign Service" Mr. Kennan has such explicit doubts. In fact his arguments amount to doubt of the educational integrity of all the colleges and universities outside his limited purview. He shows no sympathy for drawing officers for the Foreign Service from the South, now barely represented. However, "character, intelligence, and education" are not a regional monopoly.

It is absurd to caricature the recommendations of the committee in order to make it appear that we proposed that the Foreign Service "be as close as possible to the mean of other Americans of their age," or that the United States "should be represented by our average rather than our best." He plainly intimates that the committee desired Foreign Service Officers with only "the minimum attainments of the average C-plus senior of the average college." Not a word in our report supports any such suggestion; it is a feeble argument that must depend upon misrepresentation. We proposed no reduction of standards. I, for one, do not approve of the new examination that omits "essay type" questions. The committee did not recommend their omission. The new examination was wholly in the hands of the Department's Board of Examiners.

Financial Problems

Mr. Kennan knows nothing of the financial problems of students. "Young people . . . who have been able to find the money for the first two years of college and have acquitted themselves creditably . . . do not normally have great difficulty in meeting the financial problem involved in the completion of their college course." This is a very large generalization from one with no broad experience or other evidence of competence to make it. Perhaps the problem has not been acute in the socially and financially "elite" group Mr. Kennan seems to wish to have dominate the Service, but character and intellect and education are not now and never have been the exclusive possession of the financially comfortable—any more than they are a regional monopoly.

He is totally insensitive to the financial problems of applicants. Heretofore, young men and women after passing written examinations, meeting language requirements, and being cleared by security investigators have had to travel to Washington at their own expense for an oral examination, which 40 per cent flunked. Yet he regards the costs of travel from Texas or Oregon or California to Washington merely as an "inconvenience," to use his own word. He sees no injustice in requiring this excessive speculative investment of time and money on the part of remote residents as compared with those on the Atlantic seaboard. Furthermore he overlooks the fact that when he graduated from college jobs were scarce; now there is active competition for the best brains. What evidence does he have that the Department has recently been getting its share?

In objecting to scholarships for those committed to the Foreign Service he overlooks the precedent of free education at service academies for professionals in the armed services and ROTC programs with "government subsidy." He wants a professional service, but does not want the government to pay any of its preparatory costs, as it does now in other—and competing—services. He overlooks strong congressional pressures for a "diplomatic West Point" which would be

infinitely more costly, and would have other undesirable effects.

One unfortunate consequence of Mr. Kennan's educational discussion and his animadversions upon the "suitability" of democracy for professional diplomacy is that it will do nothing to cure the public impression that the diplomatic service is guilty of snobbery; I had hopes that ghost was on the way to being laid. I do not believe that his explicit doubts of American capacity to use professional diplomats are widely shared in our Foreign Service.

Mr. Kennan's use of figures is both confused and confusing. With the program of the "amalgamation of the old Foreign Service with that portion of the Department of State primarily concerned with the substantive problems of governmental policy," he is in agreement. This "step merely brings American practice into accord with that of most other governments." But he declines to accept the clear numerical inferences of his approval. He says that when he entered the service there were only 700 Foreign Service Officers; he omits to tell how many persons in the Department of State were concerned with "substantive" policy. Then he compares the 700 Foreign Service Officers when he entered to the 4,000 after the recommended amalgamation; a fair comparison would take into account those who, as Robert Lansing said, should have been amalgamated in 1924. That would make the growth, which he calls "elephantiasis," much less spectacular, and less open to his strictures.

He also uses imaginary figures to set up false antitheses. Some, he says, "would think it more important to have 25 really superior officers than to have 2,500 mediocre ones." Would he object to 2,500 superior officers, or is he convinced the American democracy could not produce—or use—so many?

Mr. Kennan entered the Foreign Service when the United States was in retreat from world responsibilities. Now that we take a leading role, do we need no more officers than when isolation was the ideal? He rightly complains of the "proliferation of parallel and rival organizations during and after the war"; but were not the smallness of our professional Foreign Service, its inflexibility, and its lack of special skills somewhat responsible? Has not the Department of State been inhospitable to some of these newer tasks abroad that someone had to undertake?

In order to mock the committee report he makes his own individualistic definition of "skills" and sets up an artificial and wholly unreal opposition between "skill" and "the man himself"—sheer semantic nonsense. He then reverses the field and speaks of his own skill (carefully avoiding the word), describing himself as "among the first of the full-fledged area specialists." The committee report merely regretted that there were not more such, not only in geographic "areas" but in economic and fiscal matters and other relatively "new" phases of diplomacy. Only by carefully distorting the meaning of the report can he make any point. Between Mr. Kennan and the committee the substantive difference of opinion in this matter is relatively slight; the erection of this difference into an antithesis is strictly synthetic.

Point Needs Clarification

One final point needs clarification. Mr. Kennan hints at some mystery about our recommendations: "the writer is not aware that the recommendations of the committee have ever been published in any single and comprehensive form."

He refers condescendingly to a "helpful" "pamphlet," although it is not fully clear at what stage this pamphlet was prepared or what relation it bore to the formal findings of the group." This is nothing but captiousness. The first page of the "pamphlet" says, "we submit herewith the Public Committee's Report." It bears the signatures of all the committee, which included two distinguished professional Foreign Service Officers, four former State Department officials, and no one, save myself, who had not held official position. The report was prepared when our substantive conclusions were reached, and was reviewed word by word more than once by the whole committee, which was unanimous. The only mystery is why Mr. Kennan did not read explicit language.

All the recommendations of the committee were embodied in the "pamphlet." There were no secret recommendations. For the Secretary's use, we prepared a summary, and also drafted departmental orders to effectuate our recommendations. Naturally, the Secretary was free to accept, or modify, or decline to use those drafts.

Mr. Kennan complains that he does not "recall seeing any published summary of the action taken subsequently by the secretary." The principal orders which the secretary signed were published in the *State Department Bulletin*, or in the employe bulletin, or the *Foreign Service Newsletter*, all available to Mr. Kennan. There has been no secret or "classified" action; there has been a series of releases to newspapers, all available for the asking. There was no occasion to treat a fairly long series of specific recommendations as a unit, and no purpose is to be served in keeping a score of the committee's "hits and misses" with the Secretary. He did accept nearly all the recommendations and a very large

percentage of them in the precise words suggested by the committee, though neither fact is vital.

The report is not perfect. Limitations were imposed by the terms of reference (published in the "pamphlet,") including a stipulation that "to the greatest degree possible the committee's recommendations should be cascd within the authority conferred by the Foreign Service Act of 1946." The report suffers from the inevitable compromises that occur when eight experienced men seek to harmonize sharply disparate views; any individual among the eight would have written a different report, but it would not have carried weight equal to their joint effort.

The committee was dealing with sensitive and controversial questions; as Mr. Kennan says, the main recommendation has for many years "been the subject of active and bitter debate"; it could not be expected that committee conclusions would be universally accepted. Mr. Kennan is a brilliant and experienced man; he is fully entitled to be critical of the report, in whole or in part. His criticisms would gain cogency if he had taken pains to be fair, to "put himself in the position of the other man," as he says a diplomat must do.

MARRIAGES

DULIN-WOODS. Miss Velma M. Woods was married to Mr. Donald D. Dulin on July 2, 1955, in San Francisco. Mrs. Dulin, during her tour in the Foreign Service, served at New Delhi, Saigon and Tokyo. Mr. and Mrs. Dulin are living at Hunting Towers Center, Alexandria, Va.
McGUIRE-SCOTT. Miss Helen C. Scott, FSS at Taipei, was married to Mr. James E. McGuire on May 30, 1955. Mrs. McGuire will continue to work for the Embassy at Taipei.



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standing of the diplomatic profession; the repeated and extensive "lateral" infusions of new personnel at intermediate levels; the growing tendency of able older officers to seek more promising fields for self-expression; and last but not least the operation of the postwar security programs, bringing humiliation, bewilderment and the deepest sort of discouragement to hundreds of officers—all these factors played a part. But all of them, it will be noted, were embraced in the major causes mentioned above: the unsuitability of the American governmental system for a prolonged administrative effort of this sort, and lack of comprehension for the nature and exigencies of the diplomatic function on the part of a great continental society not accustomed to regard prospering foreign relations as important.

Foreign Service Weakened

The result of all this was that by 1953 the old Foreign Service was weakened beyond real hope of recovery. The present Administration inherited not a going professional service but an administrative ruin, packed with people who had never undergone the normal entrance requirements, hemmed in and suffocated by competing services, demoralized by anonymous security agents in whose judgment and disinterestedness its members had little confidence, a helpless object of disparagement and defamation at the hands of outside critics. This was the tragic ending of an experiment launched, with high hopes and with none but the most innocent and worthy intent, three decades earlier. As of the year 1953, it was no exaggeration to say that the experiment of professional diplomacy, as undertaken by the United States in 1925, had failed.

Members and friends of the Foreign Service watched with deepest interest to see what the new Administration would do about the state of America's professional diplomacy. While what was left of the Foreign Service remained—as it always had been—genuinely nonpartisan in spirit, older officers could not but remember that the Rogers Act was the product of a Republican Administration and that most of the vicissitudes that had befallen the Service (though not all) had occurred during the subsequent period of Democratic ascendancy. There was, accordingly, a natural curiosity as to whether a new Republican Administration would not again show appreciation and concern for the principles on which the Service had originally been established, awareness of the reasons for its decline, and a desire to make a new start, this time perhaps on broader and more hopeful foundations, at the creation of a creditable and efficient diplomatic arm.

The first steps of the new Administration, consisting of a further tightening of the screw of the security controls (which most officers felt had already been tightened far beyond the requirements of any demonstrable national interest), were not encouraging. But there was still the hope that all this represented only the last phase of a governmental response to a wave of popular emotionalism—a final application of the lash, designed to disarm suspicion that the Administration would be "soft" in security matters and in this way to win Congressional confidence for a new program that would in itself be sound. And while the Service as a whole would long remain saddened and troubled by the memory of what had been done to individual officers in the name of "security," there was readiness in most quarters

to accept even this final salt in the wound if the result were to be the laying of a new foundation for healthy service. When, therefore, the Secretary of State announced in the early spring of 1954 that he had appointed a committee of distinguished persons, headed by Dr. Henry M. Wriston, President of Brown University, to examine into the state of the Foreign Service and to advise him as to what should be done about it, this action was greeted with deep and hopeful satisfaction by all those who had the interests of the Service at heart.

At this writing, if the press reports may be credited, a year has elapsed since the Wriston Committee took up its work, and several months since its findings were made available to the Secretary of State. The writer is not aware that the recommendations of the Committee have ever been published in any single and comprehensive form, nor does he recall seeing any published summary of the action taken subsequently by the Secretary of State with regard to the Foreign Service. Nevertheless enough has become known to the general public through press reports, governmental circulars and pamphlets to give some impression of the questions to which the Committee addressed itself, the general nature of the views at which it arrived, and the outlines of the action the Government is now taking, or proposing to take, in the light of these recommendations. Particularly helpful in this respect was the pamphlet of the Committee entitled "Toward a Stronger Foreign Service," although it is not fully clear at what stage this pamphlet was prepared or what relation it bore to the formal findings of the group.

First Feature Amalgamation

The first and most conspicuous feature of the Wriston Committee's recommendations, and one that appears to have met with the entire approval of the Secretary of State, was the provision for amalgamation of the old Foreign Service with that portion of the personnel of the Department of State primarily concerned with the substantive problems of governmental policy. The desirability of such an amalgamation has been the subject of active and sometimes bitter debate in Foreign Service circles over the course of many years. In the circumstances of today it is hard to see how this measure, in itself, could be seriously challenged. Most Foreign Service officers have always understood that there were many people in the Department of State who belonged, subjectively speaking, in the ranks of the Foreign Service, in the sense that they were concerned with the substantive problems of foreign affairs and had come to regard their work as a calling and not just a job. The question is admittedly everywhere a difficult one, with a good deal to be said for any one of the main possible solutions. The present step merely brings American practice into accord with that of most other governments.

It is true that any attempt to marry services brought into existence on different standards of recruitment and advancement invariably involves inequities and hardships. If one were really concerned at this time to protect the career principle, as envisaged in the Rogers Act, it might have been wiser to effect this reform gradually, stepping up the rate of admissions into the Foreign Service and increasing little by little the percentage of officers serving in Washington as qualified Foreign Service officers became available. But since the present program is not really an effort to restore

the old Foreign Service, but rather an attempt at the creation of a new one, the step may as well be taken at once.

There is, to be sure, one disadvantage connected with the present amalgamation which governmental leaders will ignore at the country's peril. That is the sheer size of the resulting administrative entity. When the writer entered the Foreign Service, it was made up of only some 700 officers. It is now to number something like 4,000.

The Wriston Committee, in the pamphlet mentioned above, took note with disapproval of the relatively small size of the old Foreign Service. Everything else in government, it concluded, had grown enormously; hence, it suggested, the Foreign Service should have grown too. To those who view governmental "bigness" as a disease rather than an advantage and who see in it a serious breakdown of the possibility for real inner-governmental communication as well as for administrative flexibility, this simple, keeping-up-with-the-Joneses reasoning of the Wriston Committee will not commend itself. There are even some antiquated spirits who would think it more important to have 25 really superior officers than to have 2,500 mediocre ones.

The elephantiasis of government is contagious; and there can be no question but that a governmental entity based primarily on quality rather than quantity would find itself uncomfortable, unappreciated and suspect in the governmental family today. Unless the general spirit underlying future governmental administration were to be one of emphasis on personal excellence and on the development of individual talent, the effort to preserve a small and compact Foreign Service, marked by that intimacy and mutual internal confidence peculiar to small and select organizations, would undoubtedly be a difficult task. Many older officers will feel that it would still have been a worth-while effort, from which the country would have been the gainer.

Variety of Skills Emphasized

From the Wriston Committee's pamphlet one derives, perhaps erroneously, the impression that the administrative emphasis in the future handling of the Service is to be on the broadening of the variety of professional skills represented in the Service rather than on the all-around development of the individual officer. This seems to flow from the emphasis placed by the Committee on the need for specialists, as opposed to "generalists." One of the principal criticisms levied by the Committee against the administration of the old Service was the latter's effort to assure that men should become generally useful officers, to the neglect and detriment, as the Committee saw it, of the inclusion in the Service of adequate numbers of specialists in various fields of interest and endeavor.

As one who was among the first of the full-fledged area specialists produced by the old Service and who found a rich and satisfying field of activity in that capacity, the writer will perhaps not be suspected of any lack of appreciation for the virtue and possibilities of specialization. But he wonders whether in this respect the Wriston Committee has not confused two quite different things: specialized professional skill, on the one hand, and roundedness of education, judgment and personality on the other. Few older officers could fail to note, with a certain sinking of the heart, that whereas the Committee's pamphlet made frequent reference to the need of the Service for "skills," nowhere did it speak

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of the need for people as people. One sensed in this presentation not only a subtle rebellion against the Foreign Service officer as a type and as a mode of subjective identification, but also a certain military "table-of-organization" psychology—a belief that for any given task we need only so-and-so many of this "skill" and so-and-so many of that and we will have a suitable organization, the nature of the human personality behind each one of these "skills" being of secondary importance, so long as the subjects are professionally competent and "secure." This principle may be applicable for construction work, for industrial processes, and for many military functions. But it is not likely to be useful for the work of the Foreign Service, where what is important and decisive in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is the totality of the man himself: his character, his judgment, his insight, his knowledge of the world, his integrity, his adaptability, his capacity for human sympathy and understanding. With these things, all specialties (and who would challenge the need for specialties?) will flower and bear fruit; without them, no specialty will really help.

It is true, as the Wriston Committee evidently concluded, that the *work* of the Foreign Service is not, properly speaking, a specialty in itself, or at least not an adequate one. What there is to be learned about the external amenities of international intercourse—the forms of correspondence, the correct channels for communication, international procedure, social customs, and the body of international law that enters into Foreign Service work—is admittedly not enough to make up a real professional discipline, in which the totality of a man's capabilities can be realized. It must be supplemented by substantive knowledge of the world in which we live and the processes by which human society functions. But if the Foreign Service be regarded as a *way of life*, rather than merely a job, then there is indeed a sense in which it is vitally important that every officer be a "generalist"—and that is in his quality as a person of character, intellect and good judgment. In the sheltered atmosphere of our domestic life, the real personality can take refuge behind the conventions and stereotypes with which every human community lubricates its various moving surfaces. In contact with the outside world, this is no longer possible. In the confrontation with the "differentness" of a foreign environment, personality is revealed, tried and tested as nowhere else. It makes little difference what the status may be in which an individual American official resides abroad—he is bound to be judged by many people, and his country will be judged by him. A nation, in particular, that controls about one-half of the world's wealth and talks of world leadership should be under no illusions as to the intensity and criticalness of this scrutiny. The outside world will be quick to tear off any masks with which its representatives try to conceal themselves. If what is revealed is a person of parts, endowed with imagination, dignity, warmth of feeling and knowledge not only of external reality but also of self (implying a measure of detachment Americans do not often acquire and do not easily forgive in other Americans), then the interests of the United States will be well served. But woe betide us if what emerges under this scrutiny is a petty or mediocre or pedestrian nature. In this case no laboriously acquired "skill" will redress the balance. The outside world is too well aware that a bear, taught to ride a bicycle, is still a bear.

Service Removed from Society

This issue of "skills" versus the man himself brings up the venerable and delicate question of the compatibility of a good professional diplomatic arm with the temper of a democratic society. There is no criticism of the Foreign Service older and more ubiquitous than the charge that it is exclusive and removed from the society it represents; that it leans to foreign ways and modes of thought; and that it is therefore unrepresentative and unsuitable as a vehicle for the promulgation of American foreign policy. It is this chronic distaste of democratic opinion for the image of the professional diplomatic agent that led Jules Cambon to observe that while democracies would always have diplomacy, it was a question whether they would ever have diplomatists.

The Foreign Service officer invariably finds difficulty in dealing with the charge that his profession is exclusive and unrepresentative; for it involves some subtle distinctions. If the charge is meant to imply that there is something lacking in the patriotism and loyalty of the professional diplomat toward his own country and government, then he can only deny it flatly, and not without indignation; for the United States Foreign Service has been happily and singularly free of anything of this sort. But when it merely implies a belief that "differentness" from the national norm in external aspects is in itself unacceptable in a foreign representative, the answer is more complicated.

The function of the Foreign Service officer abroad is not to serve as a museum exhibit of the external habits and demeanor of the average American, but to constitute an effective channel of communication with other governments and a perceptive observer of life in other countries. No sensitive and adaptable person can live for long years abroad and be obliged to cultivate, as a professional duty, communication and understanding with people of other nationalities, without acquiring outlooks, habits of mind, and occasionally even mannerisms, that will ever after distinguish him from the bulk of his fellow countrymen who have remained at home. If he did not react in this way he would not be useful to his country in the representative capacity. A great deal of his usefulness consists precisely in his ability to put himself in the position of the other man. To understand, in the international sense, is not only, as was once said, to forgive; it is also to identify one's self to a degree with that which is understood. This capacity for understanding and adaptation has absolutely no other effect on a man's patriotism or loyalty to his own government than to deepen the foundation for it. There is no firmer or wiser form of national feeling than that of the person who has seen his country's faults as others see them, and can yet find it in his heart to devote his life to the service of it. But this experience does leave its marks on people; and the ways in which these people are apt to express their love of country may be different indeed from those of the men whose conception of the values of his own society has never been enriched by any real standard of comparison.

It is understandable that the Wriston Committee was concerned for the reputation of the Foreign Service in the eyes of Congress, which has to be the sole source of the Service's financial sustenance, and that it attempted to cast its report in terms calculated to disarm the irrepressible Congressional suspicion that the Service of the future is to consist of people alienated from the ways and thought of their own

society. But it is a question whether Congress should be spared the harsh necessity for facing up to the basic problem involved. The issue is a clear one, and there are really no two ways about it.

Democratic society must make up its mind, at long last, whether it wants its representatives abroad to be effective in its own cause or whether it wants them to be mirrors in which it can admire what it conceives to be its own virtues. It cannot have both. It can recognize that the talented and receptive officer will always be apt to take on some of the coloration of his world environment, and it can muster the generosity to be tolerant of this fact, confident that it will be better served by it in the end. Or it can insist that the country be represented by men untouched by any real contact with foreign realities and indistinguishable in their habits and manners and interests from most other Americans. In this latter case, the country will still have diplomacy but, as Cambon suggested, it will hardly have diplomats; and it would be unwise for us to attempt to persuade ourselves, or the young men involved, that it could be otherwise.

Highly Selected or Cross Section

This question as to whether the Foreign Service should be a highly selected group or a general cross section of the citizenry is reflected again in the problems of recruitment and entrance requirements. The Wriston Committee recommended that the examinations be shortened and administered in such a way as to make it possible for candidates to take them in many parts of the country. Beyond this, and as a long-term measure, it proposed "a fundamentally new method of recruitment to be known as the Foreign Service Scholarship Training Program." Under this scheme some 750 young people who had finished their sophomore year in college would be selected as candidates for the Foreign Service and would receive a Federal grant of \$900 for each of their last two years, to enable them to complete their education at an accredited college of their choice. The Committee's pamphlet is not wholly clear as to the method of selection, but seems to indicate that this would be first on the basis of Congressional appointment and then of competitive examination under the Department of State. Since this system would require new legislation, it could not be put into effect at once. As late as March 1955 the Department of State was still in the process of developing the draft legislation to be submitted to the Congress.

In advance of the formulation and passage of this legislation, it is of course impossible to assess the new arrangements. But a number of questions present themselves at once.

In the first place, if the competitive examinations referred to in the Committee's report are to take place *before* the candidate begins his last two years of college work, the question arises: Does the candidate then have to take, two years later, the regular Foreign Service examinations given to candidates who have completed their college course? If so, does not the Government run the risk of losing its \$1800 in the case of failure? And would this not provide an easy way out for the candidate who merely wanted to take advantage of government financing for his last two years of college? If not, would this not mean that the Government has no competitive examination check on the entering candidate after completion of his sophomore year

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in college—surely much too early a stage for any such determination?

It is true that these candidates were to complete their college course under the general guidance of the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State. But whether this could be regarded as an adequate substitute for the regular Foreign Service examinations, and how such candidates would be rated competitively as against those who had taken the examinations, is quite unclear. This question is rendered particularly acute by the fact that whereas the Foreign Service was estimated in the Committee's report to require a yearly intake at the bottom of about 500 officers, a total of 750 Congressional appointments to scholarships annually is envisaged. Even allowing for a 33 percent attrition in the ensuing examination, this would still leave enough to fill the annual quota. In these circumstances competition would obviously have to be severe between these people and those who had not been through the scholarship program but wished to take the Foreign Service examinations anyway on completion of their educational career.

A further question arises as to what colleges are to be accredited for this purpose. The number of institutions in this country equipped to give a college student the type of liberal education he requires for Foreign Service work, particularly in the last two undergraduate years, is limited. These institutions will hardly be found to be distributed throughout the country in anything resembling equal geographic distribution. Presumably, however, it was precisely in order to achieve something more closely resembling equal geographic distribution in recruitment for the Foreign Service that the Committee favored Congressional appoint-

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ment to the majority of these scholarships. This problem may in part be solved by the transfer of candidates from institutions not equipped to give this training to ones that are so equipped.

Finally, there is the financial side of this scheme. The writer was not aware that lack of funds with which to complete the last two years of college was ever a serious impediment in the path of young people desiring to enter the Foreign Service. Far more serious were the delays surrounding the administration of the examinations and the subsequent admission to the Service—an evil which the Wriston Committee rightly recognized and opposed with all due vigor. The financing of the last two years of college is all the more questionable for the reason that those young people, in particular, who have been able to find the money for the first two years of college and have acquitted themselves creditably in their studies up to junior year do not normally have great difficulty in meeting the financial problem involved in the completion of their college course. Yet in the case of the Foreign Service, the educational requirements are such that no student who has not done well in his first two college years should be considered for the Foreign Service at all.

Beyond this, there will be many who will be troubled by the idea of governmental subsidy to individual college education in general. This is a question which of course carries far beyond the mere problem of preparation for the Foreign Service. Does this not bring us one step closer to the theory that the Government owes every young person a college education at public expense?

These questions are all ones that will have to be answered in some way or another in the forthcoming proposals for legislation. Meanwhile, general examinations are being held, once again, for recruitment into the Service; and the character of these examinations, in so far as it can be judged from the specimen produced for prospective candidates, strongly suggests a distinct lowering of educational standards for admission. The examination, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, has been shortened, and is now to be taken in a single day. Only a specialist could state authoritatively how it compares with the examinations formerly given to candidates for the Service. To this writer it seems most implausible that the present one could constitute any reliable test of intellectual excellence or degree of aptitude for Foreign Service work. The questions seem to be overwhelmingly of the "multiple choice" variety, involving very little test of the candidate's own creative intellectual capacity. Although the examination purports to test "whether the candidate can write correctly and effectively" and "whether he can organize his ideas properly," it appears to include no requirement for individual prose composition, and thus fails to touch one of the most common weaknesses of American college education today, namely, the failure to teach people to write the English language with any degree of precision, clarity or grace. The foreign language test, again, seems to be based only on vocabulary—surely an inadequate basis for testing ability in this field from the standpoint of usefulness in the Foreign Service.

There is room for doubt whether an American undergraduate education, even at its best, is now sufficient prepa-

ration for entry into the Foreign Service—whether, that is, it ought not to be supplemented, as a regular requirement, with some form of postgraduate study. This question will become even more acute with the further decline in quality of undergraduate education that is to be expected from the anticipated vast increase in college attendance in coming years. In these circumstances, the arrangements now envisaged would probably be of doubtful adequacy even if they attempted to identify and recruit the cream of attainment and personal excellence in persons graduating from college. When, as would seem rather to be the case, they are designed only to make sure that the applicant has the minimum attainments of the average C-plus senior of the average college, then one can only have misgivings about the result.

The same applies to the oral examinations. Boards will sit, we are told, in various parts of the country, to spare the candidates the inconvenience of coming to Washington. For this reason, and because the whole Service will be so much larger, there will have to be many boards. The examination, says the Department of State, "will continue to be searching." But who will make up these boards? And by what principles will they operate? When the writer entered the Service, the examining board included such figures as Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Mr. Wilbur Carr and Mr. J. Butler Wright. They were a terrifying panel; but no candidate could doubt their great experience, their knowledge of the Foreign Service profession and the breadth of their judgment. Will we find such people today—to staff not just one board, but many? And will their criteria be the same? The most important qualities making for effectiveness in the diplomatic profession are, after all, ones engendered in the family and the home. They have little to do with money, but they have a great deal to do with what used to be called breeding. Nothing in the Wriston pamphlet gives the reader grounds to hope that future boards will find it natural to search for such qualities or will be encouraged to do so.

The question, in both cases, is again whether you want your Foreign Service to be (let us frankly use the abhorred word) an elite, in character and intellect and education, or whether you want its members to be as close as possible to the mean of other Americans of their age. I am sure that the founding fathers of our Republic would unhesitatingly have favored the former, as did all those who had to deal with Foreign Service affairs up to one or two decades ago. It was left for the present generation, given to confusing republican institutions with an egalitarian conformism, to embrace the theory that we should be represented by our average rather than our best.

Military Service Takes Precedence

It is announced that in the future, as in the past, the obligations of military service are to take precedence over the duties of a Foreign Service officer. If an officer is called for military service, his Foreign Service work and career are to be interrupted for so long as the armed services are entitled to claim him. No work he might be doing in the Foreign Service is to be regarded as of such importance, from the standpoint of the national interest, as to take precedence over his military service. The reasoning behind the retention of this principle is not difficult to perceive. Distinctions with respect to military obligation are always invidious. As one who favors universal military service

for all young men alike, the writer would be the last to challenge the principle that military obligation should be equal for all.

But as the system now operates, and as it is to operate in future, it has in it the makings of much wastage of training and experience from the standpoint of the Government. So far as peacetime is concerned, if a man is going to do military service at all, it would obviously be better that he do it and get it over with before he enters the Foreign Service, so that his subsequent Foreign Service career not be disrupted by this sort of an interruption. Much more serious are the implications of the present system for time of war. We had occasion from 1941 to 1945 to see how this principle operates. In time of war, the functions of the Foreign Service are so closely related to the war effort that they often become indistinguishable from those of a good portion of the armed services. During the past war many Foreign Service officers had the experience of working side by side with officers in uniform at common tasks. Yet there was usually a reason, as it happened, why some should be in uniform and some in mufti. When officers left the Foreign Service and went into uniform, either voluntarily or because they were called by their draft boards, it often merely meant that they were set to tasks in which they were less useful to the Government than they would have been had they remained in the Foreign Service, and that other, less qualified personnel had to be recruited to do their Foreign Service work. The State Department knew this, and encouraged men to plead with their draft boards to exempt them on the grounds of their greater usefulness to the country in the Foreign Service. Most Foreign Service officers knew it, too, and realized that their greater duty was to remain in the Service if they could. Yet the Department of State itself refused to take any responsibility in asking the draft boards for deferment. The men were thus left with a bitter personal choice: whether to ask for deferment as a matter of conscience, at the cost of being reproached as slackers and draft-dodgers, or to go unprotestingly to the armed services, knowing that the Government's interests as a whole would be worse served for the change. Since the old system is to be retained without change, all these problems are bound to arise again in the event of war.

It must not happen that the Foreign Service simply melts away and becomes largely unavailable for its duties precisely at the moment when, if the experience of the last war is any criterion, one might have greatest need for a trained and experienced corps of men for the performance of a multitude of duties in allied and neutral countries that do not come strictly within the military competence. Better than this, it would seem, would be a system whereby every young man did his military service automatically, before entering on his Foreign Service career, but remained thereafter wholly at the Government's disposal, to be employed in uniform or out of uniform, in the military ranks or in the offices of the Foreign Service, as the interests of the country might dictate.

Problems of Omission

The failings of the new program noted thus far have been largely ones of commission. But the most fateful and serious deficiency is one of omission. It lies in that problem to which the Wriston Committee, for some reason, neglected to face up, and to which the Government as a

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whole has not faced up: the problem of security. Although the security system has been probably the greatest single factor in the collapse of Foreign Service morale, the Wriston program appears to have contained no recommendations for revising the system as such. And the implementation of the Wriston Committee recommendations by the Department of State also reflects no desire to revise or modify in any important way the unsound and dangerous state of affairs that has been allowed to grow up in this connection.

The scope of this discussion does not permit any detailed examination into the workings of the present security system; nor would the writer be prepared to say that he understands them all, shrouded as they are in the usual mixture of mystery and red tape. Only a specialist, able to give a great deal of his time to this subject, could hope to follow the shifting complexities of law, regulation and administrative policy by which the treatment of the individual officer is, at any given moment, determined.

It is plainly the business of government, as the employer of people entrusted with public duties of unusual delicacy and responsibility, to see to it that these latter are loyal to their country, have reasonable strength of character and are not afflicted with personal weaknesses that would incline them to lapses of self-control or render them likely objects for blackmail or malevolent exploitation by outsiders. These requirements are elementary. They are not peculiar to government. They are ones many other employers have to meet. Normally, they are handled as integral portions of regular personnel work, to be met with due prudence and common sense in the recruitment, supervision and advancement of personnel. They were so handled for many years in the old Department of State and Foreign Service.

The system did not work badly. During the quarter-century that the writer was actively associated with the Foreign Service, something in the neighborhood of three thousand officers must have been employed in it at one time or another; yet he can recall none that was ever discovered to have been disloyal to the country while serving in this capacity, and none that was ever blackmailed by a foreign government. If there were such cases, they were neither numerous nor important. Of indiscretions there were, of course, plenty; for mankind is given to indiscretion. But the older generation of diplomatists was taught that virtue did not lie in any perfectionist attempt to avoid this weakness altogether but rather in keeping it within the bounds of the tolerable—in the facility, that is, for being indiscreet only with a measure of discretion. Actually, even the most injudicious indiscretions of Foreign Service officers have rarely rivalled in egregiousness those regularly committed by the loftier of their superiors in government.

The totalitarians were the first to arrive at the idea that a man's "security" was a peripheral attribute to his personal makeup—something unconnected with his fitness for office generally, and something to be tested and established by a special race of men who needed to know nothing of the other aspects of his character and performance. In the aftermath of World War II, for reasons which would warrant some careful soul-searching on the part of the nation as a whole, the United States Government came to embrace this same philosophy with an enthusiasm approaching abandon, and to erect upon it, in the particular case of the State De-

partment and Foreign Service, a new system of security controls that could scarcely have been more unsound in concept, more onerous in operation or more tragic in consequence. More than any other single factor, it was this innovation that was responsible for the discouragement and demoralization that have characterized the Foreign Service in recent years.

The new security system involved, as was indicated above, the establishment of a wholly new career service to check on the reliability of the old one. The members of the new service were not required to have had any personal experience or familiarity with the work of the old one. Although they were supposed to judge the political reliability of other men—often men considerably more mature and experienced than themselves—and although they were commissioned for this purpose to examine into and weigh the political views of these other men, there is no indication that it was thought necessary to give them anything resembling an adequate education in political affairs. Although they were charged with prying into the most delicate and intimate phases of people's lives, there appears to have been no requirement that they themselves be people of superior detachment and understanding in these matters. Whereas in the past such inquiries have generally, by the common consent of society, been left to men who might be presumed by virtue of age, training and previous experience to be able to conduct them with ripe judgment and detachment and to avoid bringing unnecessary damage or pain to the people involved—such men as priests, physicians, psychologists or judges at the bench—here they were turned over to brash young men whose qualifications appear to have been confined to the college or law school diploma and whose own superior virtue was documented by no other fact than that they were too young emotionally, and too virginal intellectually, to have known temptation.

If we are to judge from what is known of past loyalty cases, no adequate arrangements exist for the evaluation of adverse information obtained in the course of this investigative work. Just how much sifting of evidence is theoretically supposed to be carried out before charges are formally preferred against an officer remains something of a mystery. In any case, the records of past loyalty proceedings are replete with instances where the Department of State obviously took cognizance of charges raised by people outside the Department and, without subjecting them to any independent critical scrutiny worthy of the name, flung them against the officer in formal proceedings, with the lighthearted injunction: Defend yourself if you can! This is an indefensible procedure, foolish even from the standpoint of the Government itself. It does not necessarily elicit the truth; for it is not always that the employee is able or inclined to refute malicious and vague charges, particularly when they emanate from persons whose identity is concealed from him. It is a procedure that leaves everyone, including the Government itself, at the mercy of the informer. If there is any penalty attached to the filing with the Government of false information, known by the filer to be false, about a governmental officer, many of us have yet to learn of it. It is obvious, and has been obvious for several years, that such a system is open to exploitation against us by the Communists themselves. That it has been retained so long, in the face of these circumstances, can be explained only by a belief on the part of Government that it makes no difference who gets

dropped or who inspires the dropping (even though it be the Communist Party), so long as no one remains in government who *might* conceivably be insecure. Such a view, implying the assumption that our country is infinitely rich in talented, devoted and experienced public servants and that new ones can always be found where the others came from, is not the view of a provident or realistic employer.

Finally, there is the inexcusably painful and injurious method by which, in recent years, many officers who have fallen foul of the security system have been released from the Service. Most, if not all, of these men have been released for reasons having nothing to do with their loyalty. Many have been released, after long years of faithful and sometimes distinguished service, for reasons highly personal, which would have no relation to their usefulness in other walks of life. Some of us continue to doubt that in many of these cases the charges were ever adequately proven or, if proven, had any great relevance to the officer's fitness for further service. But even ignoring these doubts and supposing the charges reasonable ones and adequately proven, there could be no justification for releasing these men, as was actually done, in such a manner as to bring great anguish to them and their families and to damage their public reputations as well as their chances for future employment. We have yet to observe any penitence on the part of the Government for the injustice and suffering it has wrought in these cases.

This recital of the evils of the security system, as they have been apparent in recent years, is by no means exhaustive. But it will, perhaps, suffice to show why the failure of the Wriston Committee to deal with this problem has seemed to many officers the weakest feature of its work. What the Government now proposes to do about these evils, we cannot tell. It has indicated that measures will be taken, or are being taken, to mitigate one or another of them. If so, so much the better. But there has been as yet no evidence of any disposition on the part of official Washington to re-think the entire system and the philosophic basis on which it rests. There has been no evidence of any readiness to face the basic question as to whether a man's security is really something that can be measured and judged apart from his own personality and the totality of his performance as an officer—like the color of his hair or the condition of his arches—and whether it is really something suitably to be determined by anonymous individuals who know little about either political science or human nature. Until government is willing to face up to these questions, many who have the interests of the Foreign Service deeply at heart must be forgiven if they remain skeptical of the prospects for any complete restoration of Foreign Service morale.

A Satisfying Career

A year and a half ago, just before the Wriston Committee undertook its work, the writer was asked by a student editor to comment for the benefit of his readers on the merits of the Foreign Service as a career for young men leaving college. He replied that as things stood at that sad moment, he could not encourage any young man to enter the Service at the bottom by examination and to start up the ladder in the normal manner. He pointed out that the Administration was about to undertake a study of the whole problem and voiced the hope that this study would lead to measures which would again make the Service a promising and satisfy-

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ing career. He urged the student-readers to await the results of this study before making any final judgment.

Today, the study is complete; the results are in large part at hand. What is there now to be said about the prospects of the Foreign Service as a career?

Democracy, as Cambon observed, will always have diplomacy. There will always be a group of civilian officials of this Government charged with the representation of the country's interests abroad. However the service of these officials may be administered, the work and the life will remain in many ways stimulating and interesting, particularly for the officer who wishes to make it so. It will always carry with it the excitements, the rewards, the challenges, often the hardships, of foreign residence. However the Government may try to reduce these advantages through the anxious paternalism with which it now surrounds its officers, something of them will always remain for the officer who has enough intellectual curiosity to turn his back on the American colony cocktail parties and to learn something of the life around him.

Beyond that, the life of the Foreign Service officer will continue to be enriched by his association with other Americans in the same work. As in so many other American institutions, the deficiencies of administrative structure will in part be corrected by the virtues of the national temperament. Whatever the selection system, intelligent and talented people will, by the law of averages, find their way into the Service, to enrich others with their insights and to inspire others with the example of their own growth. Whatever the Government's views on specialists as opposed to generalists, there will always be magic moments when minds previously confined within the walls of a narrow special interest are suddenly awakened by the Foreign Service experience to a realization of the unity of all knowledge. However ill-designed the security system and whatever premiums it may place on timidity and a cramped suspiciousness of outlook, friendships and loyalties will develop; men will find satisfaction in the appreciation of their colleagues for work that goes unnoted or unappreciated at home; there will be times when men will be privileged to stand by each other in danger and adversity and thus to taste one of the richest forms of human experience. Everywhere, even within the

(Continued on page 56)

ranks of the security officers themselves, the golden mean of American characteristics will not fail to break through: men will learn by doing; experience will breed understanding and maturity; the instinct for common decency and fairness, instilled by a thousand earnest American mothers and on a thousand sand-lot baseball fields, will rise to assert itself and to do battle, wherever it can, with whatever is stupid or unjust in the system. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, the work of the Foreign Service will always have, in the eyes of those who perform it, that ultimate dignity that comes from the fact that it is the work of a great government, on whose performance rests the fate of a great people, indeed, in many respects, of the world at large—a dignity which means that whatever the Foreign Service officer may be occupied with in his official work, it will never be meaningless, never wholly trivial.

These things will go far to redeem the Foreign Service of the future, as they have redeemed that of the past. They will redeem it both as a subjective experience for those who live and work in it and as an instrument for the transaction of the Government's foreign business. And in many respects the changes introduced by the implementation of the new program will represent improvements over the state in which the Service has found itself in recent years.

Conditions will of course continue to exist which most older officers will be unable to view otherwise than as burdens on the development of an efficient and well-adjusted organization. In particular, no outsider can yet give to the young man entering the Service the assurance that the treatment he may receive at the hands of the security authorities will necessarily bear any relationship to the devotion and talent he may have given to his substantive work, and that it may not work tragic and undeserved hardship upon him. But in this, as in other respects, the future Foreign Service will be only in tune with an age committed to bigness, to over-organization, to de-personalization, to the collective rather than individual relationship. Skepticism of the value of individual excellence and reluctance to allow any of the weight of society to come to rest on the insights and intuition of the individual spirit will be the marks not of the Foreign Service alone but of the very environment in which it exists; and the young person seeking the road to self-fulfillment will not be likely to escape them by avoiding the Foreign Service career.

PASSING OF TUGBE VI (from page 44)

If Tugbe had compromised in his beliefs, his brother had not, and it was the Reverend Lawson who opened the ceremony with a prayer. This frail, elderly, gray-haired man in his clerical robe and collar would also have looked quite in place in any one of a thousand churches in the United States.

The ceremony continued with alternate hymns, scripture readings, and prayers by six ministers. It was climaxed by a simple, yet highly moving and forceful sermon in both French and Mina. Then followed speeches of eulogy by various dignitaries which were given or translated into both French and Mina. Speeches by the Commissioner and the other French officials stressed the fact that they felt France had lost a good friend and that the people of Anecho had lost a good and wise leader. The Deputy of French Togoland to the French Parliament, speaking in Mina, stressed

the same points. In conclusion, another brother of the late king thanked the Commissioner and other dignitaries for their expressions of sympathy on behalf of the royal family. A last hymn was then sung and the service was concluded.

Tradition prescribes that the king be given a temporary burial in the palace during the three-year mourning period since he is still, officially, the symbol of unity and authority. Thus the casket was borne out of the courtyard and the palace doors closed behind it. This temporary burial should be made with the body sitting up on a throne which in turn rests on the skulls of four freshly-obtained victims. Although one trusts that in these more civilized days, this final luxury is foregone, mothers of Anecho are rumored to keep a close eye on their children and the doors well barred at night for a few days after the death of a king.

Tugbe VI is dead and his kingdom is now without a king. Yet, his staff of authority still stands in the palace at Zebe and the chieftains will bow down to it for three more years in a unique symbolism of a continuing central direction which has held this little kingdom together for nearly three hundred years.

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- Foreign Services Officers, Department of State*
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