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Foreign Service JOURNAL

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

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

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

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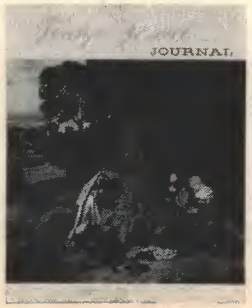

COVER PICTURE: *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (detail), by Giorgione; from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Letters to the Editors

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

SENIOR OFFICIALS AND HOME LEAVE

Canberra, Australia

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

While the Service will appreciate the decision to hold to the two-year rule in granting home leave as yet another confirmation of the interest of the Department in maintaining morale, the carrying out of this program may place intolerable burdens on personnel management. More importantly, it may interfere with effective performance by the Service and thus prove contrary to national interests.

Before being drowned out by a chorus of protesting younger voices, we raise a hand to say that our recommendation for honoring the two-year rule in the breach as well as the observance applies chiefly to senior officers. The demand among junior officers and staff members for frequent opportunities to visit stateside—and the value to the Service of giving home leave to such personnel—is understood and supported.

People new to the Service need to get home to revitalize their knowledge of conditions and attitudes in the country which they represent abroad, to compare impressions developed during assignment overseas with the facts as seen first-hand—in short, to recharge batteries.

Further, they require opportunity to compare their chosen foreign career with employment and careers at home so that if a mistaken choice has been made it can be rectified without undue loss either to the Service or the individual. There are anxious relatives to visit and perhaps new members of the family to display. Three or more years is a long time to defer such matters. And the same is true, in decreasing extent, for those in the middle brackets with ten or fifteen years' foreign service. With adequate recruitment, sufficient personnel should be available to permit frequent home leave for all of these people.

Different situations apply to senior personnel—those with fifteen or more years' service abroad—say, those classed FSO-2 and above. Such officers and staff have committed their lives to the Foreign Service and have little opportunity to consider a change. In previous years, through transfer, in-service training or departmental assignments, they have had a chance to be at home and appraise the American scene. Their relatives and friends have long since become inured to infrequent reunions and their children are at an age when a return home is more to commence their American education than pay a visit. Most senior officers, especially those with teen-age families, cannot in fact afford the cost of a holiday at home as often as every two years. And—of paramount importance—the Service cannot afford their frequent absence from responsible posts. Even if qualified relief officers were available, they could not expect to turn in an equivalent performance to that of the absentee, for in the few months' tenure a substitute officer would be unable to gain comparable contracts and experience.

If the rebuttal to this last point is that senior officers are

(*Continued on page 6*)

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also to be transferred every two years, we raise unequivocal objection. So short an assignment is a waste of the time and effort it takes to get settled and into position to carry out the more responsible tasks abroad. The Service would fritter away experience and additionally wear out friendly foreign officials who get tired of meeting and establishing a working basis with yet another new American.

Perhaps in the case of unhealthful, hardship posts a respite at home is so valuable that it should be offered to all of the staff with the expectation of general acceptance. But otherwise, in the case of senior members of the Service, I suggest only technical availability of home leave every two years, to be used only in case of special need to return home. Most officers of Class 2 and above would be expected to be on post for three years—and up to four years—before receiving home leave or transfer orders.

Avery F. Peterson

BIGNESS FOR BIGNESS' SAKE

Bennington, Vermont
October 5, 1955

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

The JOURNAL is to be congratulated on its publication in the September number of articles by George Kennan and Dr. Wriston with respect to the future of our professional diplomacy.

Dr. Wriston's comments, naturally, suffer from a contrast of practice versus theory. Mr. Kennan writes about something he had lived through for years. Dr. Wriston, on the other hand, discusses a subject which he has only thought about although it is evident from his comments that he has given much time to the subject of the future of our professional diplomacy and has led his committee with great earnestness and patriotism. We need men like Dr. Wriston to give us the benefit of their well-considered views although on occasion these views may not seem to professionals well-founded from a practical point of view, such that we may want to accept as guideposts along the road which professional American diplomacy should travel.

In company with many other retired diplomats, I am sure, this interesting discussion leads to further comment. In fact, one could write a book on the subject. This would not, however, fit into the pages of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL should letter writing on this subject be desired. I have limited myself, therefore, to consideration of one point which seems to stand out in the articles by George Kennan and Dr. Wriston, namely, bigness for bigness' sake.

George Kennan is to be congratulated on his candid confrontation of this problem. Dr. Wriston, which is perhaps natural, fails to understand the essence of the bureaucratic situation, diplomacy-wise, when commenting critically upon Kennan's statement that the latter would think it more

(Continued on page 8)

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS *(from page 6)*

important to have twenty-five really superior officers than to have twenty-five hundred mediocre ones. Dr. Wriston asks whether Mr. Kennan would object to twenty-five hundred superior officers or whether he was convinced that American diplomacy could not use so many. Of course we could not use twenty-five hundred superior diplomatic officers. Professional diplomacy is not based on the multiplication table. You can multiply yourself out of all common sense and efficiency.

Along this line of thought I recall a conversation several years ago in Paris with a top British diplomat who was deploring the bureaucratic bigness which had attacked the British, as well as the American, diplomatic establishments there. My acquaintance said that only four or five officers could really function efficiently on a high level in a British Embassy the size of that in Paris. To have many other officers, except for some helpers for these senior diplomats, merely caused wasteful and time-taking paper work, reduplication and other complications. The quantitative aspect of professional diplomacy had grown all out of hand this British diplomat believed. We would, in my view, get much better results in professional diplomacy, as well as in all other governmental operations, if we would cut the size substantially every year for several years rather than aiming for "twenty-five hundred officers" either mediocre or superior.

Ferdinand Mayer

WIVES' AND WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON

The informal organization of Foreign Service wives and women in Washington is carrying out its 1955-56 program of activities under the chairmanship of Mrs. Raymond A. Hare, wife of the Director-General of the Foreign Service.

The group's activities include monthly luncheons which give newly-arrived Foreign Service ladies on opportunity to meet others stationed in Washington. Although every effort is made to keep in touch with Foreign Service ladies in Washington, new arrivals can make sure they are on the list by contacting the chairman of the luncheon committee, Mrs. Elbert G. Mathews (DE 2-8512) or Mrs. John B. Holt (WO 6-7233), the group's secretary-treasurer.

Other activities of the group include a series of small teas, organized by Mrs. Charles Moffly, and trips to Baltimore to visit Foreign Service women hopitalized there. These visits were started in the spring of 1955 when it was discovered that many FS women sent to the States for medical treatment are taken care of at the Marine Hospital in Baltimore. These women are usually far from their homes and families, and the group now makes trips to the hospital every two weeks to visit with them and help them in any way possible. Any women interested in making such visits should get in touch with Mrs. Ben H. Thibodeaux (WO 6-3602).

Post reports with a personal touch are another service which the Foreign Service Wives group offers to wives and women in the Foreign Service. Lists of Foreign Service wives and the posts about which they can supply data, gleaned by personal experience, are kept at the Foreign Service Association offices, 1908 G. St. N.W., and at the Foreign Service Institute.

(*Continued on page* 12)

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REMARKS AT FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION LUNCHEON, OCTOBER 20, '55

Remarks by WILLIAM BENTON

Mimeograph notices of this luncheon describe me, with simple grandeur, in the single phrase — "Donor of the William Benton Scholarships." If anyone wants to know how to become an honored guest, send him to me. I shall tell him my secret. But if a certain lawsuit against me for $2,000,000 launched by a certain Senator not unknown to the Foreign Service — if this had worked out against me — then I might be here today as a supplicant.

I am pleased and proud to be a donor in such a cause.

The last time I spoke at one of your luncheons was exactly six years ago in October of 1949. This was after I was an Assistant Secretary, back in the gay and turbulent days when there were only a few of us, but before I was a Senator. My only connections with our governing bodies today are at best semi-official. My only connections are as an honorary member of this Association — and as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships.

My theme six years ago was, "You are better than you realize." This is still my theme. Despite all the vicissitudes, there is a great constancy about the Foreign Service. Only last week, the *New York Times* had a story from Rome, an interview with Senator Chavez. This reminded me of my fight in 1946 to put through the Foreign Service Act of 1946. The headline from Rome read "U. S. Aides Abroad Held Underpaid." Who says the Foreign Service doesn't have its inviolable traditions?

I said six years ago, the Foreign Service needs an organization of "Friends of the Foreign Service." Friends would have been useful in the recent travail. The statement of the five ex-ambassadors shows what friends can do and want to do.

In 1949 I argued that the Foreign Service should seek friends within the Department, among the appointive officers, as well as outside it. I urged you to seek to bring top men from the outside into the Department. One of my arguments was that such men could help you men in the Foreign Service. I told you that you tended to fear the political appointments to Ambassadorial posts because so many had been bad ones: Yet the country is full of top men eager for such service. Two examples I gave you in 1949 — which I told you would have been available to the State Department in 1947 — men you could have had — were rather inconspicuous governors in 1949. They were Governors Stevenson and Bowles.

I hope the new "general officers" will develop interest in information and cultural affairs. Let them learn a wider vocabulary than the polysyllabic word "Wristonization."

When I was in the Department I used to say that cultural and educational factors would never get proper recognition in Foreign Policy until they were on the agenda of the Foreign Ministers at a top international conference. Now item 3 — may I call it point 3, hoping it may some day take its place beside point 4—now item 3 on the Geneva Agenda a week from today deals with these matters — al-

(*Continued on page* 12)

REMARKS AT LUNCHEON *(from page 10)*

though in a kind of lefthanded way. Point 3 is said to be there because the outlook on Items one and two is dim. I think we can agree that there is not much hope of much progress at Geneva on disarmament or the atom.

Point 3 has been the unwanted baby here in the State Department. Now the baby has even run away from home—into USIA. I predicted before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, at the time of the divorce, that the baby would be back. I predict this again. The problems of foreign economic policy are again centered for study and direction here in the Department of State, so again will be all those wider questions concerning information and cultural programs. And Point 3 at Geneva opens wide the State Department door to the prodigal for the first time, perhaps, the front door itself will open wide.

I can't do better to reinforce this viewpoint, in conclusion, than quote George Kennan in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* earlier this year:

"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 services 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. . . .

". . . 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."

Few of your associates in your undergraduate days can make that claim in later life. Your work is never meaningless, never trivial.

Foreign relations transcend all other problems the American people face and the character and skill of the Foreign Service are now a matter of life and death for the nation. Yes, you are better than you know, and there is no honor I treasure more than to be an Honorary Member of your Association.

WIVES ACTIVITIES *(from page 8)*

Other members of the group's committee this year are Mrs. Jacob D. Beam, Mrs. Edward Mulcahy, publicity; and Mrs. Barbara P. Chalmers of the Foreign Service Association. Decorations for the monthly luncheons are done by Mrs. Gregory Henderson, a sculptor who uses the professional name, M. C. von Magnus.

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25 years ago

BY JAMES B. STEWART

GEORGE V. ALLEN, CLASS EDITOR, FOREIGN SERVICE SCHOOL, REPORTS ON VISIT TO COMMERCE: " 'Make 'em short, boys. Put it all in, but make 'em short.'

"This valuable tip on writing commerce reports was given to members of the Foreign Service School at the beginning of a two-day tour of the Department of Commerce, and was the parting admonition to the class as we left the building. . . . . We were impressed with the majesty of American commerce, astounded by figures of recent growth, thrilled with the vision of new markets to conquer, and saddened by the plight of the farmer. Every member of the class left the Bureau with the determination to spread the doctrine of American goods from Bluefields to Omsk, showing the natives how to use *two* tooth brushes where they used not one before. . . ."

WHAT YOUR CONSUL DOES: HAMBURG: Sent stork skin to a Kansas professor. MADRID: Received request for information about a tailless breed of chickens which lays blue eggs. HAMBURG: Sent recipe for "Kartoffelklöse" to a New York lady. MADRID: Request for information about a Spanish family which emigrated to Hungary in year 1240. HAMBURG: Local moving picture producer telephones for a half dozen fully clad American Indians. MADRID: Request for a W.T.D. on a drug store established in 1640. HAMBURG: A young German boy brought a football to the office to be blown up. (Reported by E. TALBOTT SMITH and M. L. STAFFORD.)

CHRISTMAS AT THE DAN FINLEYS: "I shall never forget, nor will Virginia, a certain hot Christmas in Managua. The Ambassador's wife, Hats, was in the States with malaria so we invited Jim for Christmas dinner. He no doubt remembers that hottest house in town on the then main dusty bull cart thoroughfare. We had planned to have frozen daiquiris but Jim arrived feeling that Christmas was not Christmas without Tom and Jerries. So we produced (as was our secretarial duty) a kettle of hot water, the egg beater, the nutmeg and the cognac and rum. He manufactured piping hot 'T and Jays' which we proceeded to drink at 90 degrees.

"A surprising thing in life is that there are so many pores on the human frame. On that Chtristmas Day every one of mine was oozing as, with carving knife poised, I addressed myself to the bird of the day." — DAN FINLEY.

SOME OF THOSE WHO PASSED THEIR EXAMS

HOMER M. BYINGTON, JR., of Norwalk, Conn.
EVERETT F. DRUMRIGHT, of Drumright, Okla.
DANIEL GAUDIN, JR., of Philadelphia, Pa.
J. WESLEY JONES, of Sioux City, Iowa.
REGINALD S. KAZANJIAN, of Newport, R. I.
NATHANIEL LANCASTER, JR., of Ashland, Va.
CECIL B. LYON, of New York City.

(*Continued on page* 16)

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO *(from page 14)*

WALTER P. MCCONAUGHY, of Montevallo, Ala.
ARTHUR L. RICHARDS, of Pasadena, California.
LAURENCE W. TAYLOR, of Bakersfield, California.
CLARE H. TIMBERLAKE, of Jackson, Mich.
GERALD WARNER, of Northampton, Mass.
CHARLES W. YOST, of Watertown, N. Y.

"MAC"

Trained newspaper men in the Government service was the subject of an article in the *Washington Post.* After mentioning those connected with the White House staff, Mr. Daly said: "In the Department of State, MICHAEL J. MCDERMOTT is the man who assembles all the press statements. 'Mac,' as the boys affectionately call him, has won his spurs. He probably knows more about the ways of newspaper men than any other young man in government service. Though 'Mac' is still away under his fortieth year, his record sounds like that of the oldest government employe. He has been everywhere and seen everything. Especially is he the world champion liaison officer between the Government and the press. . . . 'Mac' is always at the great international conferences to see that the newspaper boys find their way about."

RED AND GOLD CHRISTMAS JOURNAL: JOHN H. BRUINS, Consul, Southampton, has the leading article entitled: "The Pilgrims at Southampton." The issue also contains the thrilling story of how JOHN W. MUCCIO, Consul at Foochow, China, made a trip up the Min River, through a country alive with bandits, and rescued a number of American men, women and children who were being held at Yenping Kienningfu by the notorious military bandit, Lu Hsing-pang.

JACK WAS THE GUY, ALL RIGHT

The recent appointment of JOHN D. HICKERSON as Ambassador to Finland, recalled to a friend a letter that he once wrote reminding Jack of the time he had his wallet lifted at his first post—Tampico.

"The incident occurred," wrote the friend, "one evening in 1922 when a party of us were on our way from the Aguila Colony in Tampico by tram. During the trip our friend, the American Vice Consul, had his pocket picked and there was considerable excitement as we stopped the car, called the police, and tried to find the wallet by searching certain other passengers and I recall that friend as Jack Hickerson. Am I right?

"Yes," replied Jack, "I am the guy who had his pocket picked, and incidentally it was a tribute to the Tampico police that I got my pocketbook back intact. The small amount of money in it was somewhat embarassing to me, particularly since the police seemed to think that the pickpocket had kept the major part of its contents. I assured them that this was not true."

At this point I cannot restrain myself: "Two friends had just arrived by air from the nation's first, to its second capital. Suddenly one stopped and exclaimed: 'Why, I've lost my wallet!" His friend inquired if he had looked in all of his pockets. "All except one,' said the unhappy companion. 'Well, why don't you look in that one,' urged his friend. 'Because if I do and it's not there, I'll shoot myself.' "

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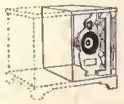

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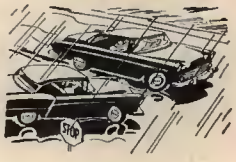

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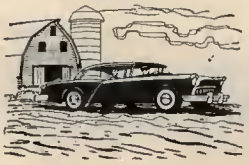

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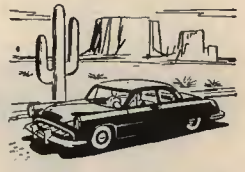

Tread is compounded of extra-tough, wear-resistant rubber. Its Safety-Tensioned Gum-Dipped* Cord Body prevents dangerous tread cracking.

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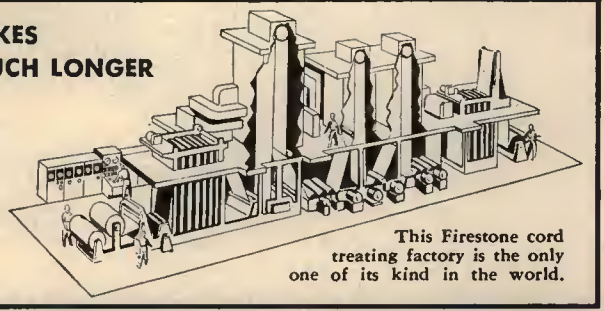
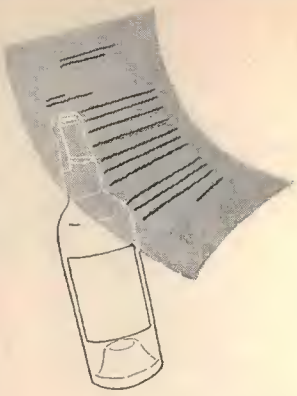
* T.M. Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.



This Firestone cord treating factory is the only one of its kind in the world.

ANOTHER PROOF THAT YOUR SAFETY IS OUR BUSINESS AT FIRESTONE



AN EPIPHANY IN PROVENCE

By Robert P. Skinner

It was fifty years ago and in Provence. Theodore Roosevelt had just been re-elected to succeed himself as President of the United States, and the event was being celebrated by a mixed and congenial company at a dinner party in Avignon. One of the guests was Frederic Mistral, the Provencal poet then at the height of his powers and fame, the founder of the Felibrige movement which sought to restore the Provencal language as the spoken tongue in the Land of Oc.

M. Mistral brought with him a copy of "Mireille," inscribed to the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and it became my agreeable duty to see that it reached the White House. Mr. Roosevelt was always more than gratified by literary attentions of this sort, and promptly wrote in his own flowing hand a characteristic letter of acknowledgment, which was sent on to me in the hope that it would reach me in season to be delivered on Christmas day. This hope was not quite realized but it did not greatly matter, as the Christmas season in Provence runs on until Epiphany, or as the French more commonly call it the *Jour des Rois*, and on that day, in the year 1905, my wife and I set forth from Marseille for the village of Maillane on my mission. We arrived there, at the exact hour indicated in advance, as became an embassy, before the Mistral residence, a fairly large house indicative of comfort and easy living. It faced those Alpids so dear to M. Mistral's heart, a landscape of which he had once written:

"If any land is fairer than Provence,
O Stranger! Go tell it to others!"

A ruddy faced maid in the charming costume of Arles came to the door accompanied by a dog, the latter once the property of our own Buffalo Bill; a marble bust of Lamartine looked down on us from the head of the stairs; and M. and Mme. Mistral appeared at once to lead us into the library before a snapping fire while the maid disappeared to prepare for the great event, that is, the delivery of the letter.

Soon we all re-assembled in the dining room, the dog being an important member of the company, M. Mistral's inseparable companion. I had not thought of it before but, as our host told us the animal's history, I noted easily a certain physical resemblance between the poet and the famous Colonel Cody — both tall and straight, each adorned with a long mustache and pointed chin beard and on occasion wearing a soft brimmed hat. It seems that Colonel Cody and his Wild West show had visited Arles one day, and by some mishap, when the show left that night, the dog remained behind, a lonely and unhappy dog. Early the following morning, M. Mistral happened to go to Arles, where the dog discovered him, concluded that if not his missing master he was certainly like him, and returned with him to Maillane.

At a signal from the little maid we all passed into the dining room for the diplomatic ceremony. This was rapidly accomplished in order that we might enjoy the treat spread before us. In front of M. Mistral stood a dark bottle upon which he had placed a hand-written label with the one word: "Wisky." It was a precious bottle, left many years before by an admirer, and held for some appropriate occasion. At my end of the table stood another bottle of "Chateau Neuf du Pape," a reminder that the Popes of Avignon had an awareness of something more than politics.

When a fitting air of solemnity had been established (it demanded a little time), I rose and read a translation of Mr. Roosevelt's letter, and presented the original in English which now hangs on the wall of the Museum in Arles. The letter runs as follows:

White House
Washington
December 15, 1905

My dear Mr. Mistral:

Mrs. Roosevelt and I were equally pleased with the book and the medal; and none the less because for twenty years we have possessed a copy of "Mirielle." That copy we shall keep for old association's sake though the new copy with the personal inscription by you must hereafter occupy the place of honor.

All success to you and your associates! You are teaching the lesson that none are more need to learn than we of the West; we of this eager, restless, wealth-seeking nation; the lesson that after a certain not very high level of material well being has been reached, then the things that really count in life are the things of the spirit. Factories and railways are good up to a certain point, but courage and endurance, love of wife and children, love of home and country, love of lover and sweetheart, love of beauty in man's work or in nature, love and emulation of daring and lofty endeavor, the homely everyday virtues and the heroic virtues — these are better still, and if they are lacking, no piled up riches, no roaring, clanging industrialism, no feverish and many-sided activity, shall avail either the individual or the nation. I do not undervalue these things of the nation's body; I only desire that they shall not make us forget that, besides the nation's body, there is also the nation's soul.

Again thanking you in behalf of both of us, believe me,

Very faithfully yours,
Theodore Roosevelt

Silence followed the reading of the President's letter, for it gave so much to think about. Then M. Mistral rose to speak. He made quite a long speech, delivered unaffectedly, and it ended with these words: "Plato banished Homer from his famous republic which existed only on paper. You, M. le President, the legitimate child of the truest republic that ever has been born, have boldly made up for the folly of the divine dreamer in doing honor to a modest poet of Provence."

It was time to remember the bottle of "Chateau Neuf du Pape" and soon it was time to go. Thus ended a Christmas party in Provence, land of the troubadours, where Popes once lived and Petrarch loved. Happy Provence! Happy days!

Thus ended our Epiphany fifty years ago.

The

By FRED M. WREN

On June 27, 1952, a well-known bill became law when the Congress passed Public Law 414 over the veto of President Truman. Although the first sentence of the new legislation contained permissive authority to call it the Immigration and Nationality Act, it is only within the past few months that this title has begun to have much meaning to Americans outside the legal profession. Like many other pieces of highly publicized legislation, the law derived its first popular name from the Chairmen of the Senate and House Committees which sponsored its passage, and it was thus unofficially christened as the McCarran-Walter Act. The late Senator McCarran was far more articulate in accepting responsibility for it, and in defending some of its more controversial aspects, than was his colleague, Congressman Walter. When the law became effective on December 24, 1952, it became known internationally as the McCarran Act.

The Act, which became effective on December 24, 1952, can now be evaluated more accurately than was possible three years ago. At that time the criticism of the Act by its opponents, both in and outside of the United States, combined with the equally defensive praise from its sponsors created a babel through which the quiet voices of logic and objective analysis could not be heard. This din has now subsided.

During the three years the Act has been in operation the administration and practical application of its provisions have been closely studied, both by the responsible officers charged with its enforcement, and by various organizations and individuals whose interests were affected in one way or another by the new law. These studies have served, not only to demonstrate the merits and deficiencies of the Act, but also to bring into proper focus the divergent interests which prompted criticism from some quarters and defense from others. Since any evaluation of these factors must, in the interests of accuracy, be made with some understanding both of the purpose for which the legislation was drafted and the extent to which the Act has achieved that purpose, a summary of a few of the main points of its historical background may be in order.

For many years prior to 1940 various individuals and agencies had been asking Congress to study existing immigration and nationality laws, and then to draft and enact legislation which would include all the desirable and necessary features of the previous laws, while excluding obsolete and undesirable materials. Since more than one hundred laws then in the statute books were involved, the scope of the proposed legislative study was immense. A start was made when the Nationality Act of 1940 repealed, either entirely

Miss Shizu Funakoshi, who was naturalized at a mass naturalization ceremony in the Hollywood Bowl.

McCarran—Walter Act

or in part, more than thirty previous laws dealing with American nationality. The new law revised and codified many other widely-scattered bits of previous legislation, to provide one basic Act governing all procedures through which American citizenship might be acquired, maintained, or lost.

Necessarily held in abeyance throughout World War II, the project of revising existing immigration and nationality laws was undertaken in earnest in 1946. Preliminary studies were made of the existing laws, and in 1948 the appropriate committees of the Republican-dominated 80th Congress began to hold public hearings on a bi-partisan "Omnibus Immigration Bill," sponsored in the respective legislative bodies by Senator Revercomb of West Virginia and Representative Fellows of Maine. Legal and technical experts of the Departments of Justice and State, and other federal, state, and municipal law enforcement agencies, testified concerning the administrative feasibility of the Bill.

Representatives of organized labor, religious organizations, welfare agencies, educational institutions, and veterans' organizations appeared before the committees and voiced their views and suggestions. Racial groups complained of the racial discrimination inherent in many of the previous laws, and asked for relief through the provisions of the new one. Economists testified concerning the probable economic impact which would result from the enactment of the Bill. Unaffiliated individual aliens facing deportation told their harrowing stories and asked for a sympathetic law which would permit them to remain in the United States. Other individuals, some aliens and some American citizens, told of close relatives, or friends, or eminent foreign personages who were prevented by various legal technicalities from entering the United States, and asked for legislation which would make their entries possible.

Against this background of conflicting interests and evidence, the "Omnibus Immigration Bill" gradually took form. The obviously obsolete provisions of the old laws were weeded out. Sections of the Bill were revised, and new parts drafted in an attempt to overcome its shortcomings as revealed by the testimony of witnesses at the hearings. Some otherwise desirable features of the original Bill had to be eliminated after expert testimony had convinced the committee members that enforcement might be difficult, or impossible, or contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Early in 1952 President Truman asked if the Bill would be ready for enactment that summer. When informed that another year was desirable to finish, perfect, and implement the proposed legislation, he said that something must be done immediately. Senator Lehman and Representative Celler then introduced almost identical bills calling for the immediate entry into the United States of 300,000 aliens, some of them Displaced Persons, some being refugees and escapees, while others were already registered as intending immigrants, but chargeable to hopelessly oversubscribed quotas. Senator Lehman proposed to utilize for these aliens the vast number of quota numbers which had not been used during the war-years. Senator Hendrickson introduced

Sixteen thousand men and women became U. S. citizens at a mass ceremony held in New York City.

a similar bill, also with White House approval. Senator McCarran fought these, saying that either of them would sabotage his Omnibus Bill. He was then told by his party leaders that some kind of immigration legislation had to be enacted in that session of Congress, and that if it was not to be Senator Lehman's or Senator Hendrickson's, he had better prepare his own for immediate passage. This was done with considerable difficulty, and thus the Immigration and Nationality Act came into being. The Act was passed over President Truman's veto on June 27, 1952, to become effective 180 days later at 12:01 A.M. on December 24, 1952.

Although the law, as printed, is divided into four titles, each of which is subdivided into chapters and sections, it may, for critical purposes, be regarded as falling into two main parts. The first, applying almost solely to aliens, sets up criteria which determine an alien's eligibility to receive a visa, and his eligibility to admission into the United States. It also prescribes certain requirements to be met by him during his residence in the United States, so long as he remains an alien. In addition, it provides authority and machinery for his deportation from the United States in certain circumstances. The second part deals with American nationality, stating the conditions in which it is acquired at birth, and how it may be acquired by naturalization. It also provides for the loss of American nationality in certain circumstances.

The average American who has had no personal experience with the law, nor with any person who has been either favorably or adversely affected by it, often wonders what all the agitation is about. Why should one Congressman or Senator condemn the law as discriminatory or unjust, while another of the same party, whose intelligence and patriotism are equally unquestioned, defends it? Why, in the face of President Eisenhower's 1953 recommendation for a revision of the Act did the Eighty-third Congress fail to take the action which he requested? Why do some reputable and respected civic organizations clamor for revision and repeal of the law while other institutions, equally reputable and respected, throw their support to the defending forces? The answers to these specific questions must necessarily be as complex as the law itself.

Perhaps the best way to find the answers is to simplify the problem and to attack one of the Act's main problems. This is simply the size and scope of the law. We used to have one law which stated how many immigrants could enter the United States annually. There was another law which rendered alien contract laborers inadmissible into the United States. Still another stated that a naturalized American citizen would lose his citizenship if he lived for three years in the country of his birth. Now these were three of more than fifty laws which were repealed or amended by, or incorporated in, the Immigration and Nationality Act. A person might be in favor of one of them, he might strongly oppose another, and he couldn't care less about the rest of them. The point is that formerly he could state conscientiously that he felt that one was good while another was bad. How can he comment on new legislation which includes them both?

That, boiled down to its fundamentals, is the McCarran Act. It is so big, and it affects so many people in so many different ways, that no intelligent man can point to the law and say that it's all bad. Conversely, no man or organization should be forced or induced to defend it blindly as representing legislative perfection.

Returning to details, let us discuss some of the good points of the Act. For the purposes of this discussion the postulate has been adopted that any section which confers upon an alien an advantage not previously enjoyed, without detracting from privileges previously enjoyed by him, or by any other alien, and without detriment to the security or welfare of the United States, is good. On the other side of the ledger are placed items which, in the opinions of objective observers, have unnecessarily deprived aliens of privileges previously enjoyed, which have demonstrated racial discrimination, which have needlessly held our immigration policies up to international ridicule, which have ignored moral commitments or obligations to certain groups of aliens, and which have added to the mechanical workload of the various enforcement agencies, without a compensating contribution to the security or welfare of the United States.

1. Under the old law an American husband could petition for non-quota status for his alien wife, but an American wife could not obtain non-quota status for her alien husband. The new law makes this possible.

Sometimes visa offices become crowded.

Visa applicants are carefully interviewed.

2. The old law permitted an alien husband to confer his quota nationality upon his accompanying alien wife, but the wife did not have the same privileges. This meant that a man born in England could get immeditely-available British quota numbers for himself and his Hungarian-born wife, but that a woman born in England could not bring her Hungarian-born husband within the British quota. The new law permits either spouse to confer nationality upon the other.

3. Under the old law persons "who have been induced, assisted, encouraged, or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promise of employment, whether such offers or promises are true or false, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled" were excludable as alien contract laborers. Americans who advertised in the foreign press for prospective employees, or who volunteered to assist a prospective immigrant by lining up employment for him in the United States, were, by the same law, liable to fine and imprisonment. This law, which served a useful purpose in breaking up the peonage system utilized by some unscrupulous employers in the last years of the previous century, and in the early days of this one, became a legal bottleneck a few years later, preventing American industry from obtaining the foreign skills which have been needed so desperately. The new law canceled the prohibitions mentioned above.

4. Although foreign students are usually non-immigrants in every sense of the word, the old law required them to obtain what was known as an immigration visa, rather than the passport visa issued to other classes of non-immigrants. The new law properly placed the alien student in a non-immigrant category, and permits him to receive a passport visa which, on the basis of reciprocity between the United States and the country of which he is a national, is usually without charge to him.

5. Under the old law any alien who had ever been convicted of any crime or offense involving moral turpitude was excludable from the United States as a criminal. Petty theft had been judicially determined to involve moral turpitude. Thus we had the frequent case of a responsible man with an unblemished record of twenty or thirty years in his community, being inadmissible into the United States, due to some youthful prank. The new law gives the youthful offender, and even the single-conviction minor offender regardless of age, a chance for admission.

One of the first steps toward obtaining a visa is to get the proper information.

6. While the old law was harsh and unforgiving toward offenders who had been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude, it made no provision for the exclusion of chronic offenders convicted of crimes in which a determination of moral turpitude had not been made judicially.

The new law changed all this by rendering excludable an alien who, as the result of two or more convictions for offenses other than political, has been sentenced to confinement for more than five years.

7. Under the Immigration Act of 1924 a child born in India to a British army family was chargeable to the quota for India. A child born to a European missionary family in China or Japan was chargeable to the quota of the country of birth. Since the quotas for many of these countries were and are oversubscribed to the extent that many years have to be spent on a quota waiting list before a quota number can be allocated on a worldwide registration priority basis, some cases of extreme hardship developed.

A wealthy English scientist decided to migrate to the United States to accept a responsible position with an American university. He and his wife and their two children born in England could get visas without trouble or delay. Their other child, born in China, would have to undergo eight or ten years of waiting time before a Chinese quota number could be obtained for him. Refusing to break up his family by going to the United States without his China-born son, the scientist remained in England, depriving the United States of badly-needed professional skill.

The new law has made it possible to charge any of the children mentioned above to the quota of either of their European-born parents.

8. Prior to the enactment of the new law, an American citizen could, by petition to the Attorney General, confer non-quota status on his alien wife, and on his alien unmarried child less than twenty-one years of age. If, however, he married an alien widow with children, he could not obtain non-quota status for his step-children.

The new law corrects this situation by permitting him to petition for a step-child, as well as for his wife and his own children.

9. An alien legally admitted into the United States for permanent residence, and who wishes to visit Europe or Asia, can obtain from the Immigration and Naturalization Service before departure from the country, a reentry permit. This was also true under the old law, but each permit was valid for only one reentry. For the businessman who has to make frequent trips abroad the single reentry permit was slow, expensive, and bothersome. Under the new law the reentry permit may be retained by the traveler, and used for numerous return trips to the United States within the period of its validity.

10. Although the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prevented the immigration of Chinese into the United States, was repealed in 1943, most natives of other countries of Asia, and of the islands adjacent to the eastern and southern coasts of Asia, were excludable on either geographical or racial grounds. For example, if a person born in Malaya

(*Continued on page* 51)

Japanese silk "kakemono" or wall print now in Nagasaki city library. It shows Deshima Island and Dutch factories, with Dutch and Chinese vessels in the harbor. At the far corner you can see Japanese vessels pulling Dutch ship into harbor.

four and one half centuries in

By Clifton B. Forster

From the hill above the Oura District the view of Nagasaki is most impressive, particularly in the early morning when the mist lies in the valleys below and the sun gives a reddish tinge to the mountain ridge rising to the west above the bay, dotted with the small fishing vessels heading out to the open sea. On the opposite side of the bay, the early morning activity of the Mitsubishi Shipyards brings strange sounds across the water. The riveting of plates, the sound of metal on metal combine with sounds closer at hand—the wooden getas on the cobble-stones, the high notes of the flute of the vegetable seller and the voices of the children starting off for school. Looking down on the harbor from the hill above Oura it is not difficult to turn the pages of history back to a time when Nagasaki was no more than a fishing village and Albuquerque, one of the first of the Western navigators to reach the East, was steering for India. When Albuquerque dropped anchor off Goa in 1510 he was leaving behind him a Europe threatened for almost 300 years by the empires of the East, first under Mongol and later under Ottoman leadership. Now the pendulum was swinging in the other direction and West was moving East. . . .

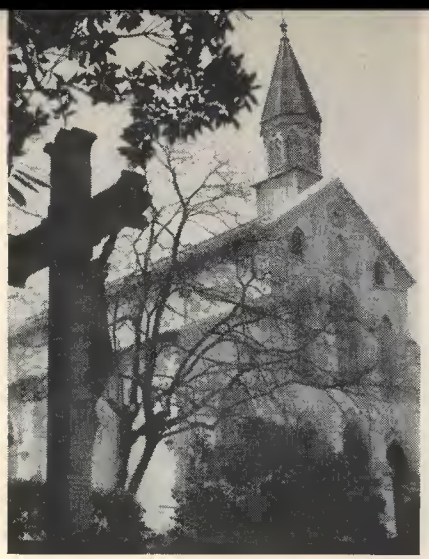
The Fishing Village

The narrow road down to the water's edge south of the main part of town is rather steep. You pass by the wooden-framed houses with their stone chimneys—the last vestiges of the old foreign settlement. This section offers a strange contrast to the Japanese dwellings which have been constructed around them. Many of these houses have been taken over now, others remain empty and are slowly rotting away. Near the meteorological station you pause for a moment to look up at all that is left of the old "foreigners' club" where residents once gathered for afternoon tea or drinks while watching the harbor activity below. A short distance beyond you pass the site of the old Nagasaki Hotel—once one of the Far East's most luxurious. Across from it and down the road a bit is the weather-beaten customs jetty. It was not so long ago that passengers from Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila and Singapore came ashore here on vacation and business. The customs sign, somewhat faded now, is still there above the jetty entrance. The writer himself recalls coming ashore here as a boy and watching the coal being loaded aboard the great, dignified "Empresses" of the Canadian Pacific Line. The rhythmic cadence of the voices of the coalers in the night as they handed the coal baskets from the barges up to the side of the ship remains vivid.

Beyond the jetty and a few miles down the coastal road there is a small fishing village. It is like any other fishing village in Japan. The boats which are not lying offshore or out in the Yellow Sea are resting in wooden slipways for repair work. Both the man and women handle the nets together. Like so many Japanese fishing villages there is also something timeless about this one. The "gaijin" or foreigner, the local daimyo and his samurai—all have made history in and around such villages and have passed on. Always the village with its people remains and the fishing goes on.

Nagasaki itself was once a village like this when the Portu-

Present day Nagasaki harbor.



Oura Church, commemorating the massacre of Christians.

Nagasaki

guese ventured north from their thriving colonies at Goa and Macao. The first of the Westerners to arrive in Japan, they sailed up along the Ryukyu chain of islands to land off southern Kyushu in 1542. Seven years later, in 1549, the great Portuguese missionary, St. Francis Xavier, headed north for Kyushu. When St. Francis Xavier stepped ashore at Kagoshima he set off a chain of events which soon were to have considerable impact on the small fishing village of Nagasaki. Returning to Macao and Goa he encouraged other priests to undertake the hazardous voyage and word of evangelical success was quick to reach the ears of Portuguese traders interested only in commercial success. By 1526 Magellan had found his way to the Philippine archipelago and Spain was proceeding rapidly with its colonization plans for the area. The Spaniards also heard of Portuguese ventures to the north and followed in behind them.

In 1567 a decision was made which was to transform the fishing village of Nagasaki into a trading and missionary center. For several years the Portuguese and Spanish ships had made a small island to the northwest of Nagasaki their port of call. The name of the island was Hirado and two Japanese daimyos, Matsuura of Hirado and Sumitada of Omura, sought to benefit from western trade. Matsuura watched the foreign ships enter his harbor at Hirado from his castle on the hill. To the Southeast, Sumitada, with his castle at Omura on the other side of the mountains from Nagasaki, decided to capture the trade from Matsuura's Hirado. He not only offered the port of Nagasaki to the Portuguese in order to benefit from the new trade relation-

(*Continued on page* 48)

One of the old Dutch factories, now being rebuilt.

View of the old American Consulate in Nagasaki.

The Russian Naval cemetery at Nagasaki showing Russian cannons captured following naval battle at Tsushima (1904).

Chateau de Worb

A Castle's Not a Home

By STUART L. HANNON

The modern American home owner, with his ranch house, colonial or Cape Cod, with his patio, sundeck or private pool, has probably outgrown those juvenile dreams of castles, with great halls illuminated by flambeaux and Irish wolfhounds scattered like bear rugs around the huge hearth. Or has he? A surprising number of houses take form today with turrets, round towers and at least one massive door. The hunting and ski lodges, of course, provide the best architectural flight for man's curtailed knighthood in modern life, for the chance to feel a momentary affinity with the valued and rough beamed ceiling, with trophies of skill wrested from twentieth century lists and tournaments, and surrounded by attendants of the modern hostelry who cater to the needs or whims of the transient lord.

Now in the dreamy days of adolescence most of us read the ponderous novels of Sir Walter Scott, Alexandre Dumas and others who rarely thought of a home as anything else but a castle, at least something you could scale if people wouldn't lower the front porch so you could ride in properly on a steed, preferably white. All of this seems childish to adults who today prefer King Arthur in cinemascope and in comic strips. Sometimes one can even see a real coronation, with golden coaches, modern men dressed in Elizabethan costumes, heraldry of kaleidoscopic colors and sounds.

Everyone seems to have his favorite castle . . . . Holyrood, Donegal, Bodiam, Chantilly, Lindau, Neuschwanstein or smaller baronial halls of twenty or thirty rooms. Americans seem to prefer the castles along the Loire, the Rhine and in South Germany where no respectable peak has survived the centuries without a castle for a crown. It should be clear by now that an effort is being made to establish the fact that Americans, like other people, do have a secret interest in castles. As youngsters we are frequently admonished not to build castles in the air, and to accustom us to something humbler than our ambitions we are propagandized regularly with the old cliché that a man's home is his castle. This may be true, but the writer is one living American who can say authoritatively that a man's castle is not his home. For three years ago, unable to find a house, I moved into a castle, renting it lock, stock and drawbridge.

It happened in Switzerland, where I was on government assignment. As a government employee, with family, I had to find something under the prices reserved for foreigners. I searched to the brink of desperation. Owners looked sad when I stated my needs—five bedrooms—and resources—very little! Also, children made matters difficult, for they place you too often in a class with quadrupeds and peddlers.

My search carried me everywhere and in its course I found traces of other Americans who had lived in Bern. James Fenimore Cooper had housed himself in the historic old *Lorrainequartier* of Bern, and even wrote a novel about the city which no one ever read. General Grant's daughter, Elsie Porter, lived her last years in the quaint city of the bears. Finally, I found a house, crammed with Victorian furniture and draped with doilies. I took it immediately and made a deposit. On my return the following day to make some measurements, the proprietor told me that she had changed her mind. She loved the house so much that she had decided to rent it for $300 instead of $260 a month. I told her that my love could not rise to such a pitch of passion. But in the meantime I had sent for my family to come from Germany. It seemed that the limit had been reached. Actually, I was just approaching the threshold of the il-

limitable.

In this state of ragged nerves, I was too weak for anything but warm milk. Sitting in my agent's office, I waved away the cigar which he offered me. Finally, almost as if propounding a philosophical question, he asked, "Why don't you take the castle?"

This struck me as a strange brand of humor, even to cheer me up. I had the sudden impulse to reply haughtily, "Very well, but only after you widen the moat!" But I said nothing, thinking for a dreary second that perhaps the "castle" was some popular euphemism for a flophouse or a court of miracles. But my compassionate agent explained that this castle, although a real one, was no more expensive than a large home, and *really* quite livable. As to the availability of the castle, he was a man of his word, and within a week I had moved into the ancient *Schloss* of Worb, just ten kilometers east of Bern on the road to Luzern.

The *Altes Schloss* or *Chateau de Worb* is a 15th Century, late Gothic structure of stone walls and wooden turrets, complete with *Rittersaal* (knight's room) and dungeon, the latter as dark and dank as the one man cells in rocky *Chateau d'If* off Marseilles. The ponderous stone arches which lead into the inner courtyard permit about a half-inch clearance on either side of a modern American automobile. A rushing creek runs under the undrawable drawbridge which separates the castle proper from the *Schlossgut* where retainers and peasants once lived. This stronghold of ghosts, bats and one temporary American family, which dominates the rolling countryside and commands a magnificent view of Moench, Eiger and other Alpine peaks, is the ancient keep of the sprawling families of Von Diesbach and de Graffenried. Descendants of the latter family have spread all over America.

By far the most interesting of all those who once populated that museum, where I resided for a year with my wife, three sons, one daughter and two dogs, was the Baron Christopher de Graffenried, founder of New Bern, North Carolina and perpetuator of generations of Americans. This Landgrave, who was born in 1661, was an adventurous, handsome fellow and swordsman who became a favorite at the courts of Charles II and Louis XIV, a crony of the Duke of Albemarle and Marshal von Erlach. He studied at Heidelberg, Leyden and Cambridge, became a Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws, served as Governor of Yverdon and settled a whole boat-load of Swiss and Germans in the new world. And as many cartographers and antiquarians know, one of the earliest existing sketches of New York City, resting these many years in the Yverdon museum on the Lake of Neuchatel, was sketched by Christopher de Graffenried in 1713.

As we settled down to unaccustomed life in our Swiss castle, the first week was one of exploration. The rooms of the "modern" wing (18th century) where we actually lived, were festooned with oil paintings, water colors, engravings, lithographs, embroidered subject matter varied from magnificent portraits of Louis XIV and Baron Christopher to those dull provincial scenes of cows, dark ponds, dead ducks, mealy apples and rural rubes with blotchy red cheeks which generations of painters have draped like crepe all over Europe.

There is a handsome billiard room in the castle, a dainty salon with Delft tile ovens reminiscent of Queen Mary's secret chamber at Holyrood, innumerable bedrooms and one master affair with frescoed walls, scenes after the manner of Lancret, Boucher and other romantic bower artists. Then there is a so-called *Afrika Zimmer* (African Room), a conversion job of the last owner who was a Pan-germanist, Nazi and life-long apologist for German African colonization. That room, ice-cold and illuminated by a few colored lights, is all you could ask for north of the Congo. If there is anything in Africa which this interior decorator did not bring back, stuffed or dried, I cannot imagine how hideous or monstrous the thing could be. Last of all . . . still touching only the unique embellishments of the *new* quarters . . . there is the 200 year old kitchen. One of our maids left a note for us there once, while we were on a week-end trip. We never saw her again. Later, we had two maids, young and strong, who stuck to the martyrdom for about five months.

Across the courtyard to the rear is the old part of the Worb Castle, room piled on top of room, beam on beam, reaching up the rungs of rotting staircases to the towers where ravens congregate by day and bats by night, camouflaged by a jungle of cobwebs, beehives, and mounds of dust and feathers. In some places the walls are five feet thick, especially in the dungeon which is believed to have antedated the 15th century high tower by two centuries. It really doesn't matter any more. One must live meditatively in a place like *Schloss Worb*. Only then, when he can blend himself into the past,

(*Continued on page* 46)

Baron Christopher de Graffenried, founder of New Bern, North Carolina.

The *Schloss* is a late Gothic structure, with wooden turrets and a dungeon.

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Service Glimpses

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1. KINGSTON—Former Governor of Illinois Adlai Stevenson (shown at right) was honored at a reception given by Consul General and Mrs. David M. Maynard during his recent visit to Jamaica. From left to right, above, are: The Most Reverend J. J. McEleney, *Vicar Apostolic to Jamaica*, Mrs. P. J. Peterson, Mr. Walter Rice, President of Reynolds Jamaica Mines, Consul General David M. Maynard, Mrs. Maynard, and the Honorable Adlai Stevenson.

2. DJAKARTA—The United States pavilion at the Third Indonesian International Trade Fair held from August 18 to September 26, 1955. *U.S.I.S. Photo*

3. PHNOM PENH—At the Embassy residence, the Venerable Vira Drarmawara, a leading Buddhist priest, gives a lecture about the teachings of the Enlightened One. On the left appears the Honorable Robert McClintock.

4. SEOUL—LEE Kyoo Nam, age 10, Orphan at the Salvation Army Orphanage, Seoul, being presented a gift of clothing from her sponsors in the United States, Mr. and Mrs. Meigs Newkirk of the State Department. Assisting in this pleasant task are Miss

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Dorothy Meredith and Mr. Joel Fowler of the American Embassy, Seoul.

5. STUTTGART—The ladies of the Invoice and Notarial Unit celebrated the demise of the consular invoice, represented here by a doll made exclusively from invoices and red tape. From left to right the ladies are: Vice Consul Sara L. Andren, Vice Consul Louise Fohl, Miss Enzhann, Miss Harquardt, and Mrs. Knoll.

6. HELSINKI—Danny Kaye's visit to Helsinki in connection with the showing of his film to encourage support of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund gave occasion for a reception at the Embassy. Danny fought a losing battle to keep up with a three-day schedule packed into one day. Here he discusses the time with Chargé d'Affaires John H. Morgan and Mrs. Francis Cunningham, wife of Counselor H. Francis Cunningham, Jr. ***Finlandia Kuva Photo***

7. PANAMA—The Honorable Julian F. Harrington, Ambassador to Panama, studies historic old Fort San Lorenzo with Mrs. George Leone, wife of the U. S. Army Caribbean Surgeon, and Mrs. Gines Perez, wife of the Deputy Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, U. S. Army Caribbean. ***U. S. Army Caribbean Photo***

THREE SUGGESTIONS for strengthening the FOREIGN SERVICE

PRIZE-WINNING ESSAY IN CATEGORY "D"

By DAVID FELIX

I. Character of the American Foreign Policy Position Today

It is an inevitability of human nature that the United States has more international power and vulnerability than the country is willing to admit. The developments have been geometrically speedy. It is therefore only logical that the conception and implementation of American foreign policy should suffer under the intellectual lag. Nevertheless, the changes in American public opinion, compared with almost any other physical, mental or emotional developments in the world other than that specific power change in the American position, have moved at outstanding speed.

The will of the nation, which accepted the Marshall Plan in 1948 and the unrewarding nastinesses of the Korean war, had moved a long way from the opinion climate of the rejection of the League of Nations, the 1930 tariffs and the early New Deal trade and financial nationalism. It is, moreover, too much to expect of a reasonable Utah sheepman or a California storekeeper to give accurate weight to the problems, for example, of Calabria or Pakistan. The fact that these Americans have nevertheless accepted sacrifices to permit a dimly perceived policy to be carried out is vastly encouraging.

In 1900 the United States was an outpost, tremendous with potentialities, but still shielded by the Pax Britannica. While the European power center has softened, the American population has almost doubled, the nation's productivity has almost tripled. It now falls upon the United States to develop a Pax Americana to move into the vacuum left by the British, and, indeed, to extend into an even greater area and functional responsibility.

Among the many new adjustments in international relations is the new shape and importance of economics. It would be an oversimplification to pose the middle of the twentieth century as a time of more or less pure economic expression as against the predominantly political drives in Europe, for example, a century ago. There was plenty of economic drive behind nineteenth century nationalism, and twentieth century communism is certainly as much mystic and nationalistic as it is economically determined. Nevertheless, American foreign policy today is as often carried out by bankers or soil specialists as it is by traditional foreign service personnel, and rightly so.

The first problem of American foreign policy lies in the construction of a new modus vivendi between the wealthier and poorer nations of the world. This has always been a problem in international affairs generally, but it has taken on new forms in the middle of the present century. We have just lived through and thoroughly exhausted the problem in its previous form. The earlier period was characterized by a rivalry among the wealthier nations, with the poorer nations deriving incidental benefits, losses, and humiliations from the struggle.

A large part of the relationship in that previous age between wealthier and poorer nations was defined, in a term too facile to be entirely accurate, as imperialism. Admitting the rough nature of this characterization, we can at least say that that age is over and that we must attempt to develop a new relationship and a new definition. It must, however, be emphasized that the words "wealthier" and "poorer" are only approximations. Thus Russia today falls into neither class and it is precisely that element which makes Russia so dangerous. Taking advantage of many of the techniques of the wealthier nations, Russia has put itself at the head of the have-nots. The harsh poverty of the mass of its citizens makes possible a closer emotional tie with the people of the poorer nations and gives the Soviet government the reckless power endowed the leaders of a people which has little to lose. The world situation has thus been compressed down almost to a Roman-Carthaginian dichotomy. The rivalries among the more prosperous nations, many of them much less prosperous than before, have been reduced in the face of the greater danger.

The above is quick simplification, but it should indicate the central nature of the economic element in today's international relations. The United States, in its reluctantly accepted leading position, must work out a policy toward the poorer nations that is not imperialism and that is not a laissez-faire assumption that they are capable immediately of managing the subtleties of modern science and administration which will give them the penicillin and the dignity they want. We must, moreover, continue to maintain effective relations with the more developed nations. We cannot command them; we must establish leadership through our competence to manage an effective foreign policy. We must learn to speak effectively in economic terms, and the bankers and soil specialists are needed to help carry on this conversation of peace.

II. The People and Their Institutions

The truism should nevertheless be clearly stated: American foreign service representation is what the American people make it. Each weakness and each strength of the American people is on more or less honorable display in the person of the foreign officer or other foreign representative and in the mechanism of their organizations.

The truism must be further labored: The American people are magnificent engineers and organizers, lucky and spoiled, and indifferent thinkers with a prejudice against intellectualism. But they are generous. All of these characteristics are played out in the conduct of Congress and of the American Government as a whole. It is, thus, inevitable that Congress should be suspicious of policies, agencies and men dealing with the subtleties of international politics. This is not to deny the role of intrigue on the American scene in, for instance, municipal politics, sports promotion or advertising, but the foreign subtleties are different, and, moreover, they are intellectualized and polylingual.

The American anti-intellectualism works against the formulation of a policy which, taking into account all the

idiocies and contradictions inherent in the dealings of two-and-a-half billion highly varied human beings with one another, must also operate with disorderly contradictions. We must be strong but gentle; we must conduct a restrained war with the Russian sphere while trading with it. On the other hand, this American suspicion prevents our falling into the trap of over-intellectualism, where many Europeans are imprisoned. Note the vogue of the finely-rationalized neutralism in Western Europe. The simplicity of the act of extending aid to post-war Europe does not deny its economic wisdom. Simplicity is by no means stupidity and the unsubtle outlines of American foreign policy today, after disastrous failures in the very near past, are intelligent enough and cannot be improved upon by the most learned political theorists.

But there is a distinction between simplicity and oversimplification. That very near past has seen the American tendency to oversimplify temporary allies into friends. American public opinion, furthermore, oversimplified the end of the last war into an automatically lasting peace. Soviet policy, unsubtle enough when compared with anything other than American policy, was able to win more advantage out of the American-declared peace than it was out of a victorious war.

The American educational system is also an accurate reflection of the nature of the American people. Measured by typically American pragmatic standards, American education produces splendid engineers, administrators and technicians. *But it does not produce individuals skilled in those fields directly and indirectly concerned with foreign relations.* America has too many ignorant educated people. The American failure, as far as the education of its foreign representatives is concerned, is in two parts. One is a failure in detail. Foreign language instruction is inadequately taught and lacks sufficient emphasis throughout the school system. The old argument that most Americans need no foreign languages is already out of date. The fact that the United States Army had to set up special language schools during the war, and that it must maintain them today, indicates the need. American firms are feeling the need for foreign representatives who can better meet sharper competition by speaking the languages of the countries that must be sold.

The key to the inadequacy in the American educational system *lies in the debasement of the concept of democracy.* A powerful group of American educators has interpreted democracy in the educational sense to mean that the needs of the mediocre students are the determinant of the success of the school system. The rate of learning and the quality of instruction are decided by the capabilities of the worst students. Yet the people whom we should want to place in our foreign representation are precisely those *who can learn a great deal more than the American educational system offers them,* and who need this increased knowledge to carry out their functions properly.

The American university man *frequently disgraces himself vis-a-vis his European opposite number* by his ignorance of the elements of his cultural heritage. Unless he has been a philosophy major, he is pitifully weak in the discipline that must act as the keystone to his personal life philosophy, and he lacks training in logic and abstract thinking. Like all technicians he suffers from the tendency to apply a narrow technical knowledge to areas where that knowledge has limited relevancy. He has not learned to generalize; he is still a provincial.

Our foreign representatives can be easily divided into two groups. The regular foreign service officers are a clearly recognizable type. The kind of intellectual equipment they bring to their positions is, of course, generally determined by American education and more specifically defined by the foreign service examinations. Too often the young foreign service officer has an uncertain knowledge pieced together from economics, history and administration. If he has specialized in one field, he is too often ignorant of other fields beyond what he could temporarily gather to pass his foreign service examinations. Compare the minimum qualifications for American foreign service candidates against those of the average European country. The usual requirements are a law doctorate and complete speaking and writing command of at least two and, in many cases, three languages. A candidate unable to ask for a glass of water in French could pass an American foreign service French examination.

III. Personnel and Organization

A superficial glance at the present organization of the American State Department and of its limited responsibilities in carrying out foreign policy would persuade anyone that *something is very wrong indeed.*

Considering first the organizational pattern, the separation of foreign service officers from Washington-bound State Department officers represents structural schizophrenia. Ignorance of foreign conditions is actually built into the organization by regulations, with a special category of specialists important in the formulation of foreign policy administratively characterized as "not for export." Occasional duty tours of foreign service officers in Washington are no remedy. The recommendation of the Wriston Committee about the integration of foreign service, State Department and staff officers points the way. I should, however, prefer to keep the staff officer category, for reasons I shall develop in the last section of this paper. If some State Department officers fail to meet the qualifications or are unwilling to accept the hardships of the new classification, then other provision for them in or out of the Government should be made.

Another dichotomy of greater importance runs straight through the conduct of American foreign policy, the division between the traditional diplomatic functions and the whole new complex of foreign responsibilities that has grown out of the war and post-war period. It is indicative of the judgment made of State Department capabilities that other agencies were charged with the vast new tasks. Yet the Government made a decision which aroused no serious opposition and which denied our diplomats immediate control over the massive instrumentalities of the economic aid and information programs. The fact that a few State Department people acted as advisors in some cases or were admitted into some positions in the new programs after the organizations were established fails to restore the dignity of the regular American foreign service representation.

The decisions to restrict the field of competence of the State Department were correct. It is by no means the fault of the foreign service organization itself. Congress had failed to anticipate the great expansion of our foreign

(*Continued on page* 42)

EDITORIALS

THE UTILIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONNEL

During the past several years, particularly since the establishment of the Regional Bureaus as operating entities, the authority formerly exercised by the Office of Personnel in relation to assignments and transfers has undergone a gradual but steady diminution.

The desirability of close collaboration between the Office of Personnel and the Bureau or other office affected by a proposed personnel action is obvious, particularly so in the placement of senior officers. The JOURNAL endorses that collaboration and believes that the presentation of valid objections to proposed personnel assignments is an integral part of the personnel system. However, we feel it important to guard against the tendency whereby the Office of Personnel is too often placed under pressure either to obtain the services of certain officers or to prevent the assignment of other officers. The end result of the operation of the assignment procedure as it has evolved to date is that the Office of Personnel is too often placed in the position of confirming decisions which are not its own and which are not always based upon a balanced weighing of the needs of the Service and the career development and best utilization of the personnel available for assignment at any given time.

If the new Service is to grow in strength and competence, much more attention will have to be given to the utilization and development of personnel than has hitherto been the case. In many instances, for example, new Foreign Service Officers will have to be trained to assume field duties and responsibilities which will be entirely new to them, while old Foreign Service Officers will be obliged to undergo a similar training process in the assumption of Departmental responsibilities. The next few years will be difficult ones for those officers responsible for our personnel planning and operations. The JOURNAL is confident that the complexities of the problem will be widely recognized and that the Regional Bureaus and other offices will voluntarily temper their particular demands upon the Office of Personnel in the interest of the quick and successful implementation of the Secretary's personnel program.

THE UTILITY OF PROTOCOL

For the newly inducted Foreign Service Officers, of whom there is happily a substantial number this year, the usages of diplomatic protocol are ofttimes mysteries that at first glance do not seem to have any operational utility in the conduct of foreign relations. The new officer is aware that the term (apart from its definition as a documentary treaty form) has in popular language come to mean the formalities associated with the practice of diplomacy and that such formalities are sometimes derided by critics who consider them an exaggerated form of social etiquette that is somehow not "democratic." Early in his career he will come to learn of its real importance.

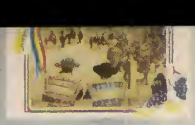
Diplomatic protocol, like the common law, consists of a set of time-tested rules evolved to maintain a reasonable semblance of order in the complex professional and personal relationships attending the conduct of foreign relations. To the uninformed, protocol appears to present obstacles to easy official and personal contacts. To the professional it has high utility as an instrument that eases the way and opens far more doors than it closes.

Within a diplomatic community the usage of protocol is the observance of those manners and customs which are internationally recognized as best suited to facilitate the work of the corps. It establishes standards of comportment, sets the norms for relationship between ranks, and eliminates frictions by providing an acceptable operational approach in all circumstances and in any clime.

Within a Mission strict observance of protocol need not stifle the informal camaraderie so dear to American hearts, since genuine friendship stems from factors other than professional usages. In fact, the observance of protocol may have a direct positive effect on the esprit de corps. Foreign Service personnel, like their counterparts in the military services, know that a taut ship is a happy ship, and soon appreciate that proper respect for the usages of protocol has for the Service the same importance and the same stimulating effect as the time-honored military etiquette has for the Armed Forces. Where protocol is ignored, or improperly observed, there is apt to be friction, confusion, inefficiency, lack of discipline, and a loss in morale.

At a time when the organization of the Service has been, and still is subject to criticism from some quarters, we consider it important that the usages of diplomatic protocol be recognized and supported for what they are—an efficient code for the conduct of operations, and a means by which the tone, the discipline, and the dignity of the Service is enhanced.

PERU



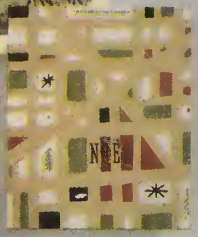
CHILE

CANADA

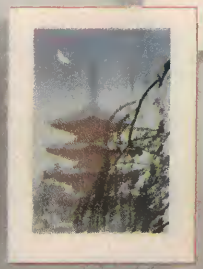
ARGENTINA

SWEDEN

COLOMBIA



UNITED STATES



JAPAN

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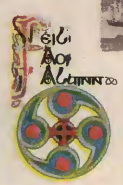


EIRE

HAWAII

AUSTRIA

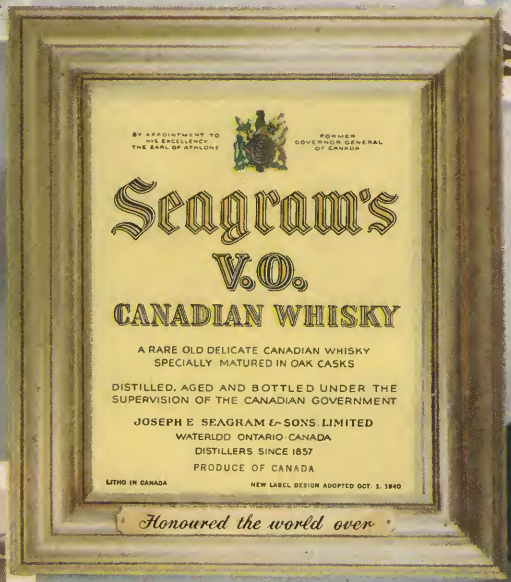
CUBA

FRANCE

NETHERLANDS

NORWAY

Throughout the world
more people buy **Seagram's V.O.**
than any other brand of whisky
exported from any country



SWITZERLAND

MALAYA

A SELECTION OF CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR CARDS FROM A PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL COLLECTION.

NEWS to the FIELD

By Lois Perry Jones

Dr. Carlos Dávila

Many members of the Foreign Service and the readers of the JOURNAL were friends of Dr. Carlos Dávila, Secretary General of the Organization of American States and former Chilean Ambassador to the United States. A great many others knew something of him and his work. His friends will sorely miss his warm, human qualities and the inspiration he brought to his work and to his colleagues. All will share the regret expressed by UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE HOOVER, in his press statement of October 21st, regarding Dr. Dávila's death on October 19th:

"I have known and admired Mr. Dávila for so many years that this is a particularly sad occasion for me. His outstanding abilities in the many fields connected with the problems of relationships among peoples won for him the respect which he so highly merited. Perhaps his greatest achievement has been the contribution which he made to the Pan American Union, and later to the Organization of American States. In his passing we have lost not only a true friend and fellow-worker in the cause of international understanding and peace, but a man who by his personal example has been an inspiration to all of us who had the privilege of knowing him."

Press Comment

Former SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES F. BYRNES paid a tribute to the Foreign Service in an article recounting the recent history of personnel problems in the State Department. The theme of the article, appearing in *Collier's* magazine on November 11, was:

"The time has come to stop shooting our sentries.

"If the men and women of our diplomatic establishment continue to be the objects of political attacks, of ridicule, neglect and mismanagement, if public confidence is not reinvested in the quality and dedication of their service, the result could be national disaster."

RAYMOND HARE, Director-General of the Foreign Service, responded to a series of letters and an editorial published recently in the *New York Times*. The letters implied that the Foreign Service—both as to the quality of its officers, and the officers' morale—was markedly declining. His reply, published in the *Times* on October 30, addressed itself to the following points: whether there had been a "calculated" policy to reduce the level of the Foreign Service; whether the integration program has been conducted with undue haste; whether Foreign Service Officers of long standing had suffered as a result of integration; whether entrance requirements are being lowered and whether morale is suffering.

His letter concludes: "There is still much which remains to be done to build the Foreign Service up to the level of its great responsibilities and we should be alert and diligent in effecting needed improvements, but in so doing we should avoid undermining that which is substantial. It is for this reason that I address this letter to you, and at the same time I wish to express the hope that you will continue to keep the Foreign Service under your benevolent eye."

Appointments and Resignations

The HONORABLE W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH, most recently Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission in the American Embassy, London, was appointed Head of the United States Mission to the European Coal and Steel Community. Mr. Butterworth, who received his B.A. degree from Princeton University in 1925, and studied at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, entered the Service in 1928 and served as Ambassador to Sweden from 1950 to 1953.

The HONORABLE ROBERT C. HILL, formerly Ambassador to Costa Rica and El Salvador, has been appointed to the new position of Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Mutual Security Affairs. He will be the principal representative of the Secretary for coordinating assistance programs authorized by the Mutual Security Act.

GUILFORD S. JAMESON, a Washington attorney, was appointed Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration and was assigned to handle ICA's congressional relations. He succeeds NORMAN S. PAUL, who resigned recently. A page in Congress at the age of 13, Mr. Jameson became clerk of the House Judiciary Committee and was appointed a Claims Court Commissioner. He has discontinued his private legal practice, which specialized in work before the FCC, the FTC, the ICC, and the Internal Revenue Service.

President Eisenhower in Denver accepted with regret the resignation of the HONORABLE WILLIAM S. B. LACY as Ambassador to Korea, for reasons of ill health. Ambassador Lacy, who entered the State Department in 1945 after many years in government, served as counselor of Embassy in Manila prior to his appointment to Korea.

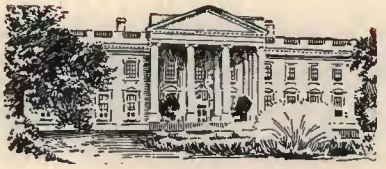
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, JR., who has been serving as Special Assistant to UNDER SECRETARY of STATE HERBERT HOOVER, JR., and previously had served as Administrative Assistant to Senator (now Ambassador to India) JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, was appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of State. A graduate of Yale University and a holder of graduate degrees from Yale, Harvard and the University of Chicago, Mr. Macomber will succeed RODERIC L. O'CONNOR.

The HONORABLE THOMAS C. MANN, who has been serving as Counselor of Embassy at Guatemala City, was appointed Ambassador to El Salvador, succeeding the Honorable Robert C. Hill. Ambassador Mann entered the Foreign Service Auxiliary in 1942. As a Foreign Service Officer since 1946 he has served in the Department and in Caracas and Athens.

RODERIC L. O'CONNOR, former Special Assistant to Secretary Dulles since January 1953, was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. Mr. O'Connor succeeds BEN H. BROWN, JR., who is attending the National War College.

WILLIAM M. ROUNTREE has been appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs replacing JOHN D. JERNEGAN, now assigned to Rome as Deputy Chief of Mission. Mr. Rountree has been associated with the NEA Bureau since 1946, when he was appointed Special Assistant to the Director. His last two posts have been as Counselor of Embassy in Ankara and Tehran.

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE



Christmas, 1955

To All Members of the Foreign Service:

As the 1955 holiday season nears, I should like to take this occasion to express my appreciation to you of the Foreign Service who serve your country in all parts of the world and who must, frequently, celebrate the Yuletide far from home.

We owe much to your unselfish devotion to the nation's interest and your dedication to the cause of peace. The importance of your tasks in our total efforts for "peace on earth, good will toward men" can never be sufficiently stressed. Your continuing service, both at home and abroad, is one of the safeguards of our future.

Mrs. Eisenhower joins with me in extending our best personal wishes to you and your families for a Merry Christmas and for happiness in the New Year.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
Washington

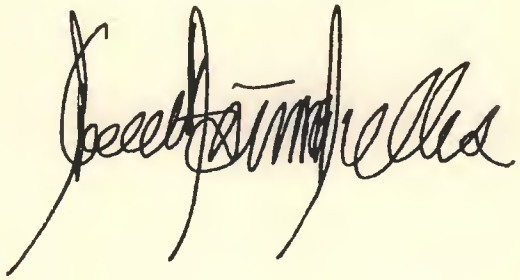
Christmas, 1955

To My Colleagues in the Foreign Service and the
Department of State:

Down through the ages the Christmas message of goodwill has mirrored the hope that some kind of true and lasting peace can emerge from times of stress.

The search for peace during the past year has, as always, been the dedicated mission of the members of the Foreign Service and of the Department of State. I know that in the year to come I can count on your skilled and steadfast support in this, our common goal.

Mrs. Dulles and I extend to you and your families our warmest wishes for a Merry Christmas and for a Happy New Year.



Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING

By FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Mandarin Red** by James Cameron, published by Rinehart $3.50

A report on Communist China by a distinguished English newspaperman: A most readable and witty account of Trans-Bamboo Curtain every day life.

2. **Bismarck** by A. J. P. Taylor, published by Knopf $4.75

The creator of the German Empire as seen by the Oxford historian: There was certainly nothing lovable about the Great Chancellor but he accomplished his purpose by hook or by crook.

3. **The Call To Honour** by General Charles de Gaulle, published by the Viking Press $5.00

The first volume of the General's memoirs recounts his prewar pleas for a mechanized French army, his flight to London, his rally of the Free French, his negotiations with the Allies: Force, clarity, conviction, pomposity, self-importance characterize this essential contribution to the history of World War II.

The Law of Nations, An Introduction to the International Law of Peace, by J. L. Brierly, 5th Ed. *Oxford, 1955, IX 326 pp., $3.00.*
Reviewed by STANLEY D. METZGER

This is the fifth edition of a book, first published in 1928, whose stated purpose is to introduce international law to students beginning law courses and to "laymen who wish to form some idea of the part that law plays" in the relations of states.

It serves that purpose well. Exposing the subject matter under traditional chapter headings, Prof. Brierly writes lucidly, in the conviction that international law "is neither a myth on the one hand, nor a panacea on the other, but just one institution among others which we can use for the building of a better inter-national order." While emphasizing the British view on most controversial questions, he does not neglect references to American practice and case law.

Like any introduction to a subject, this book has its limitations. In many instances it barely opens a subject before going on to the next. In others, notably the section devoted to the theoretical bases of law, it tends to oversimplify both the problems and the controversies which still engage scholars. The fact that the author is not loathe to express his own views is a virtue, however, not a limitation, especially since they are not unduly obtrusive in a work which is mainly expository in character, and are put forward in a manner which suggests that he is aware (correctly, it may be added) that few will agree with many of them.

An Introduction to Japan, by Herschel Webb. *Columbia University Press. 1955. 130 pages. $2.75.*
Reviewed by R. B. FINN

For anyone with even a mild interest in Japan, this should be a useful and interesting book. A short, comprehensive summary of the Japan scene has long been needed to complement the weightier surveys already available. Mr. Webb's book, prepared under the direction of the Japan Society in New York and with the editorial advice of a number of distinguished scholars, fills this need and can be recommended to beginner and old-hand alike. Although obviously not intended as a reference work, "Introduction to Japan" is a useful refresher on less topical aspects of Japan.

In a couple hours reading, encumbered by relatively little indigestible detail, the uninitiate can get a surprisingly good idea of things Japanese, ranging from history, government and economics to fine arts, literature and religion. I think the book is particularly notable for its clear statement in the introduction of basic issues in Japan's relations with the United States, for its sensible comments on various aspects of national character such as national pride, "face," and Japanese imitativeness, and for its concise summary of Japan's cultural accomplishments.

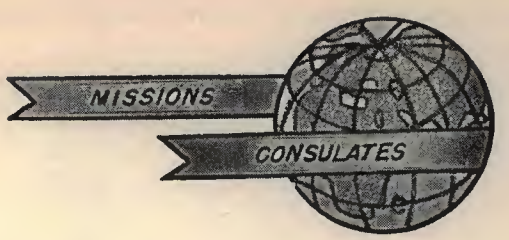
Memoirs of a Consul, by Bartley F. Yost; *Vantage Press, New York, 1955. 186 pp. $2.75*
Reviewed by ROBERT L. YOST

From his first post as Deputy Consul General in Paris in 1909 to his last as Consul in Cologne, Germany, in 1935, Mr. Yost had his full share of interesting experiences in pre-World War I Europe, in revolutionary Mexico, and in Hitler's Germany. In this little book, he tells in a rambling, informal style of some of the men and events that touched this long career.

This is not a tale of American diplomacy. As Mr. Yost points out in his preface, most of his stories are of "adventures" that Foreign Service people of today, as then, consider part of a day's work. It is probably in its very unpretentiousness that the book renders its greatest service to our mysterious and much mis-understood organization — by giving the lay reader ("in plain, simple language that even a child can understand," as the reviewer for one Kansas newspaper put it) a reasonably accurate impression of what a flesh-and-blood Consul does to earn his pay.

For the work of a Consul has changed little since 1909. There are still the same seamen in trouble in the same little seaport towns, the same human problems of destitute citizens and resolute visa applicants, the same interminable reports on iron and steel and grapes and esparto grass. To be sure, some things are different. Very few Vice Consuls nowadays have to work their way home on a cattle boat as Mr. Yost did in 1910. And the days are probably gone forever when a barefoot and night-gowned American Consul could savor the sport of chasing burglars down a Mexican street followed by his Vice Consul carrying the bathrobe and slippers sent by an ever-thoughtful wife. But by and large the flavor of life in the Service remains unchanged. *Memoirs of a Consul,* by making this life understandable to the reading public, makes its own unique place in Foreign Service literature.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD



PHNOM PENH

We now have more than 100 American personnel, not counting dependents, and are therefore a medium-sized post. We have come a long way. A year ago, when AMBASSADOR McCLINTOCK arrived here to take charge, we had only eight Americans including the economic aid and information programs, and including GENE DERLETH as a one-man general services section and code room; and our office was in a dingy loft consisting of one room and a cubbyhole. Today we are in an air-conditioned four-story building, our Code room traffic volume is in the same class with Vienna and Rome, and we meet once a month in the auditorium in order that the various sections of our burgeoning Embassy — the Chancery, USIS, MAAG and all the rest — may keep in touch.

If anyone wishes to know where Phnom Penh — pronounced Pnom Pen — is located, he may look at a map of Indochina (now only a geographic concept) and perhaps he will find a thin red line going inland from Saigon to our city, seemingly rather close by. That thin red line does not indicate a railway. The only rail line from here goes to Bangkok, a trip of two days. By air, however, we are only one hour from Saigon and two from Bangkok. But both these cities, particularly the former, seem very, very far away. Cambodia is a different country, a different culture, a different world.

In this little world, we constitute perhaps the happiest family of any "hardship" post. It is hot here, and mail takes eight days to reach us, but we are working hard and having fun. By Christmas, those of us who do not yet have apartments will have them, and air-conditioned, too. We have a boat which takes us on picnics up the Mekong, and once a week we look at American movies on the roof of the Embassy residence. There will be an international exposition in Phnom Penh, and coming up, are the Water Festival, a coronation, and many other picturesque events.

On the Fourth of July, we had a tremendous picnic on a sandbank on the Mekong, enlisted part of the Cambodian Navy to get us there, and put on a musical skit and impressive fireworks (provided, as was the picnic, by the Ambassador).

Arrivals are too numerous to mention, departures are very few. From Washington, there arrived during the last few months KYLE MITCHELL and WAYNE OGLE, new FSOs; from Paris, MAC GODLEY, finally getting his first hardship post; from Dublin, CORABELLE TOLIN, getting her third hardship post; from Cairo, CARRIE DREIBELBIES, our nurse; from Madrid, BEN PIATEK, on direct transfer, postponing his home leave; and from Bangkok, SAM JANNEY. Also, we are now on the VIP route. The Secretary was here in February, accompanied by COUNSELOR MACARTHUR and MR. ROBERTSON. Admiral and Mrs. Radford have been here. Admiral Burke, Admiral Stump, and General Clarke have paid us visits. Recently, AMBASSADOR PHILIP P. CROWE stopped off here.

In July, AMBASSADORS G. FREDERICK REINHARDT and CHARLES W. YOST from neighboring Vietnam and Laos came for a brief visit, allowing us to notice that we have some of the youngest career chiefs-of-mission serving in this area.

Although entertainment and cultural opportunities are few, this country has much to offer those who have intellectual curiosity and are willing to undergo a bit of discomfort (and a bit of danger from bandits) in traveling around. A special treat is currently being provided to a group from the Embassy by a series of lectures given by a leading Buddhist monk, the Venerable Vira Dharmawara. Cambodia is perhaps in the forefront of the defensive battle against Communist expansion, and Buddhism is, in a sense, a bulwark. We like to think of ourselves as a hand-picked team of specially good people, helping to shore up the defenses of this critical part of the world.

Martin F. Herz

GENEVA

In addition to the numerous conferences and meetings which are annually held in Geneva and which are lending increasing stature to this city as a conference site, Geneva played host to the Heads of Government meeting in July and the Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in August at which the United States was represented by large and distinguished delegations. The combined office of the United States Resident Delegation and Consulate General was particularly honored by the gracious visit of President Eisenhower who inspected the offices and met the members of the staff among whom was Paul Plantin who has served at this post continuously for 35 years. The Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy is said to be the largest conference held in Geneva and much credit for the success it had is due Admiral Lewis L. Strauss who headed our delegation. The Resident Delegation and Consulate General is now making preparatory arrangements for our delegation to the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers scheduled for October 27, and another period of intense and interesting activity is foreseen.

In September this office received a thorough-going inspection from genial inspectors HENRY STEBBINS and TOM LINTHICUM who spent over a week in Geneva. It welcomed its first inspection since the fall of 1952.

Among the more recent arrivals at this post are GEORGE TOBIAS, Attaché for Labor Affairs, SIDNEY SUHLER who came from Colombo to replace VICE CONSUL FRED HILL transferred to Athens, ASSISTANT ATTACHÉ BILL SABBAGH from the Department replacing MASON LASELLE who has been transferred to Bonn, and ASSISTANT ATTACHÉ WALTER GLEASON from the Department.

John C. Shillock, Jr.

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responsibilities and had failed to give the State Department the opportunity to prepare itself. There was no other alternative possible except that of setting up new organizations. An attempt to force the new functions into the old State Department mold, a mold formed by all of the American inadequacies in terms of foreign policy, would have crippled the implementation of our new economic and propaganda policies.

The division of functions between the old line organization and the new agencies is reflected in the differences in their personnel. Our regular foreign service officers have not distinguished themselves by their brilliance. They have, however, carried out their limited functions in good organizational form and they have seldom caused trouble. The other foreign representatives are a wild grab bag of personalities, ranging from the agricultural expert in Greece who was memorialized by a statue, to embezzlers and drunks. They have, thus, been occasionally brilliant, occasionally destructive, and more often carelessly recruited and lacking the abilities called for by their positions. Language ability is, of course, a major weakness with both groups.

The situation was not, however, as bad as a quick organizational sketch would indicate. The saving element was the general character and abilities of the American people. Able to draw on such administrative and technical resources, it was impossible for the United States to manage its foreign representation badly. American efficiency, acting in its pragmatic fashion, fortunately gave the lie to many of the weaknesses. Thus the conception of the Marshall Plan was so sound and imaginative that it triumphed over uncertain staffing and internecine office struggles.

We have, thus, a vicious circle situation. There are too many irregulars carrying out our foreign policy. Our regular foreign service organization lacks the organizational competence and the personnel to handle the new responsibilities. Lacking these elements, the State Department cannot very well persuade Congress to give it the new tasks; and thus lacking persuasive accomplishments, it cannot demand of Congress the first essential for expanding its competence—more money. This is one of the key points. A great deal more money—and not only in the State Department—is needed to improve the character of American foreign representation.

IV. Directions for Change
A. The Catalyst

But the United States is splendidly equipped to break through such a magic ring. We must go beyond governmental organizations to the real sources of strength and change in the American people. Official agencies, by their very nature, cannot solve the problem; they are handicapped by the very conditions that reduce their competence in the field of foreign policy.

One peculiarly American institution is the ad hoc foundation or committee. It can draw on unregimented abilities and funds. Foundations have proved of enormous value in American medicine, science and education, for example. Citizens committees have been useful in furnishing the leadership for such matters as aid to Britain in the early days of the war. Official action followed when the task was already defined by the private group.

The country needs a powerful private organization in the field of foreign policy. This is not to deprecate the achievements of the Foreign Policy Association, but I submit that the events have ballooned out beyond its original aims. I submit that the situation sketched here shows the need for a great deal of money and a multitude of new functions.

It is a characteristic of a healthy society that it should develop corrections for abuses almost automatically. I am sure that the situation is ripe for a healthy reaction in terms of foreign policy. The task is great, however, and cannot be accomplished by a single group. It would be the function of a new foreign policy association, rather, to act as a catalyst in intensifying the necessary efforts. We are concerned here with politics in the Aristotelian sense, as inexact as human nature itself, and we can expect that even a healthy development will take place in disorderly fashion. Accidental forces and leaders can often help a good cause more than well-staffed actions. But the association could be the key to effective action. One of the "reactions of a healthy society to correct an abuse" would be the willingness of certain individuals and groups endowed with public spirit and money to contribute some of that money to a group promising healthy action in the area of foreign policy.

The importance of generous financing is one of the few certainties which I can express about a foreign policy association. It would be an impractical conceit to construct an exact blueprint here. I should prefer to put down a series of objectives and to discuss them loosely in relation to possible functions of the association. I can say, approximately, that the association should have characteristics of a foundation, an ad hoc committee, a lobby and a public relations firm.

A well-endowed public relations department should consistently and variously expose the public to the concepts of foreign affairs, to the idea of the need for good foreign policy administration. Every possible publicity media should be used. Dignified television and radio programs should popularize foreign affairs without oversimplification. The monthly publications for foreign service personnel and for interested lay persons should continue to be published. The department should also offer research facilities and other assistance to independent writers, and it should maintain a small but first-rate staff of proved writers for special articles to be placed in lay publications.

Intelligently planned lobbying should be carried out without apology. The average Congressman, emerging from intensively local interests, cannot be expected to understand all the exigencies of foreign affairs. He would not be ungrateful if an organization would tactfully assist him with research material, nor would he be unreceptive to influence if the organization kept a reputation for high public spirit. It is, of course, exceedingly important that the association not waste its fire on a multitude of issues, that it not damage its impartiality by advocating matters still considered controversial by the country's leadership.

Another function of the association would be to maintain close liaison with American universities. This could be fruitful in a number of ways. The association might thus exercise direct influence on certain universities toward an improvement of the curricula. University faculties, moreover, are a great reserve of intellect and ability that can be called upon in a number of ways to assist in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy.

(Continued on page 44)

B. Education

It would be my hope that a more powerful foreign policy association would render various assistance in the problem of education and in the other problems treated in this paper. The discussion of its functions indicates how it might exercise leadership and pressure.

The general educational problem is a great one, and we cannot, of course, wait for a broad response in the vast field of American education. We must insist upon specific measures that will immediately begin the necessary improvement in the education of foreign service personnel. The problem may be viewed as a series of concentric rings. The first ring is composed of potential regular foreign service personnel. The second ring is composed of students who might possibly become foreign service regulars, and the third consists of persons who will have something to do with foreign affairs in one way or another in such fields as journalism, international commerce or law. The priority goes to the first group, of course.

We should prepare to demand more of foreign service candidates and to give them the opportunity to learn more. The objective will take time, and we must calculate with a gradual increase in standards aiming at the ideal minimum goal. I suggest that the latter, in terms of foreign service candidate qualifications, should be on par with the demands of European foreign affairs ministries.

A properly conceived foreign service academy would be of enormous value. It could serve as a leader to other universities in demonstrating the need for training of a kind they do not provide in normal circumstances. The academy should be built around a two-year post-graduate course, later to be extended to three years, for persons intending to enter the foreign service. It should, of course, be accredited to give post-graduate degrees. Its basic function would be to fill in the gaps left by the *inadequacies of the typical American university education.* It could, thus, correct the deficiency in the case of an overspecialized student by giving him a broader grounding, while permitting the student with a typical liberal arts training to achieve an effective command in a useful field.

The foreign service academy graduates, ideally, should be specialists in one field relevant to their work, in, for example, economics, law, administration or political science. They would, moreover, be well balanced culturally, with a firm background in philosophy and history. One of the most important weaknesses to be corrected would be in the field of languages. We could expect of a two-year academy course that it would give its graduates a complete speaking and writing command of one foreign language and the ability to read one other language. A three-year academy course could require complete command in two languages.

More important than specific details of learning would be the general influence of the academy on its graduates. It is infinitely more important that our foreign service personnel learn to think and generalize well than that they learn details. The primary function of the foreign service academy would be to train intelligent leaders.

Study in the area of interest of a candidate can be a valuable aid to him. The academy should establish rules sufficiently flexible to permit candidates to spend a year of their academy enrollment time in a foreign university. Academy examinations could insure the effectiveness of the foreign study.

It would, however, be a mistake to base educational action on the possibility that Congress would eventually agree to the establishment of a foreign service academy. The academy is not absolutely necessary. The State Department should, in any case, establish closer liaison with American education, should better define its demands in terms of the education of potential foreign service personnel, and should try to persuade American education to make the necessary changes. The persuasion should be accompanied by a gradual increase in foreign service qualifications. Many American educational leaders are aware of the inadequacies, and would, I am sure, be glad of the opportunity to assist in such changes.

The general weakness of our present foreign representation is not only a governmental problem. Private industry is also much more handicapped in its foreign dealings than it realizes. An educational program, based on either the foreign service academy or special curricula in leading universities, would establish its value very quickly on the labor market. The products of either of these systems, I am convinced, would give post factum proof of the great need for such abilities. This would lead toward a general, if not extravagantly perceptible, change in American education. Thus the persons in the outer concentric ring, persons who might become foreign service personnel or those who would have something to do with foreign affairs, would be eventually reached.

There should be enough adequate scholarships for promising young people on a scale greater than that envisaged by the Wriston Committee. If the State Department were not able to finance the scholarship program immediately, it would be a splendid opportunity for a foreign policy association to demonstrate the private initiative that has so often cleared the way for later official action.

C. Operations

I have already mentioned the obvious necessity of eliminating the Washington-bound class of officers. Those functions carried out by the Foreign Operations Administration and the United States Information Agency belong ideally within the old line department established to handle foreign affairs. Governmental policy should look toward the day when the State Department does establish its full competence. It would be my hope that the type of changes suggested in this paper would bring the State Department eventually to that situation.

The State Department could learn valuably from American private industry about effective administration. One principle fruitfully practiced by leading American firms is that of practical generosity. Here is, of course, another point where money is important. But the generosity is necessary if State Department personnel are ever to have the morale of a crack organization. One obvious measure would be to press for pay increases. When comparisons are made with the salaries of other Government employees, the State Department could reply that its higher qualification standards justify, indeed, make necessary, higher pay. One method of increasing salary rewards would be to pay the foreign service officer a premium for any special ability, such as language competence, or the mastery, proved by a higher degree, in a useful field.

The importance of practical generosity is illustrated by the virtual breakdown of the lateral-entry program. Foreign

service officers should enjoy enough opportunities for promotion and pay increases so that they should not be unduly resentful of the entry of outsiders into the service.

The staff officer system should be retained for two reasons. The ever expanding American foreign responsibilities will continue to demand new personnel in unanticipated positions. The amount of specialization we can demand of foreign service regulars cannot cover all the personnel needs. It is, moreover, healthy for an organization to receive continual transfusions of new blood. The men in the outer concentric rings form a valuable personnel pool. The staff officer should be given a fair opportunity to he integrated into the regular service if the need for his services is more than temporary.

Another way of letting more light and air into the regular service would be to permit a kind of job exchange with private industry. Foreign service officers might take over related jobs in private industry, to be replaced by the personnel they relieve. Such a system, if carefully administered, would be fruitful for the foreign service and for private industry. We must break down the excessive exclusiveness of the foreign service with its attendant phenomena, insulation from reality, inflexibility and the inability to rise to new challenges. We have seen how this ended by excluding the regular foreign service from important areas of our foreign policy.

We are not done with the educational problem when the candidate passes the foreign service examination. More generosity should be exercised in maintaining the intellectual fitness of the older foreign service officers. They should be given the opportunity more often to take leave with pay to study further in their fields of interest.

The objective is to develop a foreign affairs organization confident of its own abilities and powers, and enjoying the trust of the American people and the Congress. The American people will not change its character and we can expect it to continue to make errors of honesty in its foreign policy. But honor has more effectiveness in the long run than deceit, and American morality will have American efficiency to help it.

APPOINTMENTS

The following appointments to the Foreign Service were made by the President on October 31, 1955.

Class 1

Edwin M. Martin — Frederick E. Nolting, Jr.

Class 2

Richard H. Sanger

Class 3

R. Bernard Crowl — John F. McJennett, Jr.
Robert E. Hoey — Robert B. Parke
Judson C. Jones — Fred H. Sanderson
Crion J. Libert

Class 4

Stuart Blow — Joseph Fernandez
Philip S. Bogart — Mrs. Magdalen G. H. Flexner
Edward T. Brennan — Virgil L. Moore

Class 5

William C. Jones, III — Edward F. Martin
John Loughran — Thomas P. Shoesmith
Miss Margaret J. McClellan

Class 6

Owen B. Lee — Will S. Myers, Jr.

is it possible to appreciate a Swiss farmer's remark to me in Ruenenberg, General Sutter's pre-California home near Baeel. "Just think," he said, with wide blue-eyed wonder, "it was only 119 years ago that he left here!"

And so into this romantic environment came a family of hitherto normal Americans. We soon learned, among other conventions, that castle troglodytes have no private life. It all began when a nearby villager asked our maid what we ate since there never seemed to be any smell of cooking. Until then we had never been particularly conscious of kitchen smells, but to avoid being considered queer we would occasionally stoke up the onions or a pot of *fondue*. In a bold bid to blend into the community we began grinning at everyone Russian style, and speaking cheerily, but this approach only worked on the tradespeople with whom we did cash business. The best majority of contacts were unsmiling and staring faces. Undoubtedly we presented a series of shocks with our clothing, speech and rather large car with a *CD* (Corps diplomatique) on front and back.

One morning, after a rich fall of snow, I rushed out and began shoveling in all directions. Later that same day I was advised by the maid that she or preferably the gate keeper would have to shovel snow henceforth. She had heard talk in the village that the chatelain of *Schloss Worb* did not know how to act in a castle! My wife was tenderly amused over my embarrassment until she herself became a hot conversation piece for walking down to the nearest store, dressed in *ordinary* clothing, and carrying back an armful of groceries. Later on, after we had finally learned how to do nothing with diligent grace, we commiserated but with lifted eyebrow over the disgrace of an American neighbor. This woman, mother of four children, had walked to the village in *bobby socks!*

There were many times when the killingly funny line given to George Sanders during a siege of *Ivanhoe* swept over me, "Make ready the boulders!" For, like Quasimodo, I could only leer down from my windswept parapets at the visitors who strolled through our gates on Sundays. The sign "Private Property" was as effective as "no fishing" in an area overrun with children. During the *Yodlerfest* in Worb, we had more than our usual share. This gathering of the yodelling clan from far and wide brought also the *Alpenhorn* musicians. These deep throated instruments, a sort of twelve foot meerschaum, sound like crooning dragons or incoming liners saluting New York harbor. As a matter of fact, in three and four part harmony, they are quite restful.

Early one Saturday, prompted by the insistent rays of the hot sun, I bolted from the huge *matrimonial* bed (as it is called in Switzerland) and threw open the windows. The sight below, a few feet below, was quite startling, to say the least, to my early morning squint. For there in front of me, looking up were about thirty soldiers in *Stahlhelm*, in gray-green uniforms, packing machine guns, rifles and heavy cartridge belts. Actually, the Third Division was on maneuvers, but at that time I didn't know that private property is public during Swiss Army operations. There was blunt misunderstanding before the incident was ironed out, but later on we served wine to some of the officers and men who were *defending* our keep.

During World War II, our castle had served as headquarters for Swiss Intelligence, General Staff. It was not an unusual experience to have a cocktail guest remark quite ceremoniously, "You will not believe it, but I used to sleep in your dining room," or, "You know, when I lived here we had no heat." It would have been easy to add an *amen* to that. Since stoking castle furnaces (one for heat and one for water) is something like fueling the *Queen Mary*, we often allowed the fires to die out. But even in summer, this was a chilling sort of economy. When the tumult and the shouting about luxury living among government employees overseas was at its height, we often wished that one of the carpers could have spent a family style week, *chez nous*, in the charming old world castle and enjoyed the same privileges.

Protecting the antique furniture, glass doors, brocade paneling, wall china and other crumbling remnants of a hoary decor, all this was an hourly threat to both adult nervous systems, what with children and dogs *and* dive bombing! We imposed the strictest surveillance, appointed our eldest son as a house detective and traffic cop, instituted fines, honor systems, solitary confinement and resorted to the most unlikely threats and blandishments. In fact, we put most of the place off limits. One night, after an unusually quiet dinner because of an earlier group reprimand by the harassed farther, our seven-year-old son asked in a sepulchral, timorous voice: "Won't we *ever* live in a house again?"

As a matter of fact, the juvenile regimen was a bit unusual entirely apart from the glass castle restrictions. It consisted of setting the mouse traps, closing all windows (dozens of them) to keep out the bats at night, reporting gale damage to the high turrets, carrying a daily five litres of milk up the steep hill from the village and helping to pasteurize it. Pasteurized milk was available in Bern, but the *pater familias* drew the line at running an eight mile dairy route. While not working on the interminable castle production line, the children commuted to distant French and English schools. In their spare time, they all slept well. They slept, that is, when they had become accustomed to the droves of Mickey's Swiss cousins, and when they learned to ignore the mass fighter formations of mosquitos which zeroed in through the dewy summer and autumn evenings.

So far as we could discover, all the castle ghosts had been properly exorcised in Latin, and so no night wailing or clanking ever molested our late hours. Our police dog, however, once stopped stiffly in the doorway of the Africa room and backed away growling. We searched carefully among the skulls, drums, gourds, masks, tusks and jagged weapons, but found nothing. It may well have been a voodoo mask or some musky Congo river smell which once defied the taxidermist. In any event, we could never again coax the dog into our jungle salon.

In the adjacent manor house, called the *new* castle, a ghost was still alive. Whether its original haunt was the old *Schloss*, we never learned. At any rate, the place was spiritually patrolled. The presence was confirmed later after a party given by our Embassy colleagues. An old retainer, who came with the furniture, announced to the mistress the next morning that *Herr X*, the last legitimate owner, remarked that this particular party was one of the nicest he had ever seen. The owner, she said, had been hiding in the chandelier of the central hall and had enjoyed the entire evening. It was actually large enough, that chandelier, to have concealed a small owner, but the one in question had passed away more than sixty years earlier.

On many occasions, we wished heartily for a convocation of friendly ghosts. The community around the castle was rather typical of such provincial areas, but stolidly uncommunicative and frequently hostile. The peasants and small

tradesmen worked hard but had little to occupy their minds. There was an intimate mixture of families and an astonishing number with the same names. This homey relationship tightened up the native feeling against foreigners. And so it happened that the children, above all, living as aliens in a native castle, suffered frequently "the slings and arrows of outraged fortune." They would come home stained with tears, scratches or soul cuts, and we would try to apply the poultice of rationalization. But one could suspect a far deeper malice in the relationship between castle and community, dating back perhaps many generations, a bitter brew passed on from fathers to sons and laced with the venom that had flown from aristocratic tongues to the obsequious lowly born, and back again in silent curses.

Fortunately, the castle experience had its airier side to help ventilate the gloomier recesses of our memory. One day in Zurich, I noted in the offices of *Swissair* a photographic collection of famous old castles in the republic, including Thun, Romont, Chillon, Burgdorf, all among the finest in Europe. Among them, not so elegant but proud, was *our* castle. Viewing the pictures on that day was an American woman accompanied by her two daughters, teenagers both. When they came to the familiar photograph, a shudder of baronial pride seized me and, after a brief conversational exchange, I announced casually, "I *live* in this castle, by the way." One of the daughters gave me a long look, then pounced playfully on the bait and clawed back. "Oh yeah!" And waving her hand grandly towards the Castle of Chillon, said, "I live in *that* one!"

Confined as we were within the ramparts of that feudal edifice, in order to minimize the chances of unfriendly manifestations, we shall not forget its historic amenities. Christopher de Graffenried's portrait, which presumably still hangs in the master *Schlafzimmer*, was a handsome recollection of his times. The young *Landgraf*, hardly in his twenties, was impressive in his black armor, perrouque and sprays of lace under his chin. The portrait apparently antedated by about three decades his American adventures and reflected none of the cares and qualms which were to come his way later on.

The New Bern founder died the same year that Jefferson was born, and his tomb is still to be found in the old family church of Worb, a stone's throw from the walls behind which I manned his mansion those many months. But he did not die without leaving a son and namesake in historic Williamsburg, the first de Graffenried to settle permanently in the new world.

The present was always a little hard in that structure so stubbornly dedicated to the past. Yet many experiences, such as being startled by a musical *Bergere*, which appeared to be a mere chair, were always comic and good for anecdote. One cannot possibly imagine, without actual experience, the therapeutic charm of a music box which at the first touch of a tired posterior conjures up an 18th century minuet!

But the yearning need, which was never filled, was *home*. It was never possible to find a room or an alcove which could be sucessfully converted to the living present. No compromise could be made with the furniture, paintings, decor and atmosphere which held the castle in the rigid, webbed grip of centuries. But all these odds did not prevent one conquest. For if I assumed the charges of that noble fief not much more than a church mouse in wealth, I left it with all the aplomb, grandeur and spiritual nobility which can descend only to a *castle* mouse!

NAGASAKI *(from poge 25)*

ship but he also offered to become a Christian.

Only 18 years had passed from the time St. Francis Xavier had come ashore to Kagoshima to the time of Sumitada's conversion. The fishermen in the small village of Nagasaki looked south down the narrow bay one day in 1567 to catch sight of Portuguese sails. The first western traders and missionaries were moving in to settle on invitation from Sumitada, the "Christian" daimyo.

The Oura Church

From the fishing village the road leads back to the Nagasaki city limits past the old customs house. At the intersection you turn right and proceed along one of Nagasaki's most interesting streets near the old Polish settlement. Suddenly the white steeple of the Oura Church appears ahead of you. A well-known tourist attraction, the marker at the entrance tells you that this church, one of Japan's oldest, was built to commemorate the execution of 26 Christians under orders from Hideyoshi, the famous warrier general.

As you look up at the oil painting of the execution hanging inside the church, you wonder how this execution and the subsequent persecution of Christians could have come about since the leaders were initially receptive to Christianity. The answer to this question is mainly political and thought provoking in its historical implications. The Portuguese and Spanish who came first to Japan and who succeeded in converting large numbers of Japanese were strong and dedicated men. They reminded many of the daimyos of their own samurai. The daimyos however were not impressed so much by the teachings of Christianity as they were by the trade benefits which followed the priests. They were quick to encourage their followers to become Christians, realizing they had much to learn from the Western priests in the field of technology.

The reversal to this trend—a reversal which led to the widespread massacres on Kyushu—came about very quickly. For over 45 years the Christian priests had been allowed to carry forward their mission work. They had come to Kyushu in large numbers and a few had even been able to reach the large centers at Kyoto and Osaka. Hideyoshi was well aware of their activity. At first friendly and tolerant of their mission work, he was to become aware of Spain's political aspirations. Fear of these aspirations and their effect on Christian activity in Japan soon changed his feeling to one of hostility. The episode which led to this started behind Manila's Walled City where many Spanish priests had been envious of the activity of their Portuguese counterparts in Japan. In 1593 the Spanish governor in Manila sent a party of Franciscans to Hideyoshi as ambassadors. Warned by Hideyoshi not to preach, they ignored these instructions and were particularly overt in their activities in Nagasaki. Aware of Spain's methods of colonizing the Philippines and the manner in which priests had worked hand in glove with the colonial administrators, Hideyoshi feared they would attempt to do the same thing in Japan. On Hideyoshi's return from the Korean campaign, the Spaniards confirmed his fears. The Spanish galleon *San Felipe* bound for Acapulco from Manila ran aground off the coast of Tosa. Hideyoshi ordered the arrest of the Franciscan priests aboard the *San Felipe*. The priests flouted these orders and the Spanish pilot of the galleon boasted of Spain's extensive holdings, asserting that the priests were the vanguard for Spain's colonizing efforts. When Hideyoshi heard of this he marched the priests through the streets of Kyoto and finally had them executed at Nagasaki. These were the first martyrs.

From then on, the Christians in Japan lived on borrowed time. By 1616 the Spanish and Portuguese were intriguing against the Dutch and English while the latter powers were plotting to undermine the influence in Japan of the former. In 1620, for example, the Admiral in command of the British-Dutch combined fleet accused the Spanish and Portuguese of fifth column activity in Japan through their friars. The new Shogun, Hidetada, was deathly afraid of invasion and in 1624 declared that there would be no further intercourse with Spain. The end of the Christian influence finally came with the Shimabara Revolt of 1637 which was to close Japan to the West for over 250 years. Then twenty-thousand Japanese Christians rallying under the battle cries of "Jesus", "Maria" and "St. Iago" fought to the death against Shogunate forces at Shimabara. The Dutch, wanting to bring an end to Spanish and Portuguese competition in the Far East, dispatched one of their vessels to assist in the bombardment of the castle held by the Christian forces at Shimabara. At the end of the slaughter what little was left of mission activity in Nagasaki was forced to go underground.

The Oura Church reminds the tourist of this bloody period when Japan, fearing she could no longer make a distinction between foreign political and religious influence, at last closed her doors to the west.

Deshima

Down the hill and a few blocks away from the Oura Church lies what was once the reclaimed island of Deshima. Local government leaders in Nagasaki, proud of Deshima and the long contact which their city has had with the West, are rebuilding the Dutch factories at Deshima.

For over two hundred years Deshima, which is only about 3 blocks long and a block wide, was the only contact Japan had with the western world. By 1638 both the Portuguese and Spanish had been expulsed from Japan and the Dutch, because they divorced trade from religion and politics, were given a privileged position here.

All too little is known about life on Deshima during this long period. The Dutch traders came and went, operating out of their colonial headquarters at Batavia. Many Dutch merchants intermarried with the Japanese and it is interesting to note that the Japanese wives were often required by their own government to emigrate to Java. A Japanese historical marker near the site of the Dutch factories informs the Japanese tourists in 1955 that the foreigners were restricted to Deshima in order to prevent them from intermarrying and increasing their numbers in Japan.

Under the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan began a 250 year period of insularity. Shut out from the world, the Tokugawa brought a new unity to Japan and relative stability after a long period of feudal warfare. During the 19th century, however, the social structure began to change. Many of the Tokugawa samurai, due to economic difficulties, were selling their titles to members of the new, rising merchant class in Japan. This new merchant class was well aware of the existence of Deshima and the benefits which might accrue from increased trade with countries of the West. The old-line daimyos and samurai were not so sure of possible benefits from trade and remained contemptuous and distrustful of the west until one day during the summer of 1853 when Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry, anchored his "black ships" off Uraga to open Japan to the West.

The leaders of the strong outlying clans near Nagasaki, the Satsuma and the Choshu, were among the first to realize

that Japan's interests could best be served by responding to Western overtures for trade. The Satsuma were much impressed by the superior armaments of the west when British fleet units in 1863 bombarded the Satsuma castle at Kagoshima to retaliate for the murder of a British citizen near Yokohama. The Choshu leaders were next in line to be impressed when, in 1864, an allied fleet made up of British, Dutch, French and American units bombarded Choshu forts in order to put an end to their attacks on foreign shipping passing through the Shimonoseki Straits. Both clans knew that much needed to be learned from the West in order to keep Japan strong. It is significant that Satsuma leaders fathered Japan's Imperial Navy while Choshu leaders established what was to become the Imperial Army.

Commodore Perry's arrival off Uraga was well-timed. The Japanese were prepared to listen and Western influence was no longer to be restricted to the tiny island of Deshima in Nagasaki Bay.

The Bund

Only a few hundred yards beyond Deshima lies all that is now left of Nagasaki's Bund. The American and British Consulate buildings, both in a state of disrepair, are still there. The American Consulate had wide verandas overlooking the bay. Now the floors are rotting away and through the spacious shuttered windows you can see where the high roof has fallen in.

Yet half a century ago the Nagasaki Bund was one of the most active centers of Western commerce in the Far East. Merchants from Europe and America flocked to Nagasaki and thriving foreign settlements were built along the hills above the bay. Missionaries also arrived and their activities had an important effect, particularly in the field of education. One of the most famous of these early missionaries was Guido Herman Verbeck who had been sent out to Nagasaki by the Dutch Reformed Church of America. The school he established at Nagasaki produced some of the most influential leaders of the Meiji Era, and it was at their invitation some time later that he left Nagasaki for Tokyo to head the school which was to become the Tokyo Imperial University.

The turn of the century was a particularly interesting time for Nagasaki. Foreign residents had followed the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 with great interest for Japan was considered to be a new and friendly power eager to learn from the West and determined to keep peace in the Pacific. On the morning of May 2nd, 1898 the Nagasaki community awoke to read about the defeat of the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay by an American Admiral, George Dewey. For the next several years residents were to follow the campaigns of the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection. American troop transports en-route to Manila took on coal at Nagasaki. American cavalry units exercised their horses in and around Nagasaki during lay-overs and both the Japanese and local foreign residents took great interest in these "rough riders" with their polished boots and khaki campaign hats. A press item reports the arrival of the U. S. Army transport *Sheridan* bound for Manila: "The *Sheridan* has on board 6600 tons of hay for the use of the cavalry employed with the troops in the Philippines."

The Bund today brings back memories of a period when Western trade flourished in the Far Eastern area and a new Japan was adopting only those aspects of western learning she considered vital for her own interests. Like Shanghai and Hong Kong to the south, Nagasaki had its large and active foreign colony, its clubs and its annual regattas. But the Bund, unlike Deshima, was not to last for very long as a foreign trading center. The shift to oil from coal for marine fuel was one reason. Nagasaki had long been a coaling port and the *Nagasaki Press* warned prophetically in 1900 that the withdrawal of steamers would "inevitably deprive large numbers of people from their present means of livelihood." There were other reasons for the end of the Bund and the foreign colony and perhaps we shall find them on visiting the Goshinji Temple and the shipyards across the bay.

The Goshinji Temple

From the Bund you can travel around the northern end of the bay and in a matter of minutes arrive before the gate of the Goshinji Temple. The district here is known as Inasa or "the old Russian settlement." During the late 19th century and almost up to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Far Eastern Squadron came south from Vladivostok to anchor off Inasa during the winter months. The Russian officers had their winter residences here and many of them had Japanese wives or concubines. Some Japanese will tell you that Inasa was the "real Madame Butterfly" town and that "winter wives" would eagerly await the return of the fleet during the remaining months of the year. Russian signs were everywhere in the old Inasa and many of the Japanese here spoke Russian.

The Goshinji Temple with its lovely grounds attracted the Russians and much of their time was spent here during their Nagasaki winters. When Russian crewmen died in Nagasaki the head priest of Goshinji offered the temple grounds for their burial. These grounds were later to be used for the Russian Naval Cemetery.

Both the foreign community and the Japanese at Nagasaki followed the local press accounts of the progress of the Russian Baltic Fleet as it headed east from Libau. General Stoessel, in his compound at Goshinji, was also able to follow these accounts. On the morning of May 28, 1905 the *Press* reported that units of the Baltic Fleet had been sighted near Tsushima northwest of Nagasaki: "naval gunfire has been heard in the direction of Tsushima."

It was over almost as quickly as it had begun. In a matter of a few hours Admiral Togo had succeeded in crippling the Russian Fleet. The victory was a decisive one for the Japanese Imperial Navy and brought the war to an end. A few days after the naval battle the first Russian bodies were brought to Goshinji for burial. The Russian Admiral,

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Rozhestvenski, was interned at Goshinji with General Stoessel and the *Nagasaki Press* was "happy to report" that both men were "cheerfully spending their time in reading or conversation."

Stoessel and Rozhestvenski, from their Goshinji vantage point, were undoubtedly well-aware that night of the significance of Japan's victory over their forces. Japan, emerging as the strongest power in the Far East, had defeated a major western power in the area. They may not have been aware, however, of the significance of reports coming out of Russia. Riots had spread, stimulated by men with revolutionary objectives known as Bolshevists. And in the Kremlin that night, Czar Nicholas may not have been aware of the relationship these events would have to his own life. The lantern bearers winding through the streets he had known so well as a midshipman were celebrating a victory that night which would bring more unrest to Russia, new power to the Bolshevists and, ultimately, death to the Czar himself.

The Shipyards

Down the hill from the Goshinji Temple are the Mitsubishi Shipyards, largest in Japan. Today these yards, lying at the foot of the mountains to the north of the bay, are launching vessels built for foreign countries as well as for Japan. At the time of the Meiji Restoration, in the latter part of the 19th Century, however, there was little to work with. To remedy this, Dutch instructors in military science arrived at Nagasaki and assisted the Japanese in building an iron foundry at nearby Akunouru.

By 1910 ships built at the Nagasaki yards were transporting Japanese troops as occupying forces in Korea. During the First World War they were again transporting troops, this time to occupy the Shantung Peninsula in North China. And, following the end of the war, they were invaluable to Japan in developing her Pacific Mandated islands, Japan's price for entering the war on the Allied side against Germany. Mitsubishi, with the other great yards throughout Japan, had done a good deal by the thirties to make Japan a great commercial and naval power in the Pacific.

As the foreign residents watched the new ships come down the ways at Mitsubishi they also read the reports of unrest in China. A Chinese General, Chiang Kai-shek, was marching north on Peking from Canton and during the summer of 1928 Nagasaki began to receive refugees from Peking which had been put under martial law by its defender, Chang Tso-lin. Local Japanese involvement in Chinese affairs was becoming very apparent to Nagasaki residents and the sudden death of Chang Tso-lin on a train speeding for Mukden seemed rather mysterious. There were reports to the effect that the bomb which wrecked his coach had been placed on the tracks by Japanese Army personnel in Manchuria.

Foreign praise for Japan's industrial progress and her victory over Russian forces in 1904-05 was gradually being replaced by a sense of insecurity and some alarm. There was more and more talk of expansion and the "National Polity" of Japan. By 1931 it was apparent that the Japanese military was moving in very rapidly to take control of the government. Business in Nagasaki went on as usual although there were more restrictions on the foreign community now and the press was somewhat more hostile towards the foreign traders. Residents read the news about Japan's plans for China and traders from Shanghai coming to the nearby resort of Unzen in 1932 spoke pessimistically of conditions on the mainland. The Japanese battleship *Idzumo* was lying in the Whangpoo River off Shanghai's Bund and the bombing of the Chapei District by Japanese planes had been unusually severe. Reports from Manchuria indicated a Japanese take-over there. By 1937, with the Marco-Polo Bridge incident, many Nagasaki residents could see the handwriting on the wall. Meanwhile the Mitsubishi Shipyards continued to launch naval vessels and the entire area was marked off-limits to the foreign residents. There was by this time a high degree of sensitivity to foreign spying in the Nagasaki area and so-called "sensitive yards" were covered with matting. From the veranda of the foreign club residents were particularly interested in the largest shipyard where the matting extended far out into the bay.

During 1940 and 1941 most foreign residents had little interest in speculating on the size of the vessel being built behind the matting. Their main interest was to get home as soon as possible. Restrictions had become very severe, trade had fallen off and it was apparent that a Pacific war was not too far away.

One day in 1942 the matting from the shipyard was lifted away by heavy cranes and to a thunderous shout of "Banzai!" the world's largest battleship, the 80,000 ton *Musashi,* came grinding down the ways to churn up the waters of Nagasaki Bay. When the *Musashi* was launched, the Japanese were still riding on a wave of victory, well aware that they had come a long way since their defeat of the Russian Fleet off Tsushima. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had driven the Westerner from Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore and Batavia and V. *Mufashi* may well have been regarded as a symbol of the power Japan was mustering in 1942 in her attempt to establish her hegemony in the Orient. The superficial nature of this symbolism became apparent two years later when the *Mufashi* went down in the battle of Leyte Gulf, during the desperate attempt to stem the American drive on Tokyo.

From the Mitsubishi Shipyards it is only a short walk to the house on the side of the hill. The owner, a retired ship chandler who came out to Nagasaki from England almost sixty years ago, is one of the last of the oldtimers who stayed on after the war and to whom Nagasaki will always be home. He still recalls the ships which used to come in, the men who sailed them and the good times they used to have together. He remembers singing with the Russian sailors of the Winter Squadron and drinking vodka in the old Nagasaki Hotel. And he remembers the American soldiers returning from the Philippine campaigns as they gave forth with "It'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight" along Nagasaki's narrow streets. He refers to some of the old names, those who returned to their homelands, those killed in the war and others who lie buried in the foreign cemetery below. Suddenly his eyes grow very tired and he tells you of the day that "the bomb" fell on Nagasaki. It was a hot August morning in 1945 and he had been tending to his flower garden when the siren sounded. He recalls a sudden white flash in the valley below and a blast of hot air which knocked him to the ground. When he was on his feet again he discovered that the entire Urakami Valley and the sides of the hills were on fire.

You look at your watch and realize that it is getting late. On the way to the front gate the old ship chandler points with special pride to his flower garden. He informs you that he will have a new rose bed by the time you return. . . . "I like tending to the flowers. They never change you know."

of Malay parents were to apply for a visa or for admission into the United States he would be refused under Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as a native of the Asiatic Barred Zone, while a child born in Canada to a Japanese father and Canadian mother would be excludable under Section 13 (c) of the Immigration Act of 1924, as a person ineligible to citizenship—since he could not meet the prerequisite for citizenship of possession of "a preponderance of white or African blood."

The new law eliminated the geographical and racial grounds for exclusion—thus forming a logical foundation for the claim made by Senator McCarran, and other defenders of the legislation, that for the first time in the history of the United States no one will be excludable from admission, or ineligible to citizenship, on racial grounds.

11. Under the Nationality Act of 1940, a child born outside the United States to parents one of whom was a citizen and the other an alien, could be a citizen at birth only if the citizen parent had previously resided in the United States for ten years, *at least five of which had to be subsequent to the parent's sixteenth* birthday. This underlined requirement made it impossible for an American citizen under twenty-one years of age to transmit American citizenship to his or her child born abroad in these circumstances.

The new law retains the ten years of residence requirement, but says that the mandatory five year period may be subsequent to the fourteenth birthday. The change indicates that Congress has taken official recognition of the fact that American citizens between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one are potential parents, and that they should be accorded the same privileges of citizenship as those extended to their more mature brothers and sisters.

Subject to Unfavorable Criticism

The foregoing items are generally considered to be favorable. Let us look at some of the legal changes which have been the subjects of unfavorable criticism.

1. The establishment of sub-quotas has been attacked as an example of the law's racial discrimination. The Immigration Act of 1924 set up quotas for all the European countries. It also provided that a person born in any of the colonies or protectorates owned or administered by these quota countries should, for the purposes of the law, be considered as having been born in the mother country, and chargeable to the quota for that country. This meant that persons born in Bermuda or Malta were chargeable to the British quota, persons born in Martinique and Madagascar came under the French quota, etc. Since the quotas of most of the mother countries were small, and since few persons born to non-European parents in the colonies could qualify under other sections of law and regulation to obtain visas for the United States, the demand against European quotas from qualified colonial applicants was confined principally to the British quota, which has never been filled.

Large numbers of inhabitants of the British West Indies began to apply for and to receive visas under the British quota. Natives of Malta did the same. During the period from 1930 to 1946 immigration to the United States dwindled to a trickle, due first to wide-spread unemployment and later to wartime restrictions on travel of an unofficial nature. In 1946, however, with defense industries crying for labor of all kinds, and with transportation facilities once more available, the immigration flood began to flow once more. Each immigrant had to have a visa. Visas could be obtained by qualified applicants only from an American consular office. Administrative waiting lists were established in the lightly staffed consular offices in the Caribbean area, and prospective immigrants who had qualified in every respect under law and regulation to receive visas had to wait two or three years before the limited visa-issuing facilities of the consulates in question finally ground out their visas.

During the years 1950 to 1952 the word spread through the grapevine that a person who waited around Kingston, Nassau, Barbados or Port of Spain, hoping to get a visa in two or three years, was silly. All he had to do was to get out of the Caribbean area, and apply for his visa at an American consular office which was equipped with personnel and facilities to handle his case without delay. Hundreds, if not thousands of West Indians began applying in Canada, in the United Kingdom—anywhere they could get to, where the visa protection was better keyed to the law and regulations. Such was the situation during the final hearings on the McCarran-Walter Act.

The solution to the problem adopted by the committees, and thus made a part of the law as enacted, was to establish sub-quotas for all colonies and dependencies. Under the new law, each colony is given a sub-quota of 100 per year. This means, for example, that only one hundred persons born in Jamaica can obtain quota visas in any one year, no matter whether the applications are made in Kingston, Montreal, London, or anywhere else in the world.

2. Section 212 of the law lists thirty-one categories of aliens who are both ineligible to receive visas and inadmissable into the United States. Paragraph (24) of that Section is quoted to show what critics of the law mean when they claim that discriminatory features are frequently buried in a mass of technical phraseology which appears to the casual reader to be less sinister than confusing.

> "(24) Aliens (other than those aliens who are native-born citizens of countries enumerated in Section 101 (a) (27) (C) and aliens described in Section 101(a) (27) (B) who seek admission from foreign contiguous territory or adjacent islands, having arrived there on a vessel or aircraft of a nonsignatory line, or if signatory, a noncomplying transportation line under section 238(a) and who have not resided for at least two years subsequent to such arrival in such territory or adjacent islands."

What does all this mean? In general, it means that an alien born outside the Western Hemisphere may encounter considerable difficulty and delay in obtaining a visa in

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foreign contiguous territory or adjacent islands; and that if he has, by good fortune, obtained a visa from some American consular office outside that area, his route of travel to the United States, as well as his means of transportation, are limited by the law. The following instance will show what this section has meant to one individual.

A Polish-born alien has waited six years on a quota waiting list in Buenos Aires, and has finally received an immigrant visa with which to join relatives in the United States. She decides to spend a month with a brother who lives in Mexico City before proceeding to New York. At the end of the month she applies for admission, presenting her valid visa at El Paso. She is refused admission under the authority of the section quoted above, since she has been in Mexico less than two years.

Proponents of the new law say that this section is not new, having been in both the 1917 and 1924 Acts; that it is necessary on two grounds—1) to prevent irresponsible transportation companies from dumping potential immigrants into areas physically near the United States, and 2) to provide a cooling-off period of two years for those enterprising aliens who do manage to reach those areas, thus providing the visa-issuing consular officers with a legal buffer against the demands for immediate visa services which would otherwise constitute a serious strain upon the limited facilities of various consular offices.

It is true that the old laws had similar restrictions pertaining to the entry of aliens from foreign contiguous territory, but this term included only Canada, Mexico, and the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. The new law's additional phrase "and adjacent islands" extended this discriminatory perimeter to include Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica, the Windward and Leeward Islands, Trinidad, Martinique, "and other British, French, and Netherlands territory or possession in or bordering on the Caribbean Sea."

Why Technical Intricacies?

A natural question comes to the mind of the average person who is unfamiliar with the technical intricacies of this section of law. Why—if an alien has so much trouble if he arrives in one of these areas on a vessel or aircraft of a nonsignatory line—does he not avoid all this by traveling on a signatory line? A good question, with the joker in the answer that, except for Canada, none of the areas mentioned are served by any signatory line. Such a line is one which has signed a contract with the Attorney General giving it permission to disembark in Canada alien passengers destined to the United States. In return for this privilege the transportation line agrees to provide and maintain at its expense certain landing stations and inspection facilities, and to submit to and comply with all the requirements of the United States law which would apply were their alien passengers being landed at a port in the continental United States. Nearly every major steamship company and air line is signatory for the purpose of landing passengers in Canada. None is signatory for any of the other areas mentioned above. Consequently, no matter how an alien travels to any one of these areas—unless he enters it directly from the United States—he is bound by this section of law. He must either wait his two years, or purge himself of his legal ineligibility to enter the United States by moving to another country outside the proscribed perimeter. The Polish girl mentioned above chose the latter course. She flew back to Lima, Peru, and from there flew directly to New Orleans where she was admitted as a permanent resident immigrant without difficulty.

Pointing to this case, and many similar ones, critics ask what good purpose has been served by these long, expensive flights, other than to furnish business for foreign airlines. They also ask why this section of the law, the original purpose of which was nullified by the Immigration Act of 1924, has been carried over into the new law with a considerably broadened scope of applicability.

3. As noted previously, the fact that an alien was born in the Asiatic Barred Zone prevented him from entering the United States as an immigrant under the old laws. The removal of this statutory ground for exclusion was hailed as the new law's major contribution to the fight against racial discrimination. Critics, however, claim that any practical advantage gained through that action was nullified by the establishment of the Asia-Pacific triangle quota area, and by the discriminatory application of the newly-established quotas to persons of oriental ancestry, regardless of their places of birth. A good example of what they are complaining about is furnished by the following case history.

John was born in England. His parents were Indians. He never went to India, being educated and growing to manhood in England. During World War 2 he served in the Royal Air Force, and married an English girl. After the war he migrated to Canada with his wife, and while living in Toronto a son was born. A business opportunity caused them to decide to move to the United States. The family applied for visas as immigrants. Since both husband and wife were born in England, and the child in Canada, no quota complications were foreseen. The new law furnished these in abundance.

Ordinarily a person born in England is chargeable to the instantly-available British quota. But, since his parents were Indians, he was, under the new law, chargeable to the quota for India. How long would it take to get an Indian quota number? Fifteen or twenty years, at least. Then—a happy thought. They had heard that the new law provided that an immigrant spouse could be charged to the quota of the accompanying spouse. John's wife could get a British quota visa without delay—couldn't he take advantage of this liberal feature of the new law and obtain a British quota visa too? No. As the son of Indian parents he could come only under the quota for India. Could not the wife take her British quota visa, and after entering the United States alone, could she not petition for a preference for him under the Indian quota, as the husband of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence? Yes, she could do that. But the records showed that there were so many petitions on file for similar preference under the Indian quota that it would take seven or eight years before his turn would be reached, even after her petition for the preferential status should be approved. Fortunately, for their peace of mind, they decided not to leave Canada, and their applications for visas were withdrawn, before learning that the McCarran Act had placed their Canadian-born son under the quota for India.

Section 101(a) (27) (C) of the Act provides non-quota status to an immigrant "who was born in Canada, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, or an inde-

pendent country of Central or South America." There are no apparent limitations or qualifications of this statement —a person born in one of the areas named is a non-quota immigrant. Yet Section 202(a) (5) of the same law, without any reference to the section cited above, states that any alien who is attributable by as much as one-half of his ancestry to a people or peoples indigenous to the Asia-Pacific triangle is, with certain exceptions which do not include persons born in the areas mentioned above, chargeable to the quota of his ancestry. This means that John's son, born in Canada to a British mother and an Indian father, is chargeable to the quota for India.

President Truman summed up the situation effectively in his veto message of June 25, 1952, two days before the Congress passed the legislation without his approval. He wrote, "The only consequential change in the 1924 quota system which the bill would make is to extend a small quota to each of the countries of Asia. But most of the beneficial effects of this gesture are offset by other provisions of the bill. The countries of Asia are told in one breath that they shall have quotas for their nationals, and in the next, that the nationals of the other countries, if their ancestry is as much as 50 per cent Asian, shall be charged to these quotas. . . . These provisions are without justification."

4. Although our laws have, since 1873, prohibited the immigration of "prostitutes, or persons coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution," it was not until the McCarran-Walter Act became effective that prostitution became one of the unforgivable sins. In order to exclude from admission under the old law it was necessary for the government to prove that the applicant was, at the time of application, practicing prostitution, or planning to practice it in the United States. If, for example, a girl with a record of prostitution married an American citizen, and if there was nothing to indicate that she had continued to be a prostitute after marriage, or that she planned to resume the practice after eventual entry into the United States, there was no legal ground for refusing to issue a visa to her or to admit her upon arrival at a United States port of entry. The language of the new law, however, renders the same woman ineligible to receive a visa, and inadmissible at a port of entry. (Section 212(a) (12)—"Aliens who are prostitutes *or who have engaged in prostitution*"; italics supplied to indicate new restriction.)

5. The problem of mortgaged quotas was not only unsolved, but made still more complex, by the implementation of the McCarran-Walter Act. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and its subsequent amendments were passed in an attempt to relieve the plight of some of the more than a million displaced persons in Germany, Austria, and Italy. About 400,000 persons were admitted into the United States under the provisions of this law, one of which was that if the quota to which a displaced person was chargeable was oversubscribed, he could get a quota number just the same —such number to be charged against that quota in a future year. Up to 50 percent of any quota could thus be mortgaged for the purposes of the Displaced Persons Act, for as many years as was necessary, until the demand was satisfied. The expiration of the Act left more than twenty quotas mortgaged for many years to come — eight being obligated beyond the year 2000. Let's break this down and see what it means in an individual case.

Applicant A and his wife were both born in Latvia. In 1936 they moved to Paris where A established himself in business. In 1946 they decided to go to the United States, and applied at the American Embassy in Paris for the necessary visas. They were told that the quota for Latvia was only 236 per year, and that they would have to wait for three or four years before their names would be reached on the waiting list. They are still waiting! The Displaced Persons Act was responsible for the mortgaging of half of the Latvian quota for every year up to and including 2274! Thus only 118 Latvian quota numbers are available for normal immigration purposes each year for more than three hundred years. However, A and his wife were not discouraged. They were in no hurry to go. They had already waited a long time, and they thought that mortgaging one-half of the quota meant only that they would have to wait twice as long as originally anticipated. This was theoretically true prior to the effective date of the McCarran Act, Section 203 of which initiated a series of preferences under the quota.

There are four of these preference categories, and any one of the first three may exhaust the entire quota for the year. If, by chance, there are any quota numbers left after the demands of the first three preferences are filled, twenty-five percent of them go to a fourth preference group, and the remaining numbers may then be given to non-preference applicants like Mr. and Mrs. A. Unfortunately for them, however, there have been no non-preference numbers for about two years, and the A family still faces an indefinite waiting period, after having spent more than nine years on the waiting list.

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This situation was foreseen by various individuals and agencies at the time the McCarran Act was being considered by the Congressional Committees, and several different suggestions were made for its relief. Some witnesses advocated a statutory cancellation of the mortgage against future quotas. Others recommended that the four preference categories just mentioned be made into non-quota categories, thus leaving the unmortgaged half of the quotas available for non-preference aliens. These suggestions were, however, unheeded, and both the mortgaged quotas and the preference provisions became parts of the new law. Other quotas under which a non-preference registrant faces the same hopeless situation are China, Egypt, Estonia, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Rumania, Spain, Syria, Turkey, and, to a slightly lesser extent, Austria, Bulgaria, Danzig, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Free Territory of Trieste, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia.

6. One of the features of the Act which has received criticism from legal experts and laymen alike is the almost unlimited discretionary authority placed in the hands of the Attorney General of the United States through its provisions. The criticism on this point was expressed in advance of the enactment of the law by President Truman, who stated in his Veto Message of June 25, 1952, "Some of these provisions would empower the Attorney General to deport any alien who has engaged or has had purpose to engage in activities 'prejudicial to the public interest' or 'subversive to the national security.' No standards or definitions are provided to guide discretion in the exercise of powers so sweeping. To punish undefined 'activities' departs from traditional American insistence on established standards of guilt. To punish an undefined 'purpose' is thought control. These provisions are worse than the infamous Alien Act of 1798, passed in a time of national fear and distrust of foreigners, which give the President power to deport any alien deemed 'dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.' Such powers are inconsistent with our democratic ideals. Conferring powers like that upon the Attorney General is unfair to him as well as to our alien residents. . . . ."

7. The effects of the McCarran Act on American citizens who choose to live or work outside the United States at times have been attacked as restrictive and discriminatory. One of the changes brought about by the new law relates to the period of time which an American citizen by naturalization may remain outside the United States without forfeiting his citizenship. The old law provided that, with certain exceptions, a naturalized citizen would generally lose his nationality by residing continuously for three years in the country of his birth, or former nationality, or by residing "continuously for five years in any other foreign state." The phraseology of this law made it possible for a naturalized citizen to remain abroad indefinitely without losing his citizenship, provided he changed his residence occasionally. For example, a man born in France could live in France for two years and eleven months, and then move to Belgium where he could live for four years and eleven months, after which he could return to France and repeat the process as many times as he wanted to. The McCarran Act put a stop to this procedure.

With certain exceptions, based on employment by American interests, health, veteran's status, and similar considerations, the new law provided generally that a naturalized citizen would lose American nationality through continuous residence for three years in the country of his birth or former nationality, or through an aggregate of five years continuous residence in any other foreign state or states. The new law also provided that nationality would be lost under this foreign residence section, "whether such residence commenced before or after the effective date of this Act." This retroactive effect of the Act caused the immediate expatriation of many naturalized citizens who had been living abroad, and who were unable to return to the United States before the effective date.

8. Another Section of the law—349(a) (4)—has been attacked as being both discriminatory and unconstitutional. This provides that a national of the United States whether by birth or naturalization shall lose his nationality by "accepting, serving in, or performing the duties of any office, post, or employment under the government of a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof, if he has or acquires the nationality of such foreign state." This sounds innocuous, but the following case history will show how it worked out in an individual case.

A daughter was born to Swiss parents residing in the United States. Since Swiss law provides that children of Swiss parentage are Swiss nationals, regardless of the place of birth, this girl acquired both Swiss and American nationality at birth. After being educated in the United States she went to Switzerland at the age of thirty, to visit her parents' old home and relatives. While there she was offered employment in a hospital in Zurich. She accepted this position early in 1952, after checking with American consular authorities to make sure that such employment would not affect her citizenship status, even though the hospital was operated by a branch of the Swiss government. Under the old law a dual national would lose his American citizenship through employment by a foreign government only if, 1) the position required the taking of an oath of allegiance to the employing government, or 2) if the position which the employee was to fill was one limited to nationals of the employing government. Since no oath of allegiance was required from any employee of the hospital, and since there were no nationalistic limitations to the position which she was to fill, she was told that this employment would not in any way affect her citizenship status.

She was working in the hospital on the effective date of the McCarran Act, of which she had had no advance notice. Early in 1953, when applying for an extension of her American passport, she was informed that the passport could not be extended because she was no longer an American citizen, having lost her citizenship under Section 349(a) (4) of the new law the moment it became effective on December 24, 1952. The girl was expatriated automatically on the effective date of the Act and found that she was without recourse in the matter. There was no one to whom she could appeal, for the enforcing agency — the Department of State — has no discretion in its application of this part of the law.

It is impossible to weigh the favorable features of the Act against the unfavorable ones, and, by doing so, determine whether the law is predominantly either good or bad, since the number of persons favorably affected by one section never corresponds to the number unfavorably affected by another. As stated earlier one can best judge the over-all

merits and deficiencies of the law through an appraisal of the degree of its success or failure in achieving the purposes for which it was drafted. The purpose of codifying and integrating all immigration and nationality laws within the framework of one statute was accomplished. The purpose of revoking obsolete laws was achieved. The purposes of removing racial bars to naturalization and immigration and of elimination of discrimination between sexes with respect to immigration have been fulfilled. With these major accomplishments listed on the credit side one may well ask what more can be expected from one piece of legislation. And it is on this point alone — expectation — that the answer depends.

Defenders of the law point to these accomplishments and improvements, and state that the favorable results obtained exceed their original expectations. They concede that minor amendments are desirable to eliminate injustice and discrimination in certain individual cases, but they insist that the national origins quota system established in 1924 be perpetuated as a necessary foundation for American immigration policy. Critics, however, claim that the expectations, as well as the hopes and prayers of millions of people all over the world, have been sadly crushed by the McCarran Act, principally because it *had* perpetuated this quota system which they consider to be antiquated, unrealistic, and cruelly discriminatory against certain races, religions, and countries.

And thus we arrive at the fundamental issue — that of a national immigration policy. Since 1924 our policy has been based on the national origins quota system. From 1924 to 1929 the quota for any country was 2 per cent of the number of foreign born persons of such nationality who were residing in continental United States according to the census of 1890. In 1929 the factors in the formula were changed, resulting in quotas being set by mathematical proportion. The quota for any country bore the same relation to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants of the United States having that national origin bore to the total number of the inhabitants of the United States, according to the census of 1920. The minimum annual quota for any country was 100. The total of the quotas amounted annually to 154,277, until January 1, 1953, when the provisions of the McCarran Act increased them slightly to 154,657.

The national origins system has been under attack from its inception on the grounds that it was devised to cut down immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, on the theory that Nordic peoples are more easily assimilable into the American population than the people most adversely affected by quota restrictions. It has been attacked on religious grounds as discriminating both against the Catholics of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the Jews of Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. It is the common belief of objective analysts that most of the uproar over the McCarran Act was not caused so much by anything the law did, as by what it did not do — create and implement a new and less restrictive immigration policy, permitting an up-to-date approach to modern migration problems. The McCarran Act, through the refusal of its framers and sponsors to depart from the traditional policy of quota restriction, thus became a target for criticism and abuse, not only from those adversely affected by any of its provisions, but also from those chronic and articulate opponents of the national origins system.

An objective appraisal of the current situation was furnished by Mr. Cahell Phillips, who wrote in the *New York Times* of April 7, 1955, "Senator Herbert Lehman and Representative Celler, both New York Democrats, joined forces a year and a half ago to supplant the McCarran-Walter Act with an omnibus immigration bill of their own. It differs from the present act in these principal ways: (1) abolition of the national origins basis for establishing quotas; (2) increase of the maximum annual quota to 250,000; (3) the transferability of unused quotas, and (4) amelioration of the security and eligibility requirements. They have reintroduced this measure in both the House and Senate in the present session. However, there is little evident intention in either chamber to take it up at this session. This seeming apathy, however, is deceptive: it is less an absence of interest than an urge not to stir the issue's partisans. On the one hand is the natural urge of former immigrants (or their descendants) to share the blessings of 'the American dream' with their kinsmen abroad. Similarly, people who style themselves liberals, irrespective of their national origins, believe that the opportunities of American citizenship ought not to be denied others who sincerely want it. This theme figures strongly in the dogma of most of the so-called nationalist and patriotic societies. Opposed to freer immigration are the conservatives generally, and particularly those whose immigrant status is many generations old. They fear not only the 'mongrelizing' influence of heavy immigration on the 'American bloodstream' but also the influence of 'foreign ideologies' on our political thought. Thus the issue is a highly emotional one that cuts across traditional party lines. While both parties are publicly committed to easing the strictures of the present immigration law, it is a task from which both leaderships shrink."

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Robert P. Skinner, who contributed "An Epiphany in Provence" from his recollection of a Christmas season of fifty years ago, entered the Service as Consul of Marseille in 1897. He retired from the Service in 1936, after being Ambassador to Turkey for several years. Mr. Skinner now lives in Belfast, Maine.

Fred M. Wren, who wrote the intelligent summary of the McCarran-Walter Act which begins on page 20, spent 22 years in the Immigration Service before he was appointed visa officer at Halifax in 1946. Since then he has served in Montreal and Zurich. In 1948, 1949, and 1950 he had several details in the Visa Office in Washington, helping to write the visa regulations, and assisting in the preparation of a Visa Manual and a Visa Handbook for the use of visa officers in the field.

Stuart L. Hannon found that "A Castle's Not a Home" when he was stationed in Bern as PAO. Previously assigned to Stuttgart, he is now with Radio Free Europe in New York. An address which Mr. Hannon made in Bern, "Portrait of Lincoln," appeared as an article in the February, 1954 issue of the JOURNAL.

Clifton Forster, who has just returned to Fukuoka for a second tour of duty as PAO, became assistant public affairs officer at Davao in 1949. After studying Japanese language and area at Yale in 1953, he served at Kobe. Mr. Forster has previously contributed two articles to the JOURNAL.

GENERAL MEETING *(from 3rd Cover)*

hospitalized in Baltimore.

The Committee on Retired Foreign Service Personnel worked closely with DACOR on problems of retired officers. The Association joined with DACOR in supporting the Department's efforts on behalf of the pending legislation to adjust the annuities of retired Foreign Service Officers.

The Foreign Service League has been incorporated in the District of Columbia by Ambassadors Joseph C. Grew and Arthur B. Lane and a group of their colleagues in DACOR. Its purpose is to publicize through the country the objectives and ideals of the Foreign Service and to assist the Department in its FSO recruiting program.

In conclusion, I want to pay tribute publicly to the splendid work of the staff of the Association and the JOURNAL.

Approval of Reports

It was moved, seconded and unanimously approved that the meeting accept the report of the Chairman of the Board and the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, and express its appreciation to the Board of Directors and to the members of the various committees for their work on behalf of the Association.

Change in By-Laws

The meeting unanimously approved an amendment to Section VII of the By-Laws to provide that the words "The Legal Adviser" be added to the list of honorary Vice Presidents of the Association.

Other Business

Mr. Frederick W. Hunt referred to the chairman's reference to the Personal Purchases activity and questioned the desirability of the Association's continuing to handle the processing of automobile orders for personnel of the Department and of other agencies, assigned overseas, who are members of the Association. He pointed out that some of the expansion in membership is due to the automobile purchases, but wondered if we could continue to take care of the added work involved. Mr. Hunt suggested that the Personal Purchases Committee study the problem with respect to the scope of the products covered by the Committee's activities.

Mr. Horsey explained that the increase of about 100 in sales of automobiles, as compared to the year before, indicated that a sizeable number of the new members must have been interested in the Association rather than merely in buying a car. He also noted that the income from the additional dues more than compensated for the additional work in handling the purchase of cars.

Purchase of New Property

Mr. George Butler referred to the question of new quarters included in the chairman's report and said that he felt the Association should consider the question of a long term program of Association activities. He pointed out that the Board felt that it was not in a position to make a major decision involving a substantial expenditure of funds without obtaining a broader expression of opinion. He stressed the fact that real estate values have increased considerably and that if an expansion program is to be undertaken, some basic decision should be made very soon.

Mr. Loy Henderson said that for many years there had been discussion of a Foreign Service Club of a larger scale than the present operation. He felt that the time had come to give this matter serious consideration. He felt that there were a number of retired Foreign Service Officers who wish to retain their connection with the Service and who would welcome and support such a project.

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously approved that the new Board of Directors be requested to examine all aspects of a project for new and enlarged quarters for offices and for Club purposes and to present specific proposals to the membership.

The meeting adjourned at 5:35 p.m.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, published monthly at Washington, D. C. for October, 1955

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher: The American Foreign Service Association, 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Editor, Joseph Palmer, 2nd, Chairman, Journal Editorial Board, 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Managing editor: Lois Perry Jones, 1908 G St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Business manager: George H. Butler, 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

2. The owner is: The American Foreign Service Association (a corporation not organized for profit and in which no capital stock is required or is to be issued), 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. President, Loy W. Henderson, 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.; Chairman, Board of Directors: Henry S. Villard, 1908 G St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

GEORGE H. BUTLER,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of October, 1955.

M. J. HILLEMAN.
Notary Public, D. C.
(My commission expires 2/29/60)

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS

MINUTES OF THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 6, 1955

Pursuant to Section XIV of the By-laws of the American Foreign Service Association, a General Meeting of the Active members of the Association was held at the New State auditorium at 5:00 p.m. on October 6, 1955.

The chairman of the Board of Directors, Outerbridge Horsey, presided.

The minutes of the General Meeting of September 20, 1954 were approved.

Report of the Chairman of the Board of Directors

Association activities during the past year have continued much as in the past. Total membership stands at 4092, an increase of 44% over the previous year. In the Active membership category, the increase flows largely from the increase in size of the Foreign Service Officer corps. The Association welcomed each individual Wristonee into the Foreign Service on his appointment as a Foreign Service Officer, and has sought to enroll those who are not yet members of the Association, with considerable success. In the Associate membership category, an increase of about 50%, from 789 to 1372, resulted partly because of interest in the Association's broader purposes and partly from the material benefits offered to Associate members through the operations of the Personal Purchases Committee.

If the membership continues to increase, and I expect that it will for the next couple of years at least, there will be real question as to whether the Association's present facilities, both for office space and recreational purposes, are adequate. As you know, the Protective Association is the owner of the building at 1908 G Street and both the JOURNAL and our Association itself rents from the Protective Association the space which we occupy. I think that, during the next year, the Board of Directors will want to consider this question of our facilities very carefully. I have no doubt that they will be glad to receive comments and suggestions from officers here in Washington or in the field.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is perhaps our most important activity and it has continued to maintain its previous high standards. Its circulation climbed above the long-sought goal of 5000, and now stands at 5500.

The JOURNAL Essay contest was the major promotional effort of the year. From its inception to June 30, 1955, the Contest Fund received contributions of $6,276.80 and disbursed $1,549.98. The major expense involved in promoting the Contest was the printing and distributing of brochures and publicity material.

The past year was the first year of the implementation of the report of the Secretary's Public Committee on Personnel. This fact was reflected in the JOURNAL editorials, such as "Amendments to the Foreign Service Act," "The New Foreign Service Examination," etc. Articles of professional interest published in the JOURNAL covered such subjects as management of a small mission, economic reporting, security procedures, placement and recruiting problems, the NATO Defense college, the progress of the Committee's Recommendations, etc.

On the Editorial Board of the JOURNAL, Ray L. Thurston resigned as Chairman to go to the field, as did Richard A. Poole and Lee E. Metcalf. Joseph Palmer 2nd replaced Mr. Thurston as chairman, and other vacancies on the Board were filled by Edward P. Montgomery, Niles W. Bond, and Joseph E. Wagner. No changes were made on the JOURNAL staff, with Mrs. Lois Perry Jones remaining as Managing Editor, Mr. George H. Butler as Business Manager, and Mrs. Jane Fishburne as Editorial Assistant and Circulation Manager.

As to the Committee on Education, a total of about $8000, the largest amount to date, was awarded in scholarships for the 1955/56 academic year to 18 of the 33 applicants. The awards were announced in the September issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The sum was larger due to the establishment of two new scholarships, the Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship and the Loy W. Henderson Scholarship, established by the Honorable William Benton, and due to the amount of $1806.02, representing the excess of Association receipts over expenditures for fiscal 1953-54, made available upon the decision of the Board of Directors of the Association.

A new annual scholarship at St. Andrew's Preparatory School at Middletown, Delaware, the candidates to be selected by the school, was established by an anonymous donor. The JOURNAL carried an editorial on the scholarship program in its June issue to stimulate interest in the program. Consideration is being given to a wider appeal for scholarship funds.

A collection of publications containing information on available scholarships at all schools was established in the offices of the Association. Recommendations were made, which the Board of Directors has under consideration, for a solicitation of funds for scholarships, addressed to all subscribers of the JOURNAL.

Thanks again to the generosity of Mr. Benton, 26 additional sets of the Junior Encyclopaedia Britannica are being sent, through arrangements being made by the Committee, to schools abroad attended by Foreign Service children.

The important work of the Committee on Personal Purchases increased greatly in volume and continued to be as effective and useful as in the past. Contacts with American manufacturers supplying items of interest to the Foreign Service at advantageous prices have been increased and brought up to date, and their material supplied to Foreign Service posts. No direct purchases are made for members, with the exception of the processing of automobile orders.

The Entertainment and Club Committees were active as usual in arranging a very successful series of monthly luncheons and other social activities.

The Committee on Welfare has been active in visiting hospitalized personnel of the Foreign Service in and around Washington. The Foreign Service Wives group also established a committee this year to visit women of the Service

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