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JOURNAL

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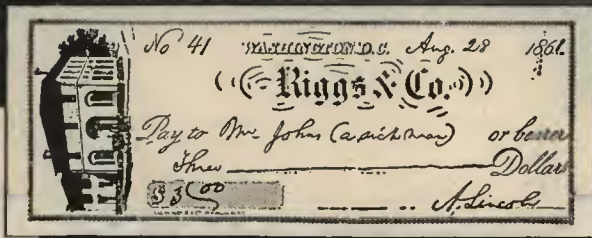
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The Editors will consider all articles submitted. If accepted, the author will be paid a minimum of one cent a word on acceptance. Photographs accompanying articles will, if accepted, be purchased at one dollar each. Five dollars is paid for cover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

Copyright, 1956, by the American Foreign Service Association.

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

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

published monthly by

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

FEBRUARY, 1956 Volume 33, Number 2

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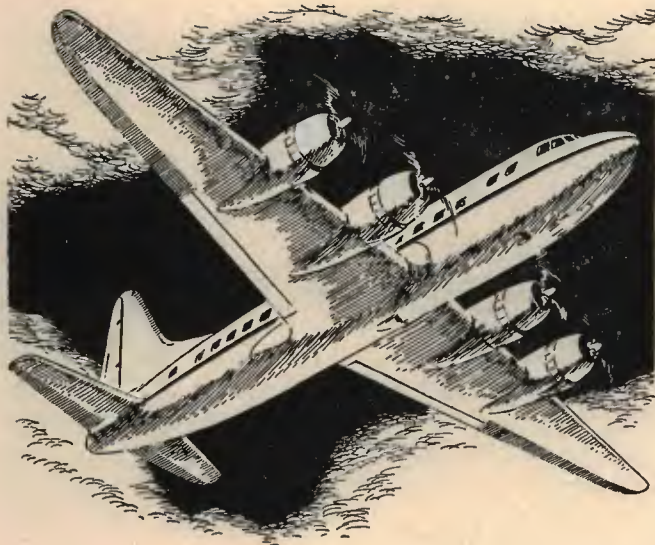
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COVER PHOTO: An Otavalo Indian woman in Ecuador. Photo Courtesy Hamilton Wright, N.Y.C.

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Letters to the Editors

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

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New York City

To the Editors,
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

With the tragic death of John Peurifoy, his country and his many friends suffered a grievous loss. To commemorate such a devoted life of public service, The John E. Peurifoy Memorial Fund has been incorporated to receive contributions and award scholarships to the students of the three countries where he served as Ambassador. The students, selected on a basis of merit and need, will study at American universities. They will be asked to signify an intention to give their careers to public service in their own countries.

We are advised by counsel that this Fund is one whose contributions will be considered tax exempt. All contributions should be addressed: The John E. Peurifoy Memorial Fund, 2 Wall Street, New York 5, N. Y.

Knowing of the great esteem in which Mr. Peurifoy was held, I thought you might want to publish this letter as an invitation to his many friends in the Foreign Service to join this memorial effort.

William J. Donovan

INCREASED FUNCTIONS DEMAND A LARGER SERVICE

The National War College

To the Editors
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

While I find much to agree with in various letters bemoaning the loss of certain values in the Foreign Service (the latest being that of Mr. Mayer in your December issue), I must confess that the recurrence of the theme that there are too many of us leaves me a little cold. In fact, it gives me cold chills.

The trouble with most comments both for and against increases in the size of the Service is that they completely neglect to define the scope of the job to be done. I found no clear statement on this subject, for instance, in the Wriston committee report. I infer from Mr. Mayer's letter that he and his British friend had in mind chiefly the function of maintaining contacts with the Foreign Offices and heads of government in various national capitals—certainly an important and technically difficult task. Today, however, foreign policy is carried out, or confused, also by contacts with ministries of commerce, finance, industry, interior, education, etc., with labor unions, with banks and newspapers and schools, and with the rank and file of populations. In many foreign countries today the impact of our military personnel overshadows conventional diplomatic contacts.

Furthermore, we have a job of persuasion or negotiation to do with other Americans if we are to have a consistent and effective foreign policy.

(Continued on page 6)

From San Juan to Solok, RCA helps people to help-themselves



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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 4)

Now I agree that we have sometimes suffered from bureaucratic elephantiasis abroad. The higher diplomatic ranks have been somewhat depreciated by proliferation. The heritage of Occupation has resulted in some substitution of empires and mimeograph machines for subtle intelligence. Nonetheless, most of the new activities are a part of American foreign policy in the post war era and they are not going to dry up over night.

For most of my service abroad, I have been struck by one recurrent problem,—lack of sufficient, trained regular Foreign Service Officers to form even a skeleton organization. In Washington one finds that foreign policy is made or influenced in a score of agencies besides the State Department, most of them without any Foreign Service Officers at all. The fact that even the cadres of most of the post war organizations in the foreign relations field were not drawn from Foreign Service Officers can be explained in several ways, but, basically, it was because there weren't enough of them.

It seems to me that the Foreign Service was, and to some extent still is, faced with a choice between staying small and staking out its sphere of influence within the confines of the Foreign Ministries, or building up numbers and skills enough at least to coordinate all the other points of contact and thus really administer our foreign relations. I, for one, came into the Service with the latter function in mind.

H. G. Torbert, Jr.

CAREER FSO'S AS CHIEFS

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New York 20, N. Y.

To the Editors,

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

For many years I have been a reader of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, though I have never in any way been connected with our Government.

Having been in charge of the foreign operations of a large oil company for over thirty years, I have traveled extensively in foreign countries, and thus have had numerous occasions to witness the operations of our Government's personnel abroad.

From these observations I have drawn the very firm conclusion that the career men, or women, of our foreign service have often been by-passed through purely political appointments by personnel who were wholly unqualified for their respective positions.

It is my definite belief that if we are to be successful in our foreign service, we must place our career people in the top positions.

From the above, you can see I was pleased to read your editorial in the October issue of your JOURNAL. From this article it would appear that, at last, proper consideration is to be given to our Government's foreign career personnel.

From my view, those of our foreign service personnel whom I have learned to know, are real Americans and not a part of any political group. This in my opinion is as it should be, and I am pleased to salute our foreign service career personnel.

L. V. Stanford

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COURIER FRANK P. IRWIN TO RECEIVE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

Diplomatic Courier Frank P. Irwin, who was seriously injured when his plane crashed in the outskirts of Vienna last October, will receive the Distinguished Service Award, according to a letter sent to Mr. Irwin by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

The Award, given for his devotion to duty in protecting a classified pouch regardless of personal safety and welfare, is the highest honor the Department of State can bestow.

An account of the accident follows:

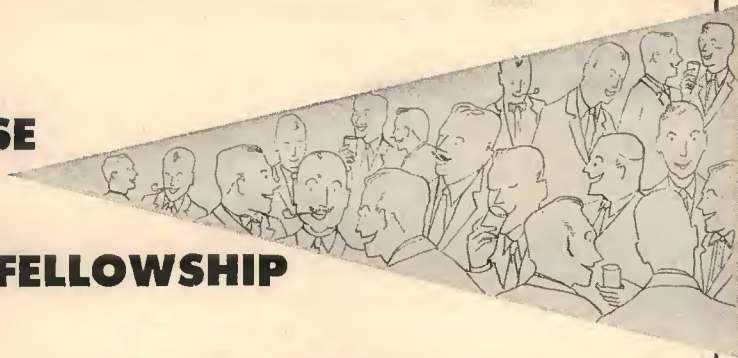
"Courier Irwin had two highly classified courier pouches with him, one for delivery to Vienna and the other to Frankfort. In the confusion following the crash, he was unable to locate the Frankfort pouch but retained the Vienna pouch with him at all times. He extricated himself from the debris with great difficulty, but finally managed to do so and climbed out on the wing of the aircraft. He later advised his supervisor that he turned to go back into the plane for the Frankfort pouch but was prevented from doing so by a wall of fire between him and the cabin. In his badly injured condition he was able only to proceed to the end of the wing where he dropped to the ground and rolled downslope. He was helped from this point by a fellow American passenger, who pulled him farther away from the aircraft. This assistance probably saved Courier Irwin from greater injury at the time of the second, and greater explosion which consumed the aircraft shortly thereafter.

"Courier Irwin was taken to the nearest hospital at Klosterneuburg where he still remains [November 15] with very serious injuries and painful second and third degree burns. An American Naval Captain who took Courier Irwin to the hospital identified himself and attempted to relieve him of the Vienna pouch he was carrying, to permit the doctors to examine him. The official Security Report prepared by W. Angie Smith, III, Security Officer, American Embassy, Vienna, reports 'At approximately 17:10 the Security Office received a call from a person speaking German who stated that they had an American Courier who had to be operated on immediately, but he refused to let them touch him until he turned over his pouch to this officer. This was the first official word the embassy had of the accident. Immediately, this officer, accompanied by the Acting Communications Branch Chief, proceeded to the hospital at Klosterneuburg. On arrival I was met by a Captain Oscar Dodson, U.S.N., MAAG Mission, American Embassy, Athens. Captain Dodson had in his possession pouch #H-952. He told me that he had been on tour in the Vienna Woods and had seen the crash. He and his wife proceeded to the crash to assist and had come to the hospital with Courier Irwin, to be with him. He also stated that Irwin refused to allow anyone to touch him until he had released his pouch. Captain Dodson stated, however, that he finally convinced Irwin that he was a Naval Officer by showing him his identification and Irwin agreed to Captain Dodson's holding the pouch. After proper identification Captain Dodson released the pouch to this officer.'

Captain Dodson, who reported Mr. Irwin's heroism to the Chief of Naval Operations, stated in his report that, although he was in intense pain and doctors had informed

(Continued on page 10)

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COURIER FRANK IRWIN (from page 8)

him that he was risking his life in refusing immediate medical aid, Mr. Irwin 'made every human effort to personally secure his package until Embassy security officials arrived.' It was only after he felt that he was losing consciousness that Mr. Irwin turned the pouch over to Captain Dodson.

Captain Dodson concluded his report by saying that in his twenty-eight years of naval service, including participation in thirteen major Pacific engagements in World War II, he had not witnessed a more striking example of loyalty and devotion to duty than in the conduct of Mr. Frank Irwin following the plane crash.

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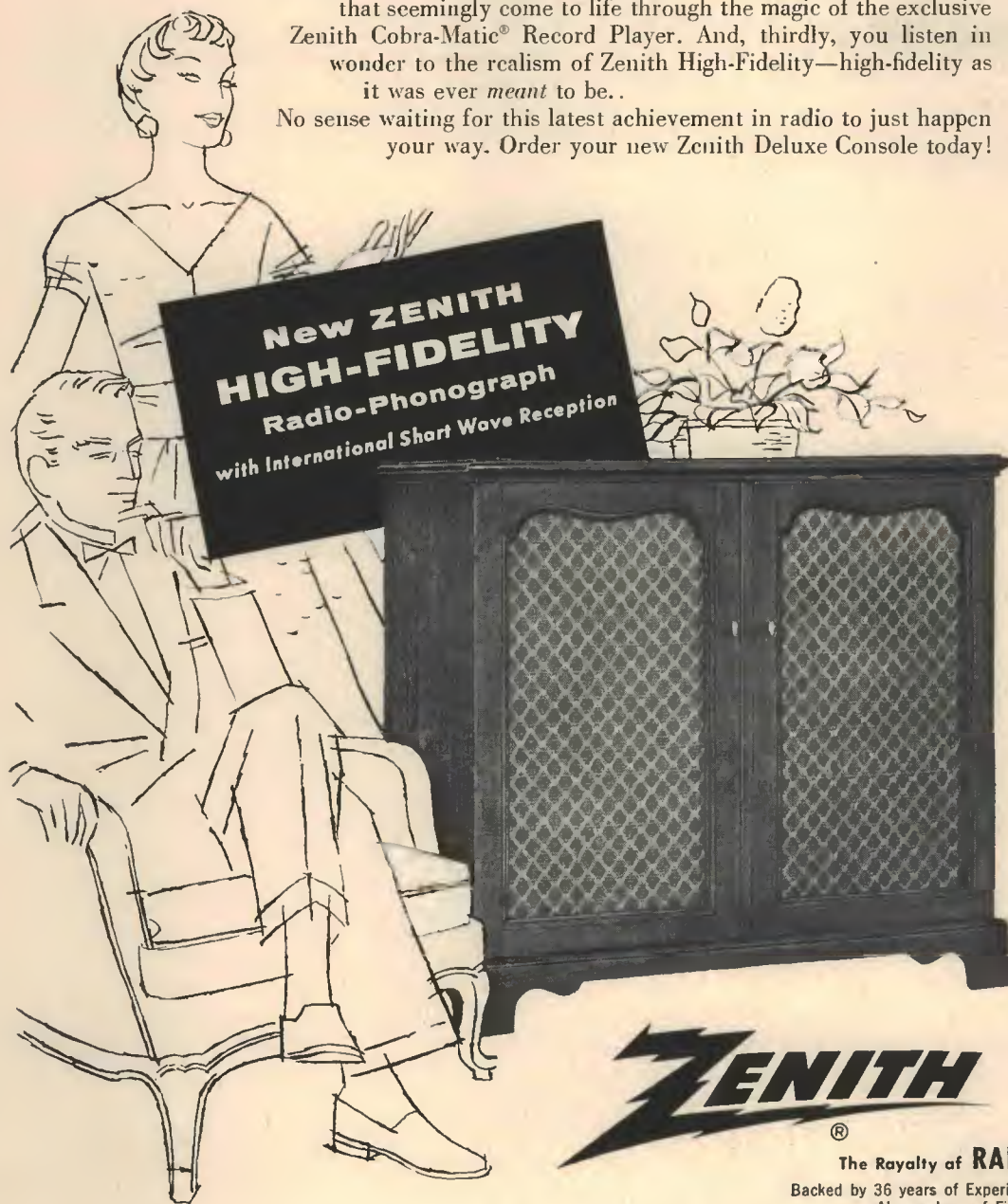
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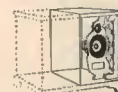
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The following staff corps promotions were announced recently:

From Class 12 to Class 11

Anderson, Borje S.	Jung, Lucile M.
Bonaccorso, Josephine M.	Marnier, Margaret E.
Bowman, David D.	Mazer, Marianne F.
Brazil, Mary J.	Metzler, Kathleen R.
Brower, Phyllis A.	Nolan, Jean
Buxton, Mary M.	Roscoe, Barbara F.
Comber, Patricia A.	Sales, Mariano
Germano, Iolanda P.	Tagge, Leona M.
Hanscom, Olive F.	Wemhoff, Margaret A.
Hofmann, John R.	

From Class 13 to Class 12

Bolton, Roselle B.	Harp, Helen N.
Brown, Mary P.	Jacobs, Ben
Cheslick, Virginia	Loma, Catherine R.
Domirjian, Helen M.	Maxwell, Barbara H.
Donahue, William H.	Moore, Donna J.
Drozdz, Eleanor A.	McHugh, Anne Marie
Eastwood, Lelah J.	Nadeau, Julian E.
Forgione, Francis A.	Niemicc, Violet M.
Gallagher, Janet A.	Roberts, Florence
Giblin, Mildred O.	Thomas, Ruth C.
Grevencamp, William R.	Turbeville, Jamie W.
Hadley, Marian L.	Weyres, Virginia A.

AMONG OUR CONTRIBUTORS

James J. Blake wrote "The Cornerstone of Commercial Policy" as a result of almost three years' work on general commercial policy problems in the Trade Agreements and Treaties division. Appointed to the Foreign Service following three years in the Army, Mr. Blake served in Brussels from 1947 to 1953, returning in April of that year to TAD.

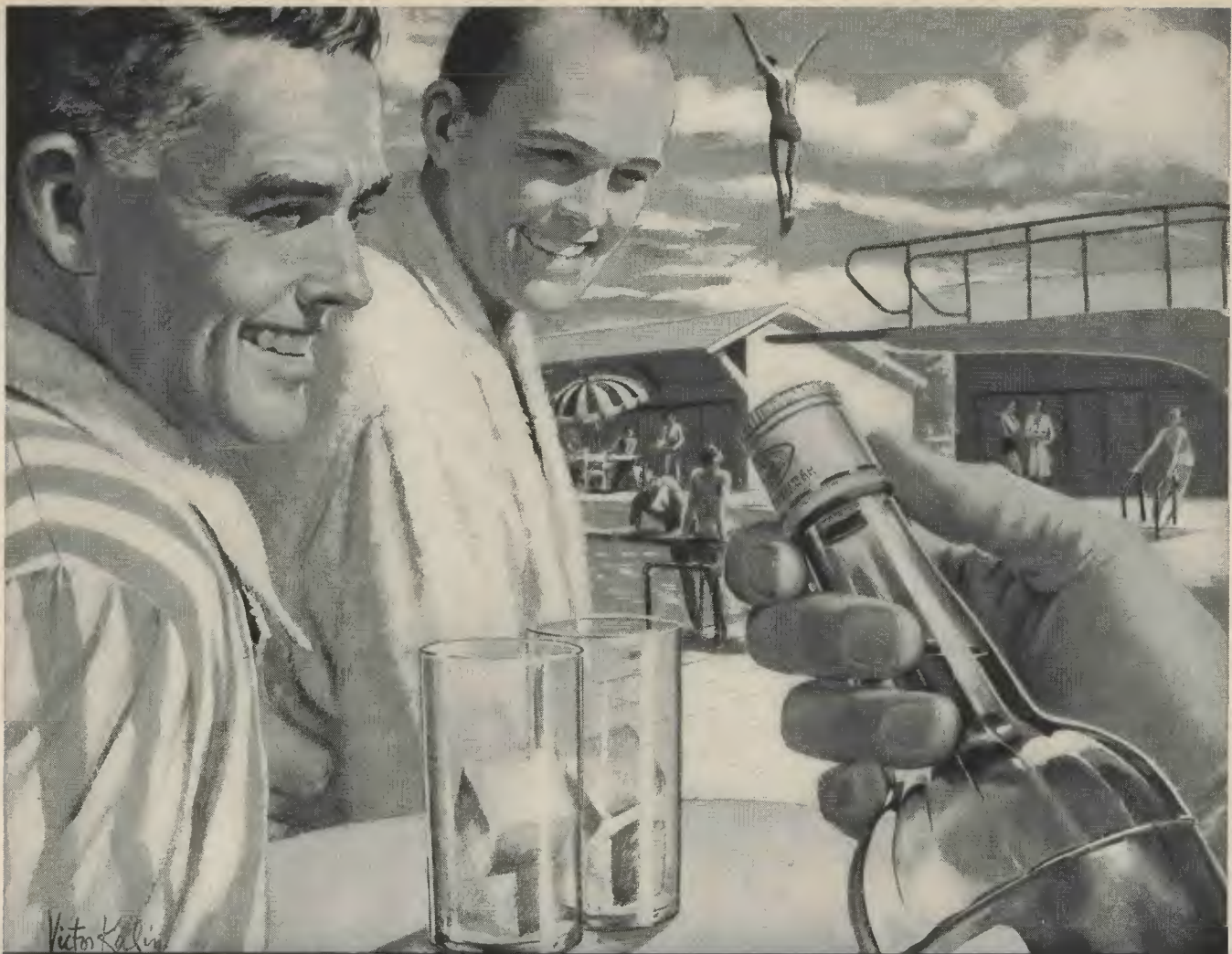
Robert E. Elder, author of "A Career Service for USIA?" is currently on leave as an associate professor of political science at Colgate University to study "the formulation of American Foreign Policy" on a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation. Last fall he centered his attention on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Foreign Affairs Division of the Legislative Reference Service; next fall he hopes to concentrate on the Department of State. Professor Elder holds a Ph.D. degree in international relations from The University of Chicago.

IN MEMORIAM

HUGHES Mr. Thomas L. Hughes, retired Foreign Service Officer, died on November 12, 1955 in Washington, D. C. Mr. Hughes was Consul General in Vancouver at the time of his retirement.

SUYDAM Mr. Henry Suydam, chief press officer for the Department of State, died on December 11, 1955 in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Suydam died on October 15.

WILBER Mr. Edward Wilber, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, died on January 2, 1956 in Washington, D. C.



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BY
JAMES B.
STEWART

ROBERT P. SKINNER who, with his wife, lives in Belfast, Maine, is as vitally interested as ever he was in what is going on in the world today. And yet it was 25 years ago that the Department asked Bob Skinner to carry on beyond his 65th birthday which occurred on February 24, 1931. Here is what the JOURNAL printed at that time: "All the members of the Service will be interested and pleased to learn that the President has issued an Executive Order providing for the retention on active duty for a period of 'not in excess of five years' after the usual retirement age of Mr. Robert Peet Skinner, now American Minister to Greece. Mr. Skinner will reach retirement age on February 24, 1931. . . . The JOURNAL believes that this is the first instance in which a minister of the career service has been retained beyond the retirement age, and it desires to extend to Mr. Skinner, on behalf of the members of the Foreign Service, sincere congratulations and good wishes upon the high mark of recognition which has been accorded him."



HENDERSON-HEINRICHSON. Married at London, England, December 3, 1930, Diplomatic Secretary LOY W. HENDERSON to Miss Alise Marija Heinrichson. Mr. Henderson was recently stationed at Riga, but is now transferred to the Department. DONOVAN-LIVINGSTON. Married at Tientsin, China, on November 18, 1930, Mr. HOWARD DONOVAN, Consul at Kobe, Japan, and Miss Margaret Livingston.

BOSTON HERALD VS MILWAUKEE SENTINEL

FRANCIS B. KEENE, who retired in 1924 as Consul General at Rome, was first appointed as Consul at Florence by his Harvard classmate, President Theodore Roosevelt. Thereby hangs a little tale. The *Boston Herald* published a paragraph: "Francis B. Keene, a classmate of President Roosevelt at Harvard, has been appointed Consul at Florence. Another plum." The paragrapher of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, on the editorial staff of which Mr. Keene has been, copied it and added: "Wrong again. Mr. Keene is a peach."

MR. FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF, Assistant Solicitor, has resigned to accept an appointment to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague. CONSUL GENERAL C. E. GAUSS presented a silver baseball cup to the U. S. Army troops in Tientsin, China. CHARLES B. HOSMER left the Department and the Journal staff for his new post at Naples. CONSUL JOHN G. ERHARDT relinquished his duties as officer in charge of the Commercial Office (A-c/c) to become Consul at Bordeaux.

HIS GREAT GRATE FIRE

Former Ambassador Skinner, in referring to the tribute that the author Kenneth Roberts once paid to the grate fire he had in his office when Consul General in London, remarked: "It was a noble fire. I no longer warm my coat tails as of yore. In fact it is difficult to realize that there was a time when tails were just as usual in London as shoes

(Continued on page 16)



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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO (from page 14)
and stockings, and the same holds for the high hat."



A son, George Russell, was born on December 15, 1930, at Mexico City, to VICE CONSUL and MRS. GEORGE H. WINTERS. A daughter, Lucy Therina, was born on December 20, 1930, at Washington, D. C. to DIPLOMATIC SECRETARY and MRS. ELLIS O. BRIGGS. A daughter, Margaret Houghton, was born on January 9, 1931, at Washington, D. C., to MR. and MRS. WILLIAM H. BECK. Mr. Beck is the Assistant to the Secretary of State.

OFF TO THEIR FIRST POSTS

The following were assigned as American Vice Consuls:

EVERETT F. DRUMRIGHT, Ciudad Juarez
DANIEL GAUDIN, JR., Ottawa
J. WESLEY JONES, Saltillo
REGINALD S. KAZANJIAN, Habana
NATHANIEL LANCASTER, JR., Mexico City
CECIL B. LYON, Habana
WALTER P. MCCONAUGHY, Tampico
CLARE H. TIMBERLAKE, Toronto
GERALD WARNER, Windsor

THE BOASTFUL AND THE MODEST ONES

Correspondent in Belfast, Maine, writes: "I note that your *Denver Post*, which you sent me, mentions Denver as the 'Climate Capitol of the World'. It may be so but your harmless vanity in respect of climate, reminds me of my fellow Ohioan, Petroleum V. Nasby (pseudonym of David Ross Locke [1833-1888] American journalist) who, being interested in the sale of real estate in the vicinity of Toledo, invited the multitudes to visit the site and when they got there stuck his umbrella in the soil and announced solemnly: 'Ladies and gentlemen, this is the center of the earth.' We are much more modest here in Maine, making no claims other than one set forth on a muslin stretched across our principal thoroughfare which reads 'Belfast the Broiler Capitol of Maine.'"

P.S. Now for a lobster tale about a dog's tail, describing an incident that could have happened in Belfast: "A Scotsman was strolling along the quay one day, when his dog stopped beside a basket full of live lobsters. Instantly one of the lobsters snapped its claws on the dog's tail, and the surprised collie dashed off down the street, yelping.

"The fishmonger for a moment was speechless with indignation, then, turning to his prospective customer, he bawled: 'Mon, mon, whistle to yer dog! Whistle to yer dog.'

"'Hoot, mon,' returned the other, complacently, 'whistle to your lobster.'"

—LINDSAY POST

OPERATION "BIG SWITCH": JACK POOL says that he and JIM PENFIELD were done in the eye twenty-five years ago by a paper clip! For verification he calls on Chief Byington and Miss Bassel.

"Near the end of the Foreign Service School," declares Jack, "the Chief dropped in on us and said: 'Half of you are going to the Far East and the others to South America. Let me know your preferences and we will see what can be done.'" We prepared memoranda. Jim asked for a post in South America and I for one in the Far East. RESULT—Jim was assigned to Canton and I went to Montevideo. REASON—Our memoranda attached themselves to a wholly unrelated file in the Chief's basket and were wafted away before he ever laid eyes on them."

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- Tin Plate—Hot-Dipped and FERROSTAN* (Electrolytic)
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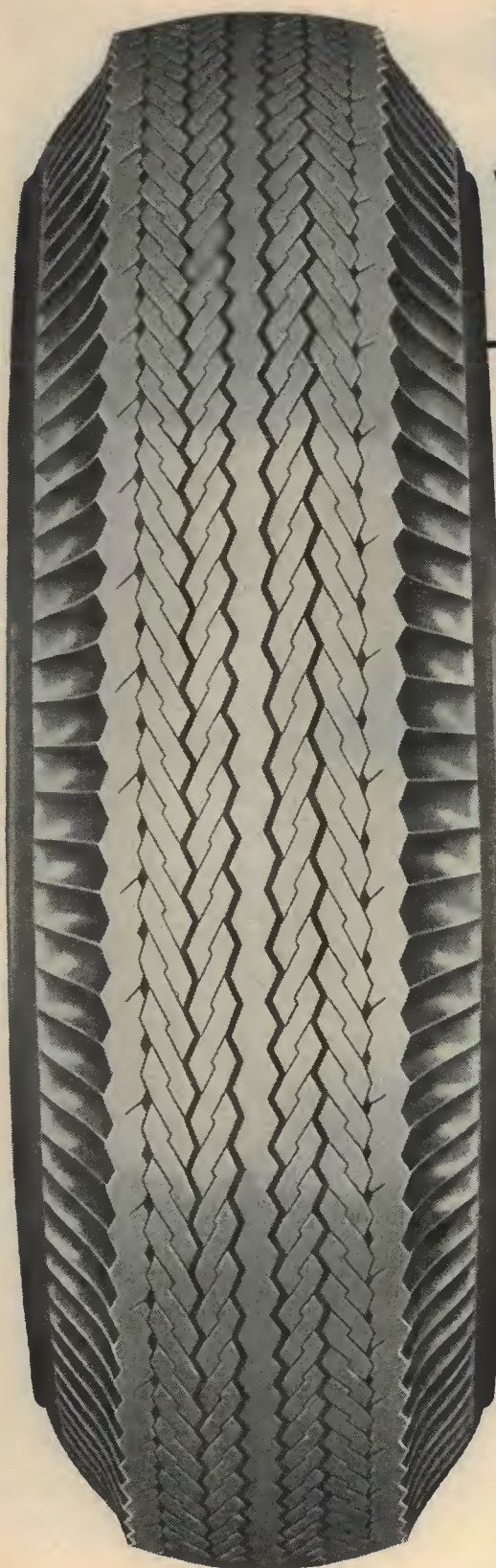
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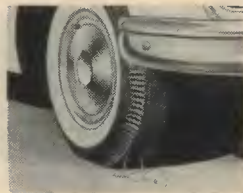
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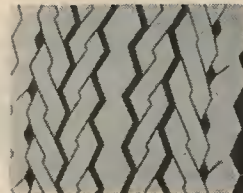
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Third Auditing Session

The Secretary's Public Committee on Personnel submitted to him the report based on their third reconvened meeting held in December.

After noting with approval that much of the legislative authority required to meet the Committee's recommendations had been obtained, the Committee "fully" supported the Department's proposal to get legislative authority to increase the salaries of Chiefs of Mission and of senior FSOs. It also urged that the Department attempt to get from Congress the authority and appropriations it needed to improve housing, commissary and recreational facilities in foreign posts, as well as provisions for the education and health of foreign service personnel and their dependents at hardship posts.

The Committee expressed relief that the age limitations of transfer of lateral entrants had been liberalized, but noted with concern that several positions which had been designated as "Foreign Service" had been filled by persons with Civil Service classifications who would not be integrated. It also felt that the directive issued to transfer Civil Service employees from Foreign Service posts or to assist them in finding other employment had not been pursued with sufficient vigor.

In discussing the problems involved in assigning newly integrated Departmental officers to the field, the Committee expressed the belief that this process would be expedited by having the job analysis for each post placed on punch cards. It noted approvingly that plans to reappraise officers periodically for personnel purposes and to obtain multiple rather than one-man appraisals were under way.

The man-in-motion problem was commented on. The Committee emphasized the necessity of developing a "realistic personnel and budget procedure" in order to keep post complements full, and hoped that the next budget request would contain further provisions, above this year's request, for full staffing.

Noting that ten times as many applicants had taken the written examination in 1955 as in 1954, the Committee pointed out that the new written examinations had produced substantially the same percentage of passing grades as the old written exams. The Committee felt, however, that a continuing reappraisal of whether the examinations were producing the type of officer needed by the Service would be worthwhile. The Committee also urged that present delays in processing applicants (the appointment process is requiring a minimum of about six months) be eliminated.

As regards the Foreign Service Institute, the Committee indicated that, despite recent progress, the Institute needed improved physical facilities, a strengthened career development program for senior officers, and an enlarged language program. It further indicated that before an officer is promoted to Class 3, he should be in fluent command of an appropriate language; this requirement would be in addition to the language requirement for promotion to FSO-5.

The Committee felt that the problem of providing special-

ists for the Service would be facilitated by extending the present practice of exchanging FS personnel with other interested Departments and by a greater use of the Foreign Service Reserve provisions of the Law of 1946.

The Committee's report concluded with the statement that it felt it should not reconvene for a fourth auditing session unless the Secretary felt that there were positive reasons for its doing so.

Personal Rank of Minister

Four career officers were accorded the personal rank of Minister by the President in December. They are FREDERICK P. BARTLETT, Deputy Chief of Mission in New Delhi; JOHN D. JERNEGAN, Deputy Chief of Mission in Rome; HERVÉ J. L'HEUREUX, Consul General at Montreal; and CHARLES R. BURROWS, Deputy Chief of Mission in Manila.

Mr. Bartlett served overseas in the Navy during the war, and from 1946 to 1947 was Assistant Chief, Division of Dependent Area Affairs. From 1947 to 1950 he was First Secretary at London and then was Chief of the MSA mission in Saigon until 1953. Following a detail to the National War College, he was assigned Counselor for Economic Affairs at New Delhi in 1954.

Mr. Jernegan, prior to his Rome assignment was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for NEA. He entered the Service in 1936 and was assigned to Mexico City. Since then he has served overseas in Barcelona, Tehran, and Tunis, and in the Department as Chief of the Division of Greek, Turkish and Iranian Affairs.

Mr. L'Heureux, a career officer since 1927, began his career as vice-consul at Windsor. Since then he has served as Consul at Stuttgart, Antwerp, Lisbon, and Marseilles, and as Consul General at Bonn. During the war he was assigned to Algiers as Chief Civil Affairs Officer, and as Consul. In 1947 he returned to the Department to become Chief of the Visa Division, serving there until 1952, when he was made Consul General at Bonn. He is now Consul General at Montreal.

Mr. Burrows, who entered the Service in 1939, has served at Havana, La Paz, Buenos Aires, and Ciudad Trujillo. In 1948 he was assigned to Mexico City, and in 1951 became Counselor of Embassy there. Following a detail to the National War College, Mr. Burrows was appointed by President Eisenhower as Alternate to the Representative of the US on the Council of the Organization of American States in 1951. In 1953 he was named Director of the Office of Middle American Affairs and served there until assigned to Manila in 1954, where he is now Deputy Chief of Mission.

In November the President granted the personal rank of Minister to G. LEWIS JONES, Deputy Chief of Mission at Tehran; FOY D. KOHLER, Deputy Chief of Mission at Ankara; JOHN O. BELL, in connection with his assignment as Director of the US. Operations Mission in Pakistan; and ARTHUR Z. GARDINER, Deputy Chief of Mission at Karachi.

U. S. Delegate John W. Evans at the Annecy Conference in 1949. On his right George C. Spiegel and on his left, Mrs. Amelia H. Hood, both of the Department of State. Mr. Evans, on leave from the Department, is now with the GATT Secretariat in Geneva.



Winthrop G. Brown, U. S. Delegate to the Torquay Conference. Mr. Brown who is now Counselor of Embassy in London was vice-Chairman of the U. S. Delegation to the Ninth Session at which the OTC agreement was negotiated.



The Cornerstone

of Commercial Policy—GATT

By JAMES J. BLAKE

When the Congress reconvenes early in 1956 it will be confronted with the task of making a policy decision having an important impact on our national security, our relations with more than thirty governments, and the economic prosperity of the American people and many of their allies. The issue confronting the Congress will be that of deciding whether the United States should join a proposed new international trade body, the Organization for Trade Cooperation (the OTC).

This question played an important role in the bitter struggle during the last session of the Congress over the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act, a struggle which the advocates and the opponents of the measure properly regarded as foreshadowing the debate on the OTC that will be held in 1956. Since adjournment, the issue of United States cooperation with other governments in the field of commercial policy has become more intense. Speeches on both sides of the question are heard virtually every week on radio and television. Pamphlets, editorials, and newspaper articles discussing the elements of the problem have begun to appear with increasing frequency, and every decision by the American Administration in the foreign trade field is examined abroad for clues to the direction of American official and public thinking on the OTC.

Stockholders find letters on trade policy enclosed with their annual company reports. Employees have found them in their pay envelopes. Members of the Congress and Government agencies concerned with trade policy have been circularized by groups looking toward the debate on the OTC and anxious to influence official thinking on the subject.

The impending debate on U.S. trade policy has been brewing since the end of World War II and was precipitated on April 14, 1955 when President Eisenhower transmitted to the Congress the Agreement on the Organization for Trade Cooperation with the request and strong recommendation that it authorize United States participation in the proposed body.

The OTC Agreement was negotiated in Geneva by the thirty-four countries which then adhered to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the GATT), a set of international trade rules now adhered to by 35 countries. The negotiation of the OTC Agreement took place from November 1954 to March 1955 and was in the context of a review of the GATT in the light of the experience that had been gained under its operation since 1948 when it became effective.

The principal result of that review was the decision of the delegations to recommend to their respective governments that the *ad hoc* arrangements for the administration of the

General Agreement be superseded and that the Agreement be placed on a more firm and effective basis by setting up a permanent organization, the OTC, to administer its provisions.

For the United States, any proposal to strengthen the operation of the General Agreement was certain to be a source of intense debate since, as the President pointed out in his message of March 30, 1954 to the Congress, the GATT is the principal arrangement by which the provisions and purposes of the Trade Agreements Act have been carried out. As such, the GATT is the symbol of American leadership over the past twenty years in the progressive elimination of unjustified barriers to world trade. United States participation in the GATT is based on the authority contained in the Trade Agreements Act and the general powers of the President for the conduct of foreign affairs.

The Trade Agreements Act was first passed in 1934 and has been renewed ten times by the Congress. The last few renewals, however, have encountered increasingly rough sledding. Enacted during the depths of the depression, the Act pointed the way toward the reciprocal reduction of

1948 these criticisms have centered on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade because it contains the vast bulk of the trade agreement concessions granted by the United States to other governments, as well as the most comprehensive set of rules agreed to by this country in the conduct of its commercial policy.

This comprehensive feature of the General Agreement is its most important and striking characteristic. The thirty-five countries which now accept its provisions (Japan became the thirty-fifth contracting party in September 1955) represent more than eighty percent of the world's trade. In adhering to the Agreement they bind themselves, with certain reservations, from doing anything that would destroy or lessen the value of the tariff concessions they have negotiated with each other. They also agree that their general commercial policy toward each other, and not merely their tariff policy, will be guided by the rules of trade contained in the Agreement. These rules cover such important areas of government activity as export subsidies, customs formalities, and state trading operations.

The effect of this comprehensive set of multilateral obliga-



The Palais of Nations in Geneva was the birthplace of GATT.



Sir Stafford Cripps speaking at the Geneva Conference of 1947 at which the General Agreement was negotiated.

world trade barriers at a time when many governments were imposing severe restrictions on imports in an attempt to protect shrinking domestic markets against foreign competition.

In many ways the Act was a departure from the habits of isolation which the American people (and they were not alone) had acquired after the first World War. The object of the legislation is the expansion of American markets abroad through cooperative, mutually advantageous agreements with other nations rather than through United States policies taken in disregard of their effect on the commerce of other countries.

The reciprocal trade program has long enjoyed wide support in the United States and in the Congress. During recent years, however, as the number of U.S. tariff reductions has grown, criticism of the program has increased on the part of affected industries and sections of the country. Since

tions is to make the General Agreement a code of international commercial conduct unparalleled in scope.

As the world's greatest foreign trader the United States has a direct interest in this set of international trade rules protecting its commerce against unfair practices by other governments.

Last year our combined merchandise imports and exports totaled more than \$25 billion (\$15 billion in exports, \$10 billion in imports), and it has been estimated that some 4,300,000 American jobs may be attributed to foreign trade. For some sectors of our economy foreign markets mean the difference between a good year and, perhaps, one of disaster. In 1954, for example, American farmers sold abroad approximately 45 percent of their rice production, 26 percent of their tobacco, 24 percent of their cotton, almost 19 percent of their wheat, and important percentages of their other crops. Our exports of all agricultural products totaled more



Ambassador L. Dana Wilgress of Canada, chairman of the contracting parties to the General Agreement.

than \$3 billion.

In the industrial sector our export stake is even more impressive, amounting last year to more than \$9 billion. In 1954 our factories exported nearly \$600 million worth of electrical machinery and apparatus, more than \$400 million worth of construction machinery, and nearly \$1 billion of automobiles, parts and accessories. The exports of our coal industry in a year of declining domestic demand were valued at more than \$300 million.

The Origins of the General Agreement

The General Agreement was negotiated at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947, during the preparatory meetings held in connection with the drafting of the International Trade Organization.

The ITO Charter was a comprehensive document whose broad outlines and objectives had been planned by the United States during World War II. Largely as a result of United States initiative, and with strong support from the United Kingdom, proposals were advanced in 1945 which eventually led to a world trade conference at Havana in which fifty-seven nations participated from November 1947 to March 1948. The result of this conference was the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization, based on the draft prepared by a Special Preparatory Committee that had worked in Geneva from April to August 1947. The countries that prepared this draft also negotiated a trade agreement among themselves at the same time. This agreement was the GATT and was an entirely separate instrument from the draft charter.

For a variety of reasons which need not be entered into here, the United States found itself unable to continue its support of the ITO, and in December 1950 it was made known that the Administration would not press for Congressional approval of United States membership in the proposed body. The effect of this decision was to foreclose any possibility of the ITO coming into being since no nation could see any point in creating an organization to operate in the field of international trade that would not include the world's most important trading nation in its membership.

With the demise of the ITO Charter all that remained of the efforts to establish broad rules of conduct in international trade was the considerably narrower trade agreement con-

cluded in Geneva between the 23 countries responsible for drafting the ITO Charter before the Havana meeting.

Because the same countries which negotiated this agreement (the GATT) among themselves were also preparing a wider draft international trade charter, inevitably the commercial policy provisions of the latter formed the substance of the General Agreement. Consequently, Chapter IV of the ITO Charter and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are substantially the same since they were designed by their authors (who in many cases were the same) to deal with the same problem: the establishment of a code of international trade conduct.

Because of this similarity in their origins the GATT and the ITO are often confused with each other. Actually, other than the obvious resemblance between Chapter IV of the ITO Charter (the commercial policy chapter) and the GATT there is little relationship between the provisions of the two instruments.

The ITO Charter covered a wide range of governmental activity, such as economic development, employment, commodity agreements, and restrictive business practices. The GATT is limited to a set of commercial policy rules that would normally be found in any trade agreement. In addition, the Charter would have established a clearly defined organization, the International Trade Organization, to administer its provisions whereas the GATT created no institutional agreements. The reason for this curious administrative void in the GATT is that the countries which drafted the General Agreement in Geneva in 1947 expected that with the establishment of the ITO the commercial policy rules set forth in the GATT would be suspended and those included in the ITO Charter (Chapter IV), which were substantially the same, could govern their trade relations with each other and be administered by the new trade body.

The effect of this situation was to endow the GATT from the outset with a stop-gap nature which it has never overcome. Since 1948 arrangements to handle problems arising under the Agreement have been worked out and these have been remarkably effective, but the absence of a permanent body to enforce and interpret the trade rules increasingly has been felt as a limiting factor. The Organization for Trade Cooperation is designed to remedy this deficiency.

So much for the origins of the GATT. Now—what was it meant to accomplish?

Woodbury Willoughby, now Counselor of Embassy at Vienna, chats with Ambassador Averell Harriman and Ambassador Wilgress at Ancey.



The Objectives of the General Agreement

It was noted above that the initiative in developing an international trade organization was assumed by the United States, strongly supported by the United Kingdom. The United States also took the lead in the drafting of the GATT which reflects its experience since 1934 under the Trade Agreements Act, and its concern over the virtually complete breakdown in world trade as a result of World War II.

It was obvious in 1947 that the war-devastated countries generally were only slowly recovering from the effects of the conflict. In most countries the output of factories, mines, and farms still lagged seriously behind pre-war levels. Many countries were experiencing a steady depreciation of their currencies, and ration books and black markets in money and goods were common.

In an effort to conserve their limited financial resources, countries were erecting a maze of commodity and currency controls that forced trade into narrow compartments and prevented the re-establishment of the intricate network of banking, shipping, and insurance connections which had once sped goods across frontiers.

An alarming index of this widespread economic deterioration was the rising Communist vote in several countries important to the security of the United States.

The necessity for vigorous action to correct this situation led the United States in 1948 to announce the comprehensive program of economic assistance that came to be known as the Marshall Plan, and several months earlier, in 1947, to propose the conclusion of a new kind of trade agreement to the delegations of the twenty-two other countries that were working on the draft of the ITO Charter for the forthcoming Havana meeting.

Between 1934 and 1947 the United States had negotiated twenty-nine trade agreements with other governments in order to promote the expansion of overseas markets for American products. These bilateral agreements had undoubtedly been helpful to United States trade, but by 1947 it was fairly clear that their usefulness was limited and that a new technique for obtaining the purposes of the Trade Agreements Act would have to be developed.

The technique proposed by the United States to the twenty-two other countries at Geneva in 1947 was the multilateral approach. This involved the conclusion of a trade agreement whose rules would be generally binding not merely on two governments, as was the case under the traditional bilaterals, but on all of the governments party to the agreement. In other words, the Agreement was to be open-ended: the number of its participants could be indefinitely expanded. The same would also be true of the tariff concessions around which the rules of the agreement would be built since the normal way for a country to accede to this multilateral agreement would be through a tariff negotiation with the other countries already party to the arrangement. In this way, as more and more countries adhered to the agreement the number of tariff concessions covered by its rules would grow. The need for multilateral approach to the problem of trade barriers can be demonstrated by citing the shortcomings of the bilateral trade agreements.

The first of these centered around the problem created by countries limiting the absolute quantity of goods that could be imported. During the depression 'thirties many countries had imposed these import quotas to protect their domestic industries. Few countries with which we negotiated bilateral trade agreements were willing to make any substantial change in their import quota systems. Their trade with the United States simply was not worth that much to them.

Some adjustments in the quota system occasionally were made, but no country was willing to abandon the system itself, unless all of the other major trading nations did the same. The trouble with import quotas was that they set a real upper limit on the efforts of exporters and producers who knew that regardless of the price, quality, or need for their products, there was just so much they could sell in a foreign market and no more. Obviously, the possibility of expanding American commerce in a world of import quotas was small.

What was needed was some sort of general commitment by the chief trading nations of the world to eliminate quantitative restrictions on trade with each other.

A second limitation on the usefulness of the bilateral agreements stemmed from the United States policy of automatically extending to all countries the tariff concessions it negotiated with any one of them.

This "unconditional most-favored-nation" policy was based on fundamentally sound considerations, but it posed a difficult problem for United States trade agreement negotiators. The problem arose from the desirability of not giving a concession to one country which might be of interest to another if there were a possibility that the second country at some later date might be willing to pay in a trade agreement negotiation for a concession on the product in question. This problem led the United States negotiators to draw all sorts of fine distinctions between tariff items in order to make certain that for all practical purposes they were granting a concession only to the country with which they were negotiating at the time.

The answer to this problem of tariff splitting obviously lay in an arrangement whereby tariff concessions negotiated between any two countries would *automatically* be extended to every other country, so that no country would feel that by granting a concession to any one country it had lost any future bargaining power with new countries acceding to the agreement.

The third factor limiting the usefulness of bilateral trade agreements was the absence of any mechanism for settling problems arising under them. Uncertainty regarding the meaning of a provision in a bilateral agreement or the persistence of some other problem appearing to fall under its provisions could result in nothing being done to clear up the matter simply because there was no way of deciding which of the two governments was in the right. Eventually, of course, if enough of these problems accumulated, the result would be the termination of the agreement, a recourse that governments naturally hesitated to employ except as a last resort.

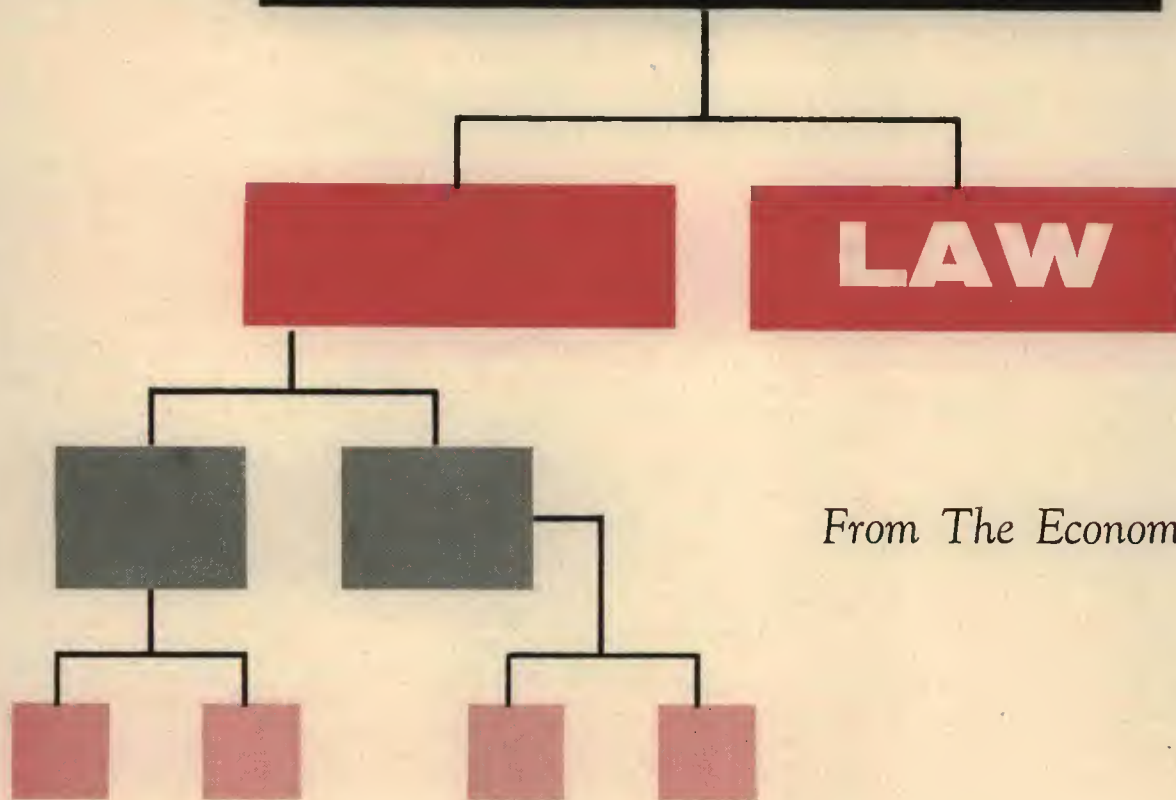
In view of these shortcomings of bilateral trade agreements, the 23 Geneva delegations negotiated a new type of arrangement, one containing the essential trade rules of the old bilaterals *but applicable to the commerce of all of the countries adhering to the agreement and not merely any two of them*. The benefits of the agreement would also be generalized to all of its adherents. Now for a quick look at the way in which this multilateral character was developed.

Key Provisions

The most important part of the GATT is Article I—the "most-favored-nation" provision. This requires each of the countries adhering to the Agreement to treat each other's commerce on a basis of complete equality. There are some exceptions to the rule (for example, for certain tariff preferences between the United States and Cuba, and for others between the countries of the British Commonwealth) but by

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PARKINSON'S



From The Economist

(The report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service was published on Thursday afternoon. Time has not permitted any comment in this week's issue of *The Economist* on the contents of the Report. But the startling discovery enunciated by a correspondent in the following article is certainly relevant to what should have been in it.)

It is a commonplace observation that work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion. Thus, an elderly lady of leisure can spend the entire day in writing and despatching a postcard to her niece at Bognor Regis. An hour will be spent in finding the postcard, another in hunting for spectacles, half-an-hour in a search for the address, and twenty minutes in deciding whether or not to take an umbrella when going to the pillar-box in the next street. The total effort which would occupy a busy man for three minutes all told may in this fashion leave another person prostrate after a day of doubt, anxiety and toil.

Granted that work (and especially paper work) is thus elastic in its demands on time, it is manifest that there need be little or no relationship between the work to be done

and the size of the staff to which it may be assigned. Before the discovery of a new scientific law—herewith presented to the public for the first time, and to be called Parkinson's Law*—there has, however, been insufficient recognition of the implications of this fact in the field of public administration. Politicians and taxpayers have assumed (with occasional phases of doubt) that a rising total in the number of civil servants must reflect a growing volume of work to be done. Cynics, in questioning this belief, have imagined that the multiplication of officials must have left some of them idle or all of them able to work for shorter hours. But this is a matter in which faith and doubt seem equally misplaced. The fact is that the number of the officials and the quantity of work to be done are not related to each other at all. The rise in the total of those employed is governed by Parkinson's Law, and would be much the same whether the volume of work were to increase, diminish or even disappear. The importance of Parkinson's Law lies in the fact that it is a

*Why? Why not?—*Editor*.

law of growth based upon an analysis of the factors by which that growth is controlled.

The validity of this recently discovered law must rest mainly on statistical proofs, which will follow. Of more interest to the general reader is the explanation of the factors that underlie the general tendency to which this law gives definition. Omitting technicalities (which are numerous) we may distinguish, at the outset, two motive forces. They can be represented for the present purpose by two axiomatic statements, thus:

Factor I—An official wants to multiply subordinates, not rivals; and

Factor II—Officials make work for each other. We must now examine these motive forces in turn.

The Law of Multiplication of Subordinates

To comprehend Factor I, we must picture a civil servant called A who finds himself overworked. Whether this overwork is real or imaginary is immaterial; but we should observe, in passing, that A's sensation (or illusion) might easily result from his own decreasing energy—a normal symptom of middle-age. For this real or imagined overwork there are, broadly speaking, three possible remedies:

(1) He may resign.

(2) He may ask to halve the work with a colleague called B.

(3) He may demand the assistance of two subordinates, to be called C and D.

There is probably no instance in civil service history of A choosing any but the third alternative. By resignation he would lose his pension rights. By having B appointed, on his own level in the hierarchy, he would merely bring in a rival for promotion for W's vacancy when W (at long last) retires. So A would rather have C and D, junior men, below him. They will add to his consequence; and, by dividing the work into two categories, as between C and D, he will have the merit of being the only man who comprehends them both.

It is essential to realize, at this point, that C and D are, as it were, inseparable. To appoint C alone would have been impossible. Why? Because C, if by himself, would divide the work with A and so assume almost the equal

status which has been refused in the first instance to B; a status the more emphasized if C is A's only possible successor. Subordinates must thus number two or more, each being kept in order by fear of the other's promotion. When C complains in turn of being overworked (as he certainly will) A will, with the concurrence of C, advise the appointment of two assistants to help C. But he can then avert internal friction only by advising the appointment of two more assistants to help D, whose position is much the same. With this recruitment of E, F, G and H, the promotion of A is now practically certain.

The Law of Multiplication of Work

Seven officials are now doing what one did before. This is where Factor II comes into operation. For these seven make so much work for each other that all are fully occupied and A is actually working harder than ever. An incoming document may well come before each of them in turn. Official E decides that it falls within the province of F, who places a draft reply before C, who amends it drastically before consulting D, who asks G to deal with it. But G goes on leave at this point, handing the file over to H, who drafts a minute, which is signed by D and returned to C, who revises his draft accordingly and lays the new version before A.

What does A do? He would have every excuse for signing the thing unread, for he has many other matters on his mind. Knowing now that he is to succeed W next year, he has to decide whether C or D should succeed to his own office. He had to agree to G going on leave, although not yet strictly entitled to it. He is worried whether H should not have gone instead, for reasons of health. He has looked pale recently—partly but not solely because of his domestic troubles. Then there is the business of F's special increment of salary for the period of conference, and E's application for transfer to the Ministry of Pensions. A has heard that D is in love with a married typist and that G and F are no longer on speaking terms—no one seems to know why. So A might be tempted to sign C's draft and have done with it.

But A is a conscientious man. Beset as he is with problems created by his colleagues for themselves and for him—cre-

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ADMIRALTY STATISTICS

	1914	1928	Percentage Increase or Decrease
Capital Ships in Commission	62	20	-67.74
Officers and Men in Royal Navy	146,000	100,000	-31.50
Dockyard Workers	57,000	62,439	+ 9.54
Dockyard Officials and Clerks	3,249	4,558	+40.28
Admiralty Officials	2,000	3,569	+78.45



His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie is shown the reference collection of American books in the Reading Room at Addis Ababa. Roger Horgan, an FSO who served as Public Affairs Officer in Addis Ababa, is conducting the tour.

N. Paul Neilson, a Staff Officer with U.S.I.A., consults with a local employee concerning the contents of a U.S.I.A. periodical. Mr. Neilson, now Public Affairs Officer in Burma was then assigned to Djakarta.



A Career

By ROBERT E. ELDER

Professor of Political Science, Colgate University

Should a separate United States Information Agency career foreign service be established outside the Foreign Service of the Department of State? For members of the Foreign Service, this is likely to be the most interesting item on the agenda of the Consultative Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Public Affairs, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, during the Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session.

Section 1013 of Senate 2410, introduced by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey on July 5, 1955, on behalf of himself, Senator J. William Fulbright, and Senator Karl E. Mundt, proposes to create such a service. Through an amendment to the so-called Smith-Mundt Act, the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Director of the United States Information Agency would be permitted to set up an information service very similar in structure to that of the Foreign Service.

Preliminary hearings on the bill were held by the consultative subcommittee under the chairmanship of Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana on July 20, 1955. If established, the proposed career foreign service would create a new category of United States Information Officer, with provision for their promotion-up or selection-out and for retirement or disability benefits like those already in effect for Foreign Service Officers of the Department of State's newly integrated Foreign Service.



U.S.I.A. officers hold occasional regional conferences similar to this one held in Bombay, India, in 1951.

Service for **USIA?**

The overseas information program, of course, was once an integral part of the Department of State. It was made independent and separated from the Department by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Reorganization Plan No. 8 in August 1953. Authority was given to the "new" agency under Executive Order 10477 to employ personnel in its overseas service as Foreign Service Reserve Officers and Foreign Service Staff Officers. The United States Information Agency has had no authority, however, to utilize the career Foreign Service Officer corps.

What the USIA now proposes, "simply stated, is that statutory authority be made available under which we can select and appoint information specialists for duty overseas who will have career status similar to that enjoyed by the State Department's Foreign Service Officers and similar retirement benefits."

Over the past several years there have been a number of arguments presented to substantiate the suggestion that a separate foreign service for information officers be established. On the other hand, reasons against such a measure have also been advanced.

Arguments for Separation

Proponents of a career information foreign service say that the Department of State does not want to include representatives of the United States Information Agency in its own Foreign Service Officer corps. It is alleged that

the Department, recalling the period of rapid growth and intermittent violent fluctuations of staff size in the information program, believes few now serving temporarily as Foreign Service Reserve Officers or as members of the Foreign Service Staff in information activities would qualify under its standards as Foreign Service Officers.

It is said to be patently unfair to the Department to require it to expand its own Foreign Service to include United States Information Agency representatives in all classes when it is already having sufficient difficulty integrating its domestic personnel into the Foreign Service. A change of plan at this time might injure the morale of Foreign Service Officers, already asked to adjust to a considerable expansion of their organization.

As another argument for a separate career foreign service, the distinction has been made that the United States Information Agency representatives are specialists in information, or even in specific aspects of it, while Foreign Service Officers are generalists, with knowledge of the whole field of political, economic, and consular affairs. Placing such unlike groups in the same service might raise problems.

Furthermore, it is said, information officers are essentially disseminators of fact and opinion while Foreign Service Officers are basically collectors. Each group neces-

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1. OSAKA—Prior to their departure on transfer from Osaka, Consul General and Mrs. Ralph J. Blake were honored at a farewell dinner extended to them by the Mayor of Osaka, the Honorable Mitsui Nakai [fourth from left], and Deputy Mayors Chuma, Sakamoto and Wani.

2. SAO PAULO—Foreign Service personnel and families celebrated Armistice Day with a beach picnic at nearby Praia Grande. Standing are Marc L. Severe, Gene Wyman, Mrs. D. L. Gilsinn, Lewis A. Woodworth, Mrs. W. C. King, W. C. King, Richard B. Phillips, David L. Gilsinn, Mrs. Philip Raine, Mrs. R. B. Phillips, Mrs. Lewis Woodworth, Philip Raine, and Harry W. Story. Seated

are Susie Raine, Antoinette Diana, Alice Scott, Rachel Moffett, Martin Raine, Claude Villarreal, Nancy Cole, Marion King, Raymond J. Moore, Jackie Raine and Patricia King.

3. CARDIFF—Dressed in a white plastic suit, Chester E. Beaman, Consul at Cardiff, illustrates what the well-dressed atomic workman wears. With him, and also participants in the "Atoms for Peace" exhibit held in Cardiff last fall, are James O. Belden, Vice-Consul, and Dr. Glyn O. Phillips, research fellow at Britain's first atomic research station at Harwell.

4. PHNOM PENH—At this hardship post, FSOs Martin Herz and

Service Glimpses



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Daniel Arzac recently performed arduous duties in entertaining "Miss World" (May Louise Flodin of Sweden) and "Miss Elegance" (Johanna Allard of France) as well as Miss Paris and Miss Riviera (the latter two not shown here.) The beauty queens had come to Phnom Penh in connection with the International Exposition there.

5. SANTIAGO DE CUBA—Congressman Barrett O'Hara, a Spanish-American War veteran, returned to Santiago de Cuba recently after a lapse of 57 years. On either side of him before the statue of "Mambi," the Cuban soldier who participated in the Spanish-American War, are Mr. Rafael Ortega, Regional President of the Cuban Veterans Organization, and Mr. Angel Hernandez, Secretary

of the Organization.

6. LUANDA—The Honorable Frances P. Bolton is shown in the private gardens of the Government Palace at Luanda, during her recent tour of Africa. With her are Consul Albert A. Rabida (left) and the Honorable Manuel Ramos de Sousa, who escorted Mrs. Bolton as a representative of the Acting Governor-General of Angola.

7. PARIS—The Honorable C. Douglas Dillon presented to Mme. Renee M. T. Geny a wristwatch and a testimonial from her many friends and colleagues of the Embassy on the occasion of her retirement from the Foreign Service after 31 years of service.

A DIPLOMATIST—

Robert Peet Skinner

*Prepared by the Journal Staff and Mr. Skinner's Friends
in the Foreign Service.*

(The following material was prepared to do honor to Mr. Skinner, retired Foreign Service Officer, who celebrates his ninetieth birthday this month.)

When Robert Peet Skinner was born in Massillon, Ohio, on February 24, 1866, Lincoln had been dead for less than a year, the first trans-continental railroad was being built, and the Indians were still hunting bison on the great north central prairies. When he was appointed Consul at Marseilles, just before Christmas in the year 1897, President McKinley had defeated William Jennings Bryan in a bitterly fought campaign over whether the country was to have a "hard" or a "soft" money policy. When he retired from his final post as Ambassador to Turkey on the leap-year date of February 29, 1936, Franklin Roosevelt's first term was drawing to a close, the Japanese were marshalling their forces in Manchuria, and the Spanish civil war was to begin in a few months. This month, as he celebrates his

ninetieth birthday in Belfast, Maine, he finds, as he wrote to a friend, "that there is so much to do and to think about that it makes one's head swim."

1866-1897

Robert Skinner, the son of Augustus Thomas Skinner and Cecelia Van Rensselaer, attended the public schools of Massillon, and finished his formal education with a fourth year of high school in Cincinnati. When he was twenty, he returned to Massillon, and acquired a half interest in the *Massillon Weekly Independent*. In 1887, the paper became a daily, and for eleven years he remained its editor. During this period, he left Massillon on a number of occasions, serving on the *New York World* as telegraph editor and political correspondent in the field.

A militant Republican, he attracted the attention of William McKinley, to whom he gave valiant support. He accompanied Mr. McKinley on many campaigns, and when Coxey's army made its famous march of the unemployed from Massillon to Washington D. C., he was one of the journalists who accompanied the army and reported the event.¹

1897-1903

In 1897, following McKinley's election and the passing of his consular examinations, Mr. Skinner, who had married Helen Wales in June of that year, was appointed Consul at Marseilles. The occasion of his appointment Mr. Skinner has described himself in the *JOURNAL* of July, 1933,² when he was addressing a June class of young officers at the FSI. He said: "I recall as though it were yesterday my visit to President McKinley with this [to pass the examination by the President] in mind. It was a rainy day, and the garden in front of Mr. McKinley's private residence in Canton, Ohio, had been trampled into a sea of mud by his tens of thousands of ardent supporters during the campaign. The porch surrounding the house,



Ambassador Skinner and Mrs. Skinner, in a snapshot taken just before retirement.



The Honorable Robert Peel Skinner, Ambassador to Turkey.

Photo by Harris & Ewing

on that particular day, was completely and literally occupied by innumerable pairs of rubber shoes kept in order by a colored servant, each pair belonging to a waiting office seeker, and it was the intimidating effect of these rubber shoes that remained afterwards more firmly fixed in my memory than anything that occurred during the interview, which was characterized by kindness itself."

At Marseilles, he discovered the importance of hard or macaroni wheat and aroused the interest of the Agriculture department in its cultivation. Experts were sent to France to study the wheat and the seed was imported in America for the first time. At Marseilles, too, he developed his literary interests and was made an honorary member of the Society of the Felibrige, an organization of the poets of Provence. Also at Marseilles, Mr. Skinner acquired a lifelong devoted negro servant in the person of George Washington Mitchell, a crack cavalryman who had been left stranded in Marseilles following a visit of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show to that city. George Mitchell later served with Mr. Skinner at several posts as messenger and doorman.³

1903

In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him Commissioner and Plenipotentiary to establish relations with Abyssinia. Accompanied by Dr. A. P. L. Pease, personal physician, and Horatio Wales, his brother-in-law who acted as secretary for the group, Mr. Skinner sailed from New York on October 3, transhipped in Marseilles October 25, and arrived in Djibouti November 17.

From there, the first 200 miles of the trip were made by French Railway. The remaining 275 miles were covered caravan-style over narrow mountain trails. As secretary, Mr. Wales carried the funds of \$3,000 in gold coins in a money belt. Mr. Skinner carried, as a personal gift to the Emperor from the President, a 22 Remington rifle, so new

in its design that it did not appear on the market for two more years. Since they were a Plenipotentiary party seeking to establish relations with an Emperor, Mr. Skinner, Dr. Pease, and Mr. Wales entered Addis Ababa in formal evening clothes, complete with tall silk hats, and riding on black mules.

When the group left Addis Ababa, after a most successful mission, they took with them two lion cubs and two hyenas—a gift from the Emperor Menelik to President Roosevelt. Because of his interest in game hunting, Mr. Wales was put in charge of the animals which were carried in crates by camel back. Lack of exercise caused the death of one of the lions—the other being saved by most extreme measures. The ship which was to carry the party back to the United States would not carry live animals, so Mr. Wales was forced to wait one month in Djibouti for the arrival of an animal ship belonging to the Hagenbeck circus. Mr. Skinner and Dr. Pease returned home on the earlier ship. Following his Abyssinian adventure, Mr. Skinner wrote a book, *Abyssinia of Today*, published by Longmans Green and Co. in 1906.⁴

1903-1914-1918

After his assignment in Abyssinia, Mr. Skinner returned to Marseilles, from where he was transferred to Hamburg in 1908. Following a brief tour of duty in Berlin in 1913, Mr. Skinner was made Consul-General in London, where he remained throughout World War I.

Harry A. McBride, a retired Officer now on the Board of the Association, has contributed this recollection of Mr. Skinner's service during the war:

"The year 1916—before the United States entered the first World War—was a highly critical one in many respects, and one of the touchy spots was our Consulate-General in London. Americans were not overly popular, British warships were seizing American shipments to European destinations as possible contraband of war, British-bound vessels bearing food and other urgently-needed supplies to war-ravished England were being submarined by the dozen, and London was experiencing its first air raids, first by Zeppelins and later by planes.

"Robert P. Skinner, as our Consul-General, among so many other difficult tasks, worked out an arrangement with the British Admiralty whereby thousands of claims covering seized American cargoes were disposed of and the 'innocent' parcels sent on to the original destination. His office was deluged with thousands of stranded submarined seamen who were aided. Citizenship cases mounted, many having to do with some 8,000 American boys who had enlisted in the Canadian forces and whose parents were trying to get them discharged—often because they were minors. Hundreds of them were wounded and in British hospitals and Mrs. Skinner organized an efficient Care Committee to assist them—by personal visits and the distribution of reading matter and cigarettes. . . .

"Then came our entry into the War—the solemn ceremony under the great dome of St. Paul's attended by the Royal Family, members of the British Government and American officials, the arrival of General Pershing, the

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EDITORIALS

TOWARD UNITY OR DIVISION?

The advantages to the nation of a completely unified Foreign Service were recognized many years ago. Indeed, at that time of the enactment of the Foreign Service Act of 1924 Secretary of State Lansing expressed regret that the amalgamation of the diplomatic and consular services had not been extended to include the Departmental service. The past two decades have witnessed substantial and continual progress in the achievement of unification, culminating in the present integration of the Foreign Service and Departmental Service, one of the biggest and boldest unification steps yet taken.

At the same time there are increasingly apparent a number of fissures in the unified structure which has, with so much effort, been created. A little more than a year ago the Department of Agriculture withdrew from the Foreign Service and established its own foreign service. In the field of labor it is becoming apparent that while the Department of Labor is still with us, more and more of the responsibility for labor reporting is passing into the hands of officers recruited from the outside. The case of Commerce is somewhat different. While it appeared some time ago that Commerce might follow the example of Agriculture and withdraw from the Foreign Service, it now seems that the agency will remain within our fold under an agreement giving it increased authority over the appointment and assignment of officers to economic, and particularly commercial positions in the field. Another interesting development concerns the inclusion on the agenda of the present Congress of a proposal looking to the establishment of a career service for the United States Information Agency, to be embodied in an organizational structure resembling that of the Foreign Service but entirely separate from it. As far as the International Cooperation Administration is concerned that agency is, of course a theoretical part of the Department. But in those foreign countries with large ICA missions, unification is far from being a fact.

It is obvious that the peculiar needs of the other agencies served by the Foreign Service must be met to the greatest possible satisfaction of those agencies. But surely the means of accomplishing this objective is by strengthening the Foreign Service to perform the functions and not by setting up competing personnel systems.

The Bible reminds us that there is a time for everything. The present would most certainly seem to be the time to assure that the United States speaks abroad with one voice, i.e., that of the national—not the individual agency interest. We would do well to remind ourselves that the Foreign Service is not the foreign service of the Department of State. It is the Foreign Service of the United States of America. Will it remain that? Are we headed towards unity or division?

THE QUALITY OF COURAGE

The selfless devotion to duty manifested by courier Frank P. Irwin following an airplane crash near Vienna on October 10, 1955 (see page 8) calls forth some reflections, not only on the importance of the courier service

as a vital element in the conduct of foreign relations and on Mr. Irwin's personal heroism but also on the conditions underlying such devotion to service.

Why is one man courageous and another not? Why does one man crack under certain kinds of stress while another remains steadfast? What factors determine the pressure tolerance which, in each of us, establishes the point beyond which no further stress or pain can be endured? Why, when he emerged from the burning plane, did Mr. Irwin attempt to retrieve the lost pouch? Indeed, why did he not at that moment, throw the remaining pouch into the flames, thereby relieving himself of extra weight and responsibility? Who would have criticized him? The pouch would certainly have been consumed and no compromise would have resulted. A list of the contents and copies thereof were, no doubt, available at the point of origin.

The answers to such questions are infinitely complex and many are only dimly perceived, if at all. But it is submitted that one of the factors consists of a sense of harmonious integration with, and therefore responsibility for, an entity greater than one's own self. Only great causes can inspire great sacrifices; only deeply felt convictions can give great strength or resistance. Salaries, job-security, assignments, allowances and promotions are important but who will risk his life for a promotion? We are proud of the Foreign Service as a functioning organization, but if viewed separately from its high purpose of advancing and protecting the interests of the United States, the Foreign Service would become only one white-collar job among many others, and certainly incapable of inspiring the kind of devotion we expect.

Not only are true heroism and devotion dependent on the linking of self with something greater than self, but there must be a closer perception of one's exact relation to the greater cause or entity. This is particularly relevant in an organization such as the Foreign Service which, in ten years, has mushroomed so rapidly in size and complexity, attended by the inevitable but unfortunate organizational confusion which, since the war, we have come to regard as almost normal. There is a real danger that such a protracted organizational upheaval may tend to focus attention on frustrating administrative minutiae to the detriment of the over-riding objective of protecting the interests of the United States.

Frank Irwin had not read the documents he carried and had no way of evaluating their importance or delicacy himself. He could have spared himself pain and danger by sacrificing them to the fire and no one would have criticized him. But he knew his relationship to the United States Government and he knew the responsibility that was his. Even more important, he knew it so well that he could act instinctively without consciously searching his mind. When a crisis occurs it is already too late to seek answers for questions that should have been answered long ago. He did not need to pause on the wing of the plane to analyze his position on an organizational chart because he knew what was demanded of him by his relation to a

(Continued on page 45)



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LOURENCO MARQUES

Lourenco Marques is a bright, pleasant, sun-splashed little town which has been described by Stuart Cloete, in *The Curve and the Tusk*, as "the most beautiful miniature town in the world!"

It is something more than a miniature town these days, for it has a population of nearly 100,000. What makes it appear miniature to many visitors is the small European population, which is only one-fourth of the total. It is their part of the town that most people see.

Gone are the roistering days when the track-laying gangs building the first railroad up to the Transvaal made LM their pay-day holiday town. Gone, too, are the ivory poachers and other colorful characters of early Mozambique history. With them have disappeared most of the "tin shanties" — the cottages of galvanized iron — which used to constitute the inhabitable quarters of this part of the world. With them, too, have vanished such dubious features of life as malaria. What has been lost in flavor and disease, however, has been made up by liveability.

From one of the best harbors in Africa and a large, sparkling bay, a community of modern pastel-painted buildings, homes and apartments slopes upward to bluffs of crimson sand. Pleasant streets, the broader of which are divided by tree-lined strips of sand, are now acquiring from the jacaranda, arches of lavender. The sidewalks are of sand or of alternating stretches of sand and cement, adding to charm something of the casualness of a beach community.

Being a transit port, servicing the Union of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Lourenco Marques has an appreciable foreign community, consisting largely of South Africans and British citizens, with some admixture of Swiss and Americans. The Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, which is exploring for petroleum, provides the larger number of American families.

There may still be those who consider Lourenco Marques at the end of the world because it is on the east coast of Africa. But Portuguese East is not so near the end of the world as to elude a regular shipping schedule of four American shipping lines. Pan American Airways, with its African terminus at Johannesburg, which lies sixteen hours away by train and only a few hours by plane, provides international air service, as does the Portuguese Airways to Lisbon.

An assignment to Lourenco Marques by way of Washington offers several unusual attractions. One is that of a visit to St. Helena. The two passenger liners of the Farrell Lines — the *African Enterprise* and the *African Endeavor* — are now stopping regularly at that tiny windswept speck in the South Atlantic on which Napoleon spent his final years of exile and which heretofore has been all but inaccessible to American travellers. As Napoleon's house has been fully and authentically restored, and the ships linger in the roadstead of Jamestown long enough to provide an ample visit to the historic island, the visit is thoroughly worth while.

There is the additional attraction of a rail trip through

the Union of South Africa, for one can reach Lourenco Marques overland by disembarking at Capetown. If one catches a morning train from the Cape, he can see the Pearl Valley, the Hecks River Valley and the fabulous karroo — that high table land apparently so desolate but actually one of the wealthiest sheep-raising areas in the world. On this trip, also, one passes through Kimberley, center of the diamond fields, and changes trains in Johannesburg, center of the gold fields. The train for Lourenco Marques takes a night and a morning. As one is roused by 6 a.m. tea, he has an all-morning view of sizeable corners of the Transvaal and Mozambique as the train winds down the beautiful valley of the Crocodile River.

An alternative approach to Lourenco Marques, of course, is provided by the ship itself. This stops at Port Elizabeth and Durban, the latter having particular interest as the site of much of Gandhi's early career in the Union, where he laid the groundwork for his later activity in India. Near Durban lives the Mahatma's son, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who still keeps going the Phoenix community and its press.

Africa is coming more and more within the play of world interest, of which Mozambique possesses its share. More and more Americans are locating it on their maps; business men, tourists, potential investors and big game hunters visit in increasing numbers; and with a Six Year Development plan in full swing, the Province is moving steadily forward with roads, bridges, dams, power, irrigation and rail development. With Africa generally, Mozambique is *en marche* and as the capital of the Province Lourenco Marques offers much, indeed, of political, economic and social interest.

R. Smith Simpson and
Ralph W. Richardson

DUBLIN

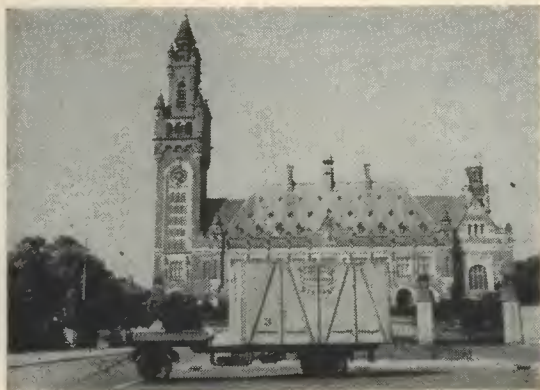
Turkey, cranberry sauce, sweet potatoes and pumpkin pie were the order of the day on Thanksgiving in Ireland when AMBASSADOR and MRS. TAFT invited all members of the American staff and their families to join their family in celebrating this truly American holiday.

Preceding the dinner sixteen of the younger children entertained with a short Thanksgiving play, written and produced by Maria Taft. Not to be outdone by the "younger set" AL LAFRENIERE contributed a short snake charmer's skit.

The only serious note of the evening was when Ambassador Taft presented an engraved silver howl to RONNIE DUNKER on the occasion of her retirement from the Service.

At this time Dublin is seeing many changes in its small staff. In October PAT COMBER left for home leave in the United States and a new assignment in Lisbon and in the same month two of our Marine Guards, Sgt. George O'Connor and Sgt. Keuvelaar were transferred back to the States. Sgt. Keuvelaar took with him an Irish bride. They have been replaced by Sgt. Charles J. Weins and Sgt. John W.

(Continued on page 36)



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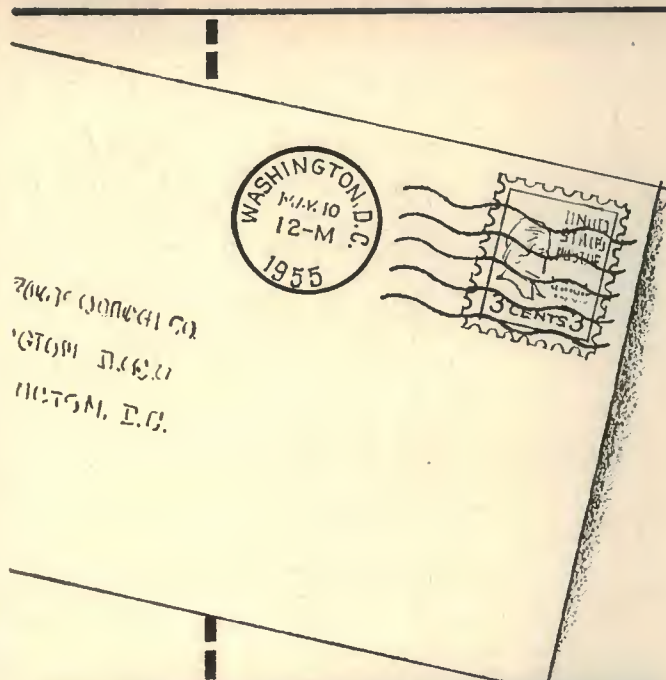
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After thirty-three years in the Foreign Service, Ragnhild "Ronnie" Dunker leaves in December for the States and retirement. Ronnie has spent her career in Norway, Guatemala, England and for the past two and a half years in Ireland. During her assignment here as Administrative and General Services Officer we have seen many improvements made in our chancery building and the Embassy. She expects to leave in February on a Mediterranean cruise and after her return in April, 1956 she will make her home in New Rochelle, New York. I am sure that her many friends in the Service join her friends in Dublin in wishing her "bon voyage."

The latter part of September FSO Al LaFreniere and family rejoined the Embassy staff. Al served in Dublin from 1945 until 1951 and since that time has had posts in Ponta Delgada, Madras and the Department. He has taken over the duties of political officer.

The Embassy added another new member to the staff when CONSUL and MRS. HAGAN and family arrived last week. John will be in charge of the consular section, filling the vacancy left by CONSUL PAUL DUTKO, who left Dublin last July for home leave and his new post in Toronto. The Hagans came to Ireland from Antofagasta.

After three years in Ireland FSO RANDOLPH "RANDY" ROBERTS leaves next week to spend the holiday season with his family in Virginia and then to Washington for an assignment in the Department. His many friends in the Embassy and throughout Ireland regret his departure and from the number of farewell parties he is being sent off in "great style."

In observance of the 180th "birthday" anniversary of the United States Marine Corps on November 10th, Randy Roberts entertained the five members of the Embassy's Marine Corps Guards. The traditional cutting of the birthday cake was performed by Master Sergeant James A. Hilbun.

As the Christmas season draws near plans are being made for the annual Christmas party at which is usually read the President's proclamation. Several of the staff plan short holidays on the Continent. These plans include everything from skiing in Switzerland to sunbathing on the Riviera.

Alice C. Mahoney

BIRTHS

BALL A son, Samuel Corley, born to Mr. and Mrs. Harris H. Ball on October 9, 1955 in Washington, D. C.

CARSON A son, Thomas Williams, born to Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Carson on November 11, 1955 in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

HALLE A daughter, Anne, born to Mr. and Mrs. Louis J. Halle on November 29, 1955 at Charlottesville, Virginia.

KATZ A son, Jonathan, born to Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Katz on November 9, 1955 in Mexico City.

MELBOURNE A daughter, Hope Emily, born to Mr. and Mrs. Roy M. Melbourne on October 29, 1955 in Bern, Switzerland.



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Francis C. deWolf, Review Editor

THE BOOKSHELF

NEW AND INTERESTING

By FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Bugles and a Tiger** by John Masters, published by Viking Press.....\$3.95
An Englishman born in India (and now writing in this country) tells about his adventures as a cadet at Sandhurst and then as a young officer of the Gurkhas: A kind of Kipling in reverse. Most absorbing.
2. **A Night to Remember** by Walter Lord, published by Holt.....\$3.50
The tragedy of the "Titanic," the "unsinkable" liner which went down on April 14, 1912 after hitting an iceberg. A most dramatic story superbly told and documented.
3. **Heroes, Kings and Men** by Louis Paul, published by Dial Press.....\$3.95
The story of the Jewish people from Abraham to the Apostles told interestingly and understandably.

Anthology of Japanese Literature, compiled and edited by Donald Keene. *Grove Press, New York, 1955. 442 pp. \$6.50.*

Reviewed by GREGORY HENDERSON

Many decades have passed since Japanese art won recognition in the West. Locked from Western eyes, behind the complexities of its written system and the intricacies of its inbred conventions, Japanese literature has lagged far behind in obtaining acceptance and recognition abroad. Yet, in modern times at least, literature is a far more important vehicle for the understanding of the Japanese of our day and what he has said and thought through the centuries.

With Dr. Keene's *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, an important vehicle for facilitating and deepening an understanding of Japan has appeared. Perceptively it opens paths into many corners of the Japanese mind: Japan's early poetry, its medieval romances, its Noh drama and Kabuki, the delicate dialogues and haiku of the Tokugawa and the boisterous eroticism of its "floating world" are all covered, authoritatively edited and lucidly explained.

A special note is due the translations. In preparing this anthology, Dr. Keene has made full use of the rich resource of young translators and interpreters of Japan which this country now possesses. Several translations are Dr. Keene's own; many are by others who now display, some for the first time here, their talents in their own special fields. All translations are lively and excellent, done with a view to conveying literature through literature, not through the labored and literal. In this sense, the anthology is a mature work, not only of Dr. Keene's scholarship, but of American scholarship itself.

If it is to Japan he travels, the Foreign Service Officer and his family can arm themselves with few better, or more delightful, weapons than Dr. Keene's anthology. It is not the last weapon in its author's armory. We will not have long to wait before a companion volume on Japanese literature of the present and recent past appears.

Economics and Action, by Pierre Mendes-France and Gabriel Ardant. *A UNESCO Publication, Columbia University Press, New York, 1955. 222 pp. \$3.50.*

Reviewed by S. SIOMA J. KAGAN

Economics and Action is the first book to appear in UNESCO's series SCIENCE AND SOCIETY. On this account alone it merits careful attention for the entire series of publications is intended as a means towards a far reaching end, stated by UNESCO with commendable candor, namely "to show that research carried out in the various social fields has already led to important practical results." In its endeavor to demonstrate that the results of research in social science "can serve as a basis for rational action" and, moreover, "to show how the resources of knowledge can alter and correct the so-called fated course of history", UNESCO is staking out for social science the claim to a utilitarian status similar to that earned by natural science.

The other reason likely to arouse unusual interest in the book is the prominence of one of its authors—Mendès-France, who was recently Premier of France.

Let it be stated then at the very outset that *Economics and Action* reflects his well-known physical and intellectual courage—as a captain of the Free French Air Force he flew numerous bombing missions over German-occupied France—but while courage and prominence may be necessary to promote UNESCO's objectives, the ambitious undertaking of popularizing economics, the pitfalls of which are well described in the preface to the English edition, calls no less for pedagogic experience and more time than the authors were manifestly able to marshal for the purpose.

The reviewer has qualms about the fairness of holding an author responsible for statements found on the book jacket. Nevertheless, even if they reflect no more than the views of an anonymous official of UNESCO or a promotional effort on the part of Columbia University Press, the following formulation of alternatives allegedly faced by our society must not be left unchallenged—"The state of our economy today forces us to choose between blind empiricism and scientific planning, between unemployment and progress, between war and peace." Such an unbalanced presentation focused on extremes among the many choices which in reality are open and continuously being made in this country today, puts *Economics and Action* at first sight in sharp contrast with two recent books dealing with the same general subject matter—*Economics and Public Policy* (a symposium by the Brookings Institution) and *The Role of the Economist as Official Adviser* (by W. A. Jöhr and H. W. Singer, published by Allen and Unwin, London). Yet, with the discourse of *Economics and Action* pitched almost throughout on a polemical note, the authors take pains to support the dramatic overstatement in respect to alternative economic policies by arguing that "the second world war and all its consequences resulted from an economic fallacy", namely, "the error of an economic policy based exclusively on classical theory", for otherwise "Weimar Germany would not have known the six million unemployed who made Hitler's success." Clearly, Mendès-France drew the inspiration for grappling with as

hazardous an assignment as that of reviewing for the general reader "economic theory and practice from mercantilist days to the present" from his deeply felt belief in "the gravity of the consequences of policies based on ignorance of economics, or on its fallacies." Due respect should be paid to his and his co-author's motivation.

The more substantial question—Did the authors succeed in their task? cannot be answered with equal ease for it involves numerous value judgments. The reviewer is the more inclined to confess his personal misgivings as to whether it is possible to do justice within the scope of some 200 pages both to a review of economic theory for the layman and to a demonstration of its use for policy guidance. With this proviso, the opinion may be expressed that the authors have produced a well-argued brief for the role of economics in guiding public policy, even though their subsidiary effort of adding one more primer on economic theory has resulted in an insignificant contribution to the already abundant literature on the subject.

The need for economic guidance of action is presented most convincingly in the light of evidence selected from the inter-war period. By contrasting the effects of classical economic policies pursued in the gold-bloc with those achieved in countries which ventured to adopt Keynesian economics, the authors illustrate the need for governmental action to stabilize the business life of a nation. To this extent the book provides a reminder of the progress made by economics in the last quarter of a century. A recurrence of the Great Depression is of course unthinkable in this country, whatever the political party in power. On the other hand, precisely because President Eisenhower is leaning on the Council of Economic Advisers perhaps no less than Truman did and British Conservatives are carrying out full employment policies as ardently as the Labor Party did, the authors' plea may indeed sound, as they themselves apprehend, somewhat stale to an American or English reader and would be addressed with greater pertinence to audiences in other languages.

The acceptance of the principle of governmental responsibility for keeping the economy on an even keel leaves, however, ample room for economists to disagree on the arsenal of measures to be mobilized for action, especially in time of peace. Here, as within the inter-related political spectrum, Mendès-France takes his stand to the left of center. It speaks the more for his intellectual probity that he quotes the following second thoughts of a Yugoslav writer:

The administrative struggle against objective economic laws is, in the last analysis, sterile and irrational; objective economic laws—whether we like it or not—have in fact an objective existence, so that they will always turn relentlessly, and often disastrously, against administrative and bureaucratic measures running counter to them. The bureaucratic conflict with objective economic laws must inevitably end in economic stagnation and retrogression. Nor is this all. Any long-term administrative plan calling for a struggle against objective economic laws inevitably engenders forces which range themselves above society in order to wage this fight, and which invariably develop into a bureaucratic caste which enslaves and exploits producers and the whole of society alike.

Although *Economics and Action* is a UNESCO publication, the translation and proofreading leave much to be desired. An example of the former is the following—"It was observed that taxing every business transaction meant over-taxing products which were sold in the largest numbers,

giving an advantage to chain enterprises" (p. 188). What this presumably attempts to convey is—"It was observed that taxing every business transaction meant over-taxing products which changed hands a greater number of times before they reached the ultimate consumer, thus giving an advantage to vertically integrated enterprises." For an example of the latter—"The action of the state must be re-signed to prevent either of these processes from occurring" (p. 120). Instead, the key word should read—"designed".

Economics and Action concludes with the statement—"But it is impossible, in a democratic world, to convince the rulers without first winning over those to whom they owe their power." As frequently happens with references drawn from national experience, they lose validity when offered as generalizations for the democratic world at large.

To sum up, the authors have succeeded in their purpose of showing "the importance of economics by concrete examples taken from the history of the last thirty years." But let the reader beware of their overstating the case for the objective to which UNESCO's series SCIENCE AND SOCIETY is dedicated—prediction and control in the field of social science are by no means approaching the level attained in the physical universe. False forecasts of depressions for the immediate post-war period, or, by Colin Clark, for 1954, should serve as reminders to the authors of *Economics and Action* and other social scientists that humility is the better part of wisdom.

MARRIAGES

BUTLER-COLE. Miss Marilla Cole, daughter of retired Foreign Service Officer Felix Cole was married to Mr. John G. Butler, Jr. October 15 in North Woodstock, Connecticut.

BRADLEY-MACFARLAND. Miss Audrey Macfarland, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James M. Macfarland, was married to Mr. James E. Bradley, October 15 as Parsippany, New Jersey. Mr. and Mrs. Bradley are now living in Parsippany.

FOSTER-SMITH. Miss Chiquita Smith, daughter of retired Foreign Service Officer and Mrs. Jule B. Smith, was married to Mr. George L. Foster Jr. October 9, 1955 at Fort Worth, Texas.

LONG-ALLING Anne Alling, daughter of the late Paul Alling and Mrs. William E. Shepherd, was married to Richard Graham Long, December 3 in Washington, D. C. Mr. Long is a Foreign Service Officer assigned to the Department of State.

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sarily possesses different personality traits or skills and requires different training or entrance requirements.

It is pointed out that the procedures which have been evolved through the years for selection, promotion, administration, and retirement of Foreign Service Officers are essentially sound. A similar system for the United States Information Agency, therefore, would enable it to establish a more attractive personnel program.

In the early post-World War II years, it is recalled, the Department of State personnel system, accustomed to serving a stable mature organization, functioned too slowly and with insufficient initiative to meet the needs of the young and rapidly growing information program which was entrusted to its care.

It is claimed that career opportunities for young men and women qualified to carry on information activities, but with neither the inclination nor training to work in the diplomatic field, will increase the number and quality of applicants for employment in the United States Information Agency.

Top USIA representatives overseas now serve in the Foreign Service Reserve Officer category, which limits their services to a five year period, except as one year extensions may be granted in annual appropriation bills. This, coupled with the fact that Foreign Service Reserve Officers may be separated from service at any time for any reason whatever, places the most important USIA officers in an almost untenable position.

Lack of job security makes the recruitment of qualified personnel at higher levels extremely difficult. Moreover, USIA representatives are eligible only for Civil Service retirement benefits. These are less than those accorded Foreign Service Officers, even though the USIA employees serve on equal terms overseas.

At the present time, over 90 percent of USIA's overseas employees are Foreign Service Staff Officers. Top salary limits for Staff Officers are below those of Foreign Service Officers and Foreign Service Reserve Officers, but Foreign Service Staff Officers employed by USIA do have job rights. They may be discharged only after a hearing has established their misconduct, malfeasance or unsatisfactory performance.

Even if the FSSO category has been satisfactory for USIA for some of its employees in the past, proponents of a separate service declare its future is compromised by the fact that the Department of State is tending to use this category less for professionals and more for administrative assistants and clerical employees. This derogation of prestige will injure morale of present USIA employees and make their replacement more difficult.

Improvements in personnel of USIA since separation of the information program from State are pointed out as demonstrating the ability of the United States Information Agency to run its own personnel system.

Agreement has not yet been achieved on the establishment of a unified overseas personnel system by the Government. It is held that this should not be a deterrent to immediate improvement of the unsatisfactory conditions under which USIA representatives must work. It is suggested that the creation of the United States Information Officer category be viewed as a pilot operation to test a specialist type of career Foreign service. This might serve

as the basis for further progress toward the concept of a unified overseas personnel system.

In arguing for a separate foreign service for the United States Information Agency, it has been said that Foreign Service Officers do not relish assignment to information program duties in embassies. They believe that information work is less important than that in the political or economic fields and would, therefore, slow progress in their chosen profession.

It has been charged that the information program, on occasion, has been used as a dump heap for undesirable personnel by the Department of State. At any rate, it is felt that the Information program overseas was weakened at one time by its use as a training ground for young and disinterested Foreign Service Officers. No one wants this to happen again.

The suggestion has been made that a special foreign service for information officers outside the Foreign Service would place USIA representatives in a more favorable position for direct access to the Ambassador in embassies overseas. The information program would become a separate and respected element of the embassy organization. Now it is just one among several others, felt to be less important than the political and economic sections.

It is alleged that the Department of State has been penurious in allocating high-level Foreign Service Reserve Officer classifications to information officers. Within its own foreign service, it would be possible for the USIA to accord its representatives sufficient rank and prestige to increase their influence abroad.

Some have concluded that the Department of State must of necessity feel some embarrassment at having "propaganda" officers included in the Foreign Service categories overseas. They say USIA representatives should be clearly separated so that they do not appear to be hiding in the embassy in the guise of diplomats.

If the United States Information Agency continues its "hard hitting" broadcasts on the Voice of America, they feel, the presence of its officers in the Foreign Service Reserve or Foreign Service Staff categories may tend to alienate allies or to make negotiations more difficult with "iron curtain" representatives. If an ambassador or the Secretary of State can sometimes discreetly point out the separateness of the information program, it would be possible for the diplomats to "laugh off" what might otherwise be embarrassing efforts on the part of USIA representatives.

According to advocates of separation, there is no reason why—with proper administrative and policy controls—the two foreign services could not be established separately and still cooperate to pursue an effective joint policy.

Stress is laid on the fact that the tour of Foreign Service Officers at a particular post is usually of a shorter duration than is required for an information officer to reach the peak of his usefulness, that a separation of the services would make it easier for differences to be established in lengths of assignment.

Finally, it is said, the establishment of a career service with a selection-out progress would make it easier to separate deadwood and misfits than do currently applied Civil Service procedures.

It should be clear, of course, that some of these arguments are made publicly; others, somewhat privately; some,

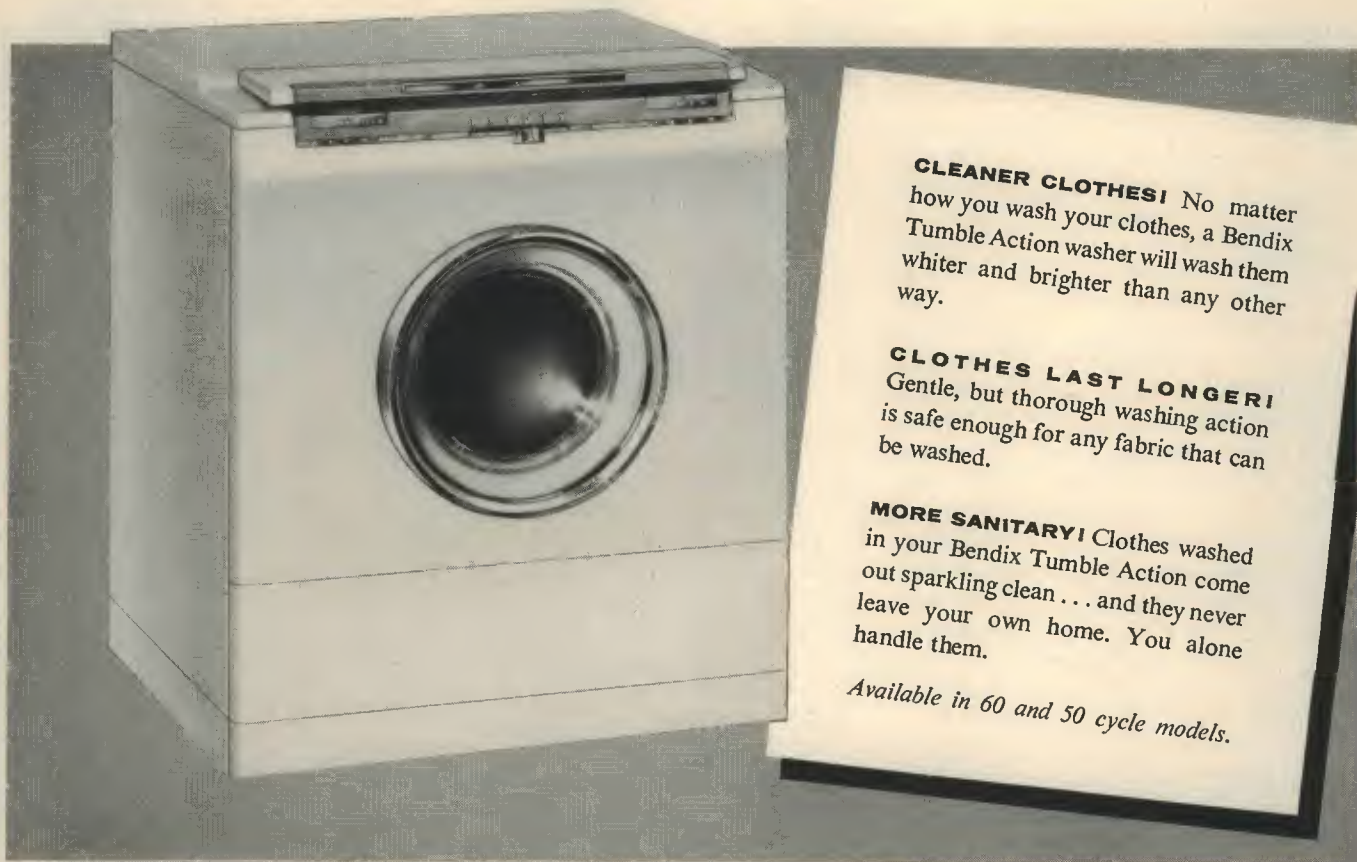
(Continued on page 42)

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Saves time, effort —

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CAREER SERVICE FOR USIA (from page 40)

by public officials; others, by persons outside the Government. No individual could consistently advance every one of these arguments, but each of them has been presented by someone at one time or another. This is also true of the arguments made against a separate foreign service for the United States Information Agency.

Arguments against Separation

Opponents of the creation of a United States Information Officer category and a career information service argue that such an action would result in the further splintering of the Foreign Service, freezing into practice such a pattern and making any move toward the concept of a unified overseas personnel system more difficult to attain.

Taken with such actions as the separation of the Department of Agriculture's overseas representatives from the Foreign Service of the Department of State, it is part of a clear trend away from the unified foreign service idea. It is held that the new International Cooperation Administration may decide to create its own career foreign service. Similarly, the Department of Commerce may move in this direction.

Coordination, a growing problem in today's large embassies, will become more difficult. It will require additional time of the ambassador as the Foreign Service is fragmented, not only by a USIA foreign service but even further by others which may seek to be created. Coordination of the information program with American foreign policy for a given country will probably be looser both in Washington and in the field than if all overseas information employees were in the Foreign Service—or even if the program itself were under the Department—with tight policy direction and control of implementation at both levels.

The establishment of a separate career service for the information program, it is argued, will immediately complicate the relationships of the United States Information Officers with the ambassadors and with other members of the staff. Information officers will be in a separate career service while cooperating with Foreign Service Officers and backstopping some of their functions in embassies. This means that the USIA representatives will be serving two "bosses" at the same time. It will be difficult for them to decide whom to please, even should the ambassador prepare personnel reports on their services, because essentially they will be dependent for promotion upon their own personnel system and upon United States Information Agency leadership.

Those opposing the separate information foreign service point out that a separate service may place the ambassador in the position of allowing more freedom to his "subordinates" working in the information area. It may prevent him from playing as direct a role in the information program as if its officers were in the regular Foreign Service. Also, the use of the suspensory veto on information program activities by the ambassador, on the advice of Foreign Service Officers serving with him, will be more embarrassing if the foreign services are separated.

Opponents of a separate career foreign service for USIA point out that if separation occurs the Foreign Service would tend to rotate fewer personnel through public information activities in the embassies. If the Foreign Service were to have less direct responsibility for such activities, training in this area except for purposes of liaison would become less important.

Service in the information program, it is contended, has been useful to Foreign Service Officers. It has made them more conscious of public opinion in the countries where they served and has prevented them from becoming "specialists" in the political, economic, or consular areas. This generalizing experience has developed Foreign Service Officers more capable of directing USIA programs overseas than United States Information Officers—with a specialist approach—who can never become aware of all the diplomatic and economic implications of their activities.

It is claimed that the prestige of the information program will fall if it is separated from the Foreign Service and diplomacy. This would affect its influence overseas and reduce its drawing power on qualified young men and women. Certainly, it is said, if one assumes that information is an integral part of foreign policy, one Foreign Service would be better than two.

If the job of USIA is viewed as one of presenting a fair picture of the United States and its culture abroad, for the purpose of creating friendships and reducing hostilities, the information program can be an integral part of the Foreign Service without jeopardy to our diplomatic position overseas.

From another point of view, the splintering of the information service will decrease the potential size of the Foreign Service and will create a relatively small information foreign service of approximately 1200. Smaller organizations are harder hit by budget fluctuations and program changes than large ones, with more "play" and the ability to reassign personnel to growing parts as others are cut down.

Finally, it is argued, there is little reason to try to separate the specialists in the information service from the generalists in the Foreign Service. After all, the growth of the Foreign Service through addition of Department of State domestic personnel has resulted in the merging of specialists and generalists in the Foreign Service. Since two personnel services will be more expensive than one, the move for separation should be discouraged.

All of these arguments against separation and those in support of a separate career service for the United States Information Agency remain unevaluated. They do show some of the opinions held by public and private individuals who are interested in resolving the problems confronting the United States Information Agency.

It is doubtful whether at this time sufficient information is available at either the public or private levels to reach a satisfactory answer to the question of a separate career service for USIA. Hearings by the Senate subcommittee may do much to elicit information which will be useful in reaching a decision. Confidential information from personnel overseas might also be effective.

Questions for Clarification

If the confusion arising from argument and counter-argument is to be minimized and the validity of the cases presented subjected to objective analysis, a number of questions must be asked and answers obtained. Some of the answers will have to be given off the record, which will make private judgment of whatever public decision is taken by the Congress somewhat difficult.

Some twelve questions might throw light on the validity of the arguments in favor of a separate foreign service:

1. Would the Department of State be willing to include some information program representatives in each of the

(Continued on page 44)

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER PROMOTIONS

The following list of Foreign Service Officer promotions, as recommended by the Ninth Selection Boards, was sent by the President to the Senate on January 25, 1956.

From Class 2 to Class 1

Bourgerie, Elmer H.
Braddock, Daniel M.
Brown, Aaron S.
Chase, Augustus S.
Chase, Warren M.
Hadraba, Theodore J.
Jones, Howard P.
Madonne, John H.
Mann, Thomas C.
Memminger, Robert B.
Parsons, Marselis C., Jr.
Ringwalt, Arthur R.
Taylor, Laurence W.
Tenney, E. Paul
Thomas, Sheldon
Thurston, Ray L.
Timberlake, Clare H.
Welch, Rolland
Wharton, Clifton R.
Willoughby, Woodbury

From Class 3 to Class 2

Bacon, Leonard Lee
Bell, James D.
Blancke, W. Wendell
Blankinship, Byron E.
Burdett, William C.
Butler, Frank P.
Clough, Ralph N.
Coerr, Wymberley Delk.
Crain, Earl T.
Crawford, William A.
Elwood, Robert B.
Estes, Thomas S.
Fales, Herbert P.
Fisk, Ernest M.
Franklin, Albert B.
Fritzlan, A. David
Geren, Paul F.
Goodyear, John
Hillenbrand, Martin J.
Jenkins, Douglas, Jr.
Kidd, Coburn B.
Koren, William, Jr.
Leonhart, William
Lisle, Raymond E.
Lockling, William Bruce
Martin, Edwin W.
McBride, Robert H.
Mellen, Sydney L. W.
Porter, William J.
Rawinkel, Milton C.
Rinden, Robert W.
Sanders, Terry B., Jr.
Service, Richard M.
Shillock, John C., Jr.
Shullaw, Harold
Sims, Harold
Stewart, C. Allan
Stuart, Wallace W.
Veblen, John M.
Wieland, William A.
Witman, William, 2nd

From Class 4 to Class 3

Adams, J. Wesley, Jr.
Anderson, Stewart G.
Bergus, Donald C.
Bowie, Thomas D.
Bracken, Mrs. Katherine W.
Brand, Robert A.
Brandon, Howard
Breaux, Clarence T.
Brown, Lewis D.
Bushner, Rolland H.
Clark, Edward W.
Clark, G. Edward
Collins, Ralph S.
Dennis, Alfred P.
Dickinson, Dwight
Donovan, Miss Eileen R.
Dorr, Robert J.
Dorros, Leon G.
Fidel, E. Allen
Finger, Seymour M.
Finn, Richard B.
Fishburne, John I.
Fitzgerald, John F.
Ford, William J.
Fraleigh, William N.
Fness, John C.
Galbraith, Francis J.
Gannett, Michael R.
Gray, William F.
Hannah, Norman B.
Henderson, John W.

Hinton, Deane R.
Iams, John D.
Lane, Samuel Owen
LaRue, G. Wallace
Ludewig, Charles K.
Lyon, Scott
Martin, James V., Jr.
McElhiney, Thomas W.
McFadden, William A.
Newsom, David D.
O'Neill, W. Paul, Jr.
Parsons, Given
Poullada, Leon B.
Pratt, James W.
Reed, Henry Clintou
Rivinus, Edward F., Jr.
Roberts, Randolph
Rutter, Peter
Sanderhoff, Lubert O.
Silherstein, Joseph A.
Spivaek, Herherf D.
Swank, Emory C.
Tacher, Nicholas G.
Tueker, Robert W.

From Class 5 to Class 4

Beaudry, Robert M.
Carsou, Charles C.
Cassilly, Thomas A.
Cuthell, David C.
McKelvey, Delano
McKinnon, Robert A.
Sommerlatte, Karl E.
Weise, Robert W., Jr.

From Class 5 to Class 4 and also to be Consuls

Adams, Charles C.
Ainsworth, Thomas W.
Allen, Arthur B.
Ausland, John Campbell
Baker, John A., Jr.
Barber, John H.
Barnard, Robert J.
Barnes, Harry G., Jr.
Barrett, Raymond J.
Bartch, Carl E.
Behr, Frederic H.
Bergesen, Alf E.
Bernard, Jules E.
Blackiston, Slaton C., Jr.
Brandt, Vincent S. R.
Brewster, Robert C.
Browu, Emerson M.
Brungart, Robert R.
Buell, William A., Jr.
Buffum, William B.
Byrne, Miss Patricia M.
Canup, William C.
Chapin, William A.
Chapman, Christian G.
Chase, Peter R.
Cizanskas, Albert C.
Cobb, Carroll E.
Comiskey, Stephen A.
Courtenaye, Richard H.
Cromwell, W. Kennedy, 3d
Crosby, Oliver S.
Davies, Donald M.
Day, Arthur R.
Dean, Jonathan
Dembo, Morris
Drew, Walter H.
Eliot, Theodore L., Jr.
Elrod, Warrick E., Jr.
Elsbernd, Lawrence B.
Engle, James B.
Erierson, Richard A., Jr.
Farrior, John M.
Fleek, Benjamin A.
Foulon, Robert C.
Frank, A. Eugene
Gatch, John N., Jr.
Glazer, Seymour H.
Gleysteen, Culver
Goldsmith, Howard C.
Gonzalez, Raymond E.
Goodman, Herherf I.
Gossett, John G.
Graham, Pierre R.
Grant, Lindsey
Haahr, James C.
Harben, William N.
Heikenen, Harry W.
Helseth, William A.
Henderson, Gregory
Hettinger, Converse
Hoctor, Thomas F.
Hodge, Max E.

Hoffacker, Lewis
Holdridge, John H.
Holloway, Jerome K., Jr.
Houghton, Robert B.
Houston, Robert B., Jr.
Hubbard, Wharton Drexel
Hughes, Paul R.
Hunt, Mansfield L.
Hurwiteh, Robert A.
Ingraham, Edward C., Jr.
Isham, Heyward
James, Alan G.
Jenkins, Walter E., Jr.
Johnpoll, Alexander C.
Johnson, William M., Jr.
Johnston, James R.
Jones, Howard D.
Katz, Abraham
Kelsey, Warren A.
Kerrigan, William M.
King, Bayard
Klein, David
Laingen, Lowell Bruce
Lambert, Francis X.
Luhoeansky, Earl H.
Mak, Dayton S.
Makepeace, LeRoy
Manhard, Philip W.
Martin, Doyle V.
McClelland, Walter M.
McFarland, James H., Jr.
McVickar, John A.
Meehan, Francis J.
Midthun, Kermit S.
Miller, Paul M.
Miller, William B.
Mitchell, Lawrence C.
Moberly, Robert E.
Moskowitz, Sam
Mouser, Grant E., 3d
Myerson, Jacob M.
Nadelman, E. Jan
Neubert, Joseph W.
Newberry, Daniel O.
O'Donnell, John F., Jr.
Ouverson, Robert L.
Palmer, Stephen E., Jr.
Parker, Richard B.
Perry, John M.
Peterson, Peter J.
Petrov, Chris G.
Popple, Paul M.
Quinlan, Clifford J.
Ralston, Lawrence P.
Ruchti, James R.
Schneider, David T.
Seip, Peter A.
Smith, Matthew D., Jr.
Smith, Paul A.
Snyder, Richard E.
Sonne, C. Melvin, Jr.
Spear, Monerleff J.
Spengler, William E.
Sprecher, Daniel
Stave, Thomas C.
Steins, Kenedon P.
Stokes, William N.
Stull, Lee T.
Sullivan, Kenneth P. T.
Sulser, Jack A.
Summ, Godfrey Harvey
Swayne, Kingdon W.
Tepper, Robert J.
Thompson, Herherf B.
Thompson, Malcolm
Thomson, David R.
Thrasher, Edward J.
Tremblay, Theadore A.
Trost, Edward J.
Turner, Thomas T.
Turpin, William N.
Valdes, Philip H.
Vest, George S.
Wahl, Theodore A.
Walker, Peter C.
West, Herbert S.
Weintraub, Sidney
Wells, Alfred W.
Wilson, Orme, Jr.
Wolff, Stanley B.
Woodbury, Wendell W.
Wootton, Charles G.
Wortzel, Arthur I.

From Class 6 to Class 5

Abiouness, Miss Gloria E.
Akins, James E.
Allen, Robert N.

Arzac, Daniel N., Jr.
Bache, G. Michael
Barbis, George M.
Barbour, Robert E.
Barbam, Richard W.
Barnebey, Malcolm R.
Barrett, Robert S., IV
Billings, John A.
Bloomfield, Richard J.
Bowden, Lewis W.
Bradford, William G.
Brown, William R.
Burns, Robert T.
Cook, Charles B., 3d
Cunningham, Joseph H.
DeHart, Thomas A.
Diamanti, Walker A.
Diekson, Thomas I., Jr.
Edmondson, William B.
Erdos, Alfred J.
Espy, Leo
Fagan, Miss Barbara C.
Feissner, John E., Jr.
Follestad, Robert T.
Frost, William Lee
Galanto, Fred J.
Gammon, Samuel R., III
Gawf, John L.
Gendreau, Charles A.
Goodspeed, H. Kent
Harmstone, Richard C.
Harris, Donald S.
Harrop, William C.
Haverkamp, Roy T.
Hennemeyer, Robert T.
Hickman, Martin B.
Hill, Howard
Jelinek, David C.
Kent, Robert W., Jr.
Keyser, C. Dirck
Kitain, Burton
Kreger, Miss Paulina C.
Kreiserberg, Paul H.
Lane, Lyle F.
Lawrence, Myron Brockway
Ledbetter, Edwin D.
Lewis, Samuel W.
Lilien, Charles E.
Lindstrom, Ralph E.
Linehan, John A., Jr.
Lloyd, John, 3d
Lukens, Alan W.
MacCracken, John G.
MacDonald, Julian F., Jr.
Mallon, John O.
Manley, Timothy M.
Mann, David P.
Martin, S. Douglas
Matthews, H. Freeman, Jr.
McCausland, Nicholas V.
McLendon, Miss Ruth A.
Merriam, John E.
Miller, Dudley W.
Miller, S. Paul, Jr.
Mills, John L.
Mullin, Harry J., Jr.
Newlin, Michael H.
Noland, Emmitt E., Jr.
Norland, Donald R.
O'Neill, Hugh B.
Ortiz, Frank V., Jr.
Owen, Richard B.
Pearson, Russell R.
Peadar, Frederick P., III
Piekering, Laurence G.
Post, Richard St. F.
Purcell, Arthur W.
Reed, Jess F.
Ralph, James F., Jr.
Remole, Robert A.
Ryan, Leo J.
Rogers, Don W., Jr.
Sellin, Theodore
Shackleton, Robert G.
Siebens, Allen C.
Stahnke, Paul K.
Starkey, Joseph F.
Starlight, Lawrence L.
Starrs, Francis R., Jr.
Stokes, Birney A.
Stoltzfus, William A., Jr.
Tartter, Jean R.
Thomas, Charles W.
Vine, Richard D.
Warner, Robert B.
Wenzel, Robert H.
White, Lewis M.
Wolf, Victor, Jr.
Zachary, Dan A.

three Foreign Service personnel categories? Does the Department of State want to do this? Would serious problems arise if it were done?

2. Since the information program has been "routinized" can the more mature personnel system of the Department of State handle recruitment of information personnel effectively?

3. Would a separate foreign service for USIA complicate the creation of a unified overseas personnel program if such were contemplated in the next ten years?

4. Could not the job security of information program employees be sufficiently improved by accepting them in all Foreign Service categories?

5. Will problems be created by the establishment of a separate information foreign service at the same time that the Department of State's information people are being integrated into the Foreign Service?

6. Will Foreign Service Officers accept assignments in the information program willingly and as routine, if top information officers are appointed as Foreign Service Officers?

7. Is the creation of a new foreign service necessary for bringing about the appointment of more information officers in the higher grades? Are more such appointments essential?

8. Will the prestige and influence of information officers be affected seriously one way or another by the creation of a separate foreign service?

9. Could a new administrative policy on assignment solve the problem of time required for information officers to become effective at their posts overseas without establishing a new foreign service?

10. Is the dichotomy which views the Foreign Service Officers as collectors of facts and the information officers as disseminators fallacious? Are personality differences required for the conduct of diplomacy and information activities so great that there must be two foreign services?

11. Will there be both specialists and generalists in each service if separate organizations come into being?

12. Must "specialists" of the information program be "generalists" on American foreign policy to do the best job of information? Could they become better generalists as participants in the Foreign Service Officer program than in a separate service?

Ten additional questions might assist in determining the validity of the arguments against a separate foreign service for the United States Information Agency:

1. Is there any real movement toward a unified overseas personnel system or foreign service? Are there both advantages and disadvantages to the creation of such a unified system?

2. Are there any compelling reasons why information officers must not have a career foreign service of their own? Compelling reasons for such a service?

3. Will establishment of a new foreign service for information change their relationship with the ambassador in any way? Can a clear chain of command be set up so information officers will be able to serve the ambassador and the information program without the problem of divided loyalty?

4. Does the generalist in the Foreign Service lack the specialization in information which would enable him to

supervise an information program properly?

5. Does the Department of State's Foreign Service Officer program include mostly "generalists," while the information officer program would include mostly "specialists?"

6. Will fluctuations in appropriations of the United States Information Agency be minimized in the future so that there will be only such personnel losses as a small organization can sustain without morale difficulties?

7. Is information a tool of foreign policy rather than an integral part of it? Therefore, can this service be separated from the Foreign Service?

8. Will the cost of maintaining a separate foreign service be the same as if the information officers were incorporated into the regular Foreign Service?

9. Would the presence of information program officers as an integral part of the Foreign Service in the missions overseas jeopardize our diplomatic position?

10. Does the inherent nature of the information program preclude its return to the Department of State?

Conclusion

To pose questions is not to answer them. Granted that the problem of asking the critical questions which will be most helpful in finding a basis for decision is difficult, the problem of eliciting meaningful answers from witnesses who are reluctant to do more than state agreed agency or department positions is even more complex.

A caudid exchange of opinion in Senate subcommittee hearings and information direct from personnel who will be affected by the decisions will be required if a proper solution is to be achieved for the personnel problem facing the United States Information Agency and the Foreign Service of the Department of State.

Senators Smith, Fulbright, and Mundt have introduced a bill which USIA believes is essential to the successful operation of the information program. The Department of State has not taken a public position against Section 1013 of Senate 2410. It has not agreed to accept information representatives in all three categories of the Foreign Service. Nor has it sought re-integration of the information program with the Department of State.

The whole question of whether a more unified personnel system for Americans serving overseas can be created has been under discussion for a number of years and seems little further advanced toward realization. It would be possible to transfer a successfully established information career service without undue difficulty should it become obvious that the Department of State does need greater control over the information service or that a unified overseas personnel system has become a useful possibility.

Section 1013 of Senate 2410 may make an undue delegation of authority to the Director of the United States Information Agency. As currently drawn, it appears that he would have considerable freedom in determining what elements of the structure of the Foreign Service of the Department of State would be applicable in establishing the information foreign service. It would seem that Section 1013 might be redrafted in more specific terms.

An "on balance" assessment of public information presently available would seem to indicate that it would be politically expedient to create a separate career service with a United States Information Officer category under the direction of the USIA. Evaluation of additional information may result in a different solution.

MARVIN WILL REMEMBERS :

When there were so few people employed in the Department of State that a newly appointed person was taken on a tour to be introduced. (Try that in a division of the Department today.)

When, if you met someone in the corridors you did not know, you were sure the Department had a visitor.

When the fad of using first names was not the practice and Mr., Mrs. and Miss still were considered elegant.

When an employee did not circulate around the Department in shirt sleeves.

When coffee breaks were unheard of.

When instead of building up the ego of a recruit in personnel, steps were pretty promptly taken to deflate any egoism which was too apparent. For instance he might have been chased all over the place unsuccessfully trying to get on the Secretary's list for Thanksgiving turkeys, never being quite able to catch up with the person reported to be the keeper of such a list. On discovery of the obvious—that he had been "taken for a ride"—he had learned a pretty important lesson in "orientation."

When there were but three American Embassies in South America—Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

When the old State Building, then known as the State, War and Navy Building, housed the heads and principal offices of the three departments named.

When the telephone extension of one of the Assistant Secretaries was "O."

When nothing was taken from your pay for retirement, insurance or any other purpose. A salary of \$1200.00 a year meant \$100.00 per month—no more, no less.

When all employees were paid in cash—not checks.

When a representative of the Bureau of Accounts personally walked—alone—to the Treasury Department and picked up the cash for the payroll.

When protocol matters of State Department, including assistance to White House, were handled by one officer and one clerk.

When international conferences were handled by one man and one clerk.

When there was a divided Foreign Service—a Consular Service and a Diplomatic Service—administered by separate bureau heads.

QUALITY OF COURAGE (from page 32)

much greater cause which subsumes and over-reaches charts. He knew what the Foreign Service was for.

Logically, his problem was easier to solve (though more painful) than the problems which confront us in the normal course of work, simply because it was presented in a pristine simplicity admitting of only a few clearly-defined alternatives. The danger of the more fuzzy situations confronting us daily is that the alternatives are not clearly etched and therefore admit of a certain amount semi-conscious sophisticated equivocation or slipping down gentle unchallenging slopes. To guard against this kind of slippage, the cumulative effects of which can be decisive, we should occasionally stand up above our daily problems, frustrations and compromises to look about, see where we are and why we are there. For this purpose, it is useful to contemplate the meaning of rare archtypal ordeals such as that of Frank Irwin.



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Panama and West Coast of South America.

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first thrilling march-through of American troops. The work and responsibilities of Consul-General Skinner increased many-fold. . . .

"Never was there a better-loved or more able executive officer—efficient to his finger tips and with a startling sense of humor—every member of the staff was devoted to him and very proud of their 'boss'. Tall, erect and distinguished-looking, he arrived at the office every morning well before the opening hour. . . .

"The Consul-General's office, overlooking the Square, was large and well-appointed—a lovely Adams ceiling and a beautiful marble fireplace. The Chief would open the more important mail himself and by 9:30 would start dictating replies, often walking back and forth in front of the fireplace. His letters and reports were masterpieces and he would often dictate a long complicated technical, or even statistical, report with the aid of only two or three penciled notes. His deep knowledge of the many important phases of the problems confronting us at that time was extraordinary.

"Service under Mr. Skinner was always a rewarding and thrilling experience. His organization of the Consulate-General was outstanding—each department headed by one of the junior officers—citizenship and passports, political matters, economic reporting, war problems in commercial relations, financial reporting, shipping and seamen and last, but far from least, consular invoices (hundreds every day) and notarial services. Every few months some of the officers would be rotated so that the experience and knowledge of the duties, thus gained, were vastly valuable and broadening.

"At lunch Mr. Skinner would often go to a little Italian restaurant in Soho, the 'Isola Bella', where his favorite dishes would be awaiting him and his guests—wonderful Milanese ham with fresh figs and superb zaballone. Possibly he enjoyed these intimate little luncheons more than the innumerable official functions. His small parties at home with Mrs. Skinner were always most delightful and memorable.

"One of the guests in the early days at London was the late Congressman John Jacobs Rogers, and undoubtedly the first drafts of the Rogers Act which placed the Foreign Service on its firm foundation were made at that time—the Act which Mr. Carr so brilliantly steered through our Congress."

1919 to 1924

Mr. Skinner's unswerving belief in, and loyalty to, the Foreign Service was recognized by The American Consular Association when it elected him president in the spring of May, 1919. His letter accepting the honor was published in the first volume of the *Consular Bulletin* in an issue which also contains excerpts from the Treaty of Versailles.

In his letter to the Association he spoke of the future of the Service, of the day when the Consular and Diplomatic branch would be merged, and of the time when Career officers could become Chiefs of Mission. He wrote concerning the role of the Association and the individual officer in the future of the Service:

". . . We desire the Service to be improved in many ways, we desire the career to be made more attractive, and to summon to itself young men of the greatest promise in

every respect, but we can only further these objects by supporting the Department, carrying out with fidelity its directions and appreciating the fact that after all the Consular Service is but one small branch of a large governmental machine. My own view is, then, that this Association while retaining the very liveliest interest in such material problems as salaries, promotions, pensions and the like must, as an Association, avoid concentrating on these questions and should limit itself more particularly to the strictly professional questions which arise. . . . What is important is that each member of the Service, as it is now constituted, should seek to equip himself for the future by unceasing study of the political and economic questions of the hour and by constant study of the history of our foreign relations. . . . Another subject of study too frequently neglected except by those who live in French speaking countries is the French language. Members of the Foreign Service may enter the service with a slight knowledge of Spanish or German or a smattering of French and fancy that they are equipped for their life's work, but the fact remains that unless they possess or acquire a good working knowledge of French, the sort of French for which apologies need not constantly be made, they have not gotten beyond the rudimentary stage of their career. . . ."⁵

In June, 1921, no longer President of the Consular Association, but still Consul-General in London, Mr. Skinner, speaking at a Consular luncheon, commented, among other things, on the Consular Wife: "Not one-half of us give sufficient importance to the *role* of the wife in the Consular Service. It is the wife after all that sets up the little American oasis in the foreign desert. It is the wife who meets and smooths over the problems of foreign association. It is the wife who creates the atmosphere of peace and contentment in which the Consul lives and works, and then at last it is the wife who packs up the thousand precious belongings and remembrances which we call 'home' and sets out for the other side of the world on the receipt of a telegram from Mr. Carr."⁶

Just a year or two before he left London, we catch a glimpse of Consul-General Skinner, seen through the eye of one of his visitors, Kenneth Roberts, the novelist, then of the *Saturday Evening Post*. In an article entitled "Passing Thoughts on Consuls" published in the January, 1922 issue of *The Consular Bulletin* he wrote:

"I think that I shall follow the Baedeker system of starring Consuls. A two-star Consul, for example, will mean that you don't want to miss him if you can help it. It would be a shame, for example, to miss the gratefire in the office of Mr. Robert P. Skinner in London—a fire whose size and warmth bear the same relation to the normal London fire that Bunker Hill Monument bears to a tooth-pick—or to miss the sight of Skinner warming his coat-tails before the fire and, with a sweetly plaintive look on his face, saying: 'I think your information will be helped if you see the King—I'll give you a letter to him—and maybe the Archbishop of Canterbury—I'll give you a letter to him—and, Oh, yes, the manager of the Bank of England—I'll give you a letter to him—and, Ah, a couple of brewers—I'll give you letters to them—and, hum . . .' and then to doze in front of the fire while his pen sputters and scratches at his letters."

(Continued on page 48)

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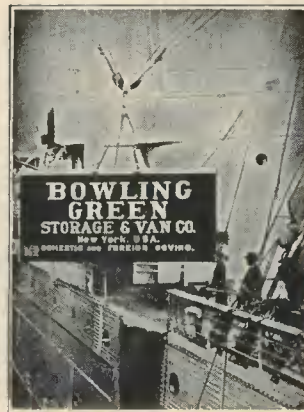
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1924-26

For these two years, 1924-26, just after the passage of the Rogers Act, which combined the Consular Service in which Mr. Skinner had been active for twenty-seven years, with the Diplomatic Service, which was to make it possible for him to reach the highest rank of Foreign Service, Mr. Skinner served as Consul General in Paris, succeeding the late Alexander M. Thackara.

The Honorable Harold H. Tittman, now director of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and John R. Wood, Consul in Paris for many years, both remember Mr. Skinner as they served with him in Paris.

Mr. Tittman, then a newcomer in the Service, remembers: "I was a new Third Secretary in Paris, my first post. . . . In those days the Embassy and Consulate were in different parts of town, so that I had little occasion to meet Mr. Skinner, the Consul General, of whom I, a newcomer to the Foreign Service, was more or less in constant awe. One afternoon I was walking along the rue de l'Elysee, near the old American Library, when I heard a voice from across the street 'Hello there Mr. Tittman'. I turned and saw Consul General Skinner waving at me in friendly recognition. I could not have been more surprised and pleased, because I had no idea that Mr. Skinner even knew who I was. It warmed my heart for the rest of the day. But that was Mr. Skinner."

Mr. Wood, then a young vice-consul, says of him:

"Mr. Skinner enjoyed a reputation, both in French and American circles, of being an outstanding representative of the American Government. He and Mrs. Skinner were both popular and respected in the American community of Paris, influential members of which frequently sought Mr. Skinner's advice and wise counsel on a multitude of matters dealing with American and French interests. His departure was keenly felt and regretted, as evidenced by the high tributes paid to him by individuals and community organizations such as the American Chamber of Commerce, the American Club of Paris, etc. There are many Americans still in Paris who knew him well and who hold him in high esteem."

An incident illustrating the thoughtfulness which made his departure from Paris keenly felt is supplied by Mrs. Wilbur J. Carr:

"In 1926 en route from a trip in Scandinavia we arrived in Paris to be met by Mr. Skinner, our Consul General, accredited to that interesting and glamorous city which he knew so well.

"Wilbur was obliged to take to his bed for a few days owing to a cold contracted in Copenhagen. This experience was rendered less trying because of the thoughtfulness and solicitude of Mr. Skinner whose daily calls in person and by telephone we looked forward to with eagerness. One morning, during a chat by phone, he said, 'I hope you are not spending all your time in the sick room'. I replied, no, I ran down to the Maison de Blanc yesterday to invest in curtains. I quickly realized my answer met with scant approval when Mr. Skinner exclaimed 'Curtains? Don't you want some dresses and hats?' I admitted I could be tempted and he quickly suggested that I go to Worth's, ask for Mademoiselle So-and-So (Mrs. Skinner's *vendeuse*) and after inspection there, go directly across the street, 'to my wife's milliner', giving me the exact address, 'who will

show you the latest styles in head-gear'. I followed his suggestions to the letter, and upon leaving Paris, two weeks later, I took with me numerous French creations, thanks to our thoughtful and solicitous Consul General!"

1926-1936

In August, 1926, the JOURNAL "greeted with satisfaction" the fact that Robert Peet Skinner had been appointed Minister to Greece, thus continuing the recently established policy, under the Rogers Act, of rewarding faithful and brilliant service by field officers.⁷

Edwin A. Plitt, now Chairman of the Mixed Board at Bad Godesberg, then a Consul, who had preceded the Minister Skinner to Athens by a few months, states:

"Anyone who has had the good fortune to have served with Ambassador Skinner will always cherish the experience. I said 'served with' instead of 'served under', for Mr. Skinner knew how to make every member of the staff feel that his Mission was an association in which each one carried a commensurate portion of the overall responsibility. To everyone of his staff he imparted an unswerving sense of loyalty to and pride in the Service. His wide experience in serving his country abroad, as well as his warm sympathy for the personal problems of his official family, all created an affectionate respect for him which was shared by Mrs. Skinner, a gentlewoman of great charm who not only helped her husband in his official tasks, but found time to make the members of his staff feel welcome and at home in the Legation or Embassy residence."

During this final decade of Robert Peet Skinner's career, he reiterated, in the pages of the JOURNAL, the belief he had concerning the Career Service which had appeared in Vol. 1 of the *Consular Bulletin*, in 1919. Always, in addressing his younger colleagues, he emphasized the necessity for excellence and service on the part of the career officer:

"... the success which you and others who come after you will have in securing for yourselves these highest prizes [appointments as Chiefs of Mission] will depend entirely upon whether or not you look upon the offices you hold as mere jobs or as opportunities to render public service with intelligence and ability. Certain things are to be expected of career men which cannot be demanded of those who enter the career casually. The professional Foreign Service Officer will go where he is sent or wanted without question. He will know upon arrival how to attack the routine problems of the administration which present themselves. It is to be presumed that he will be familiar with the recent political history of the country to which he is sent and intimately acquainted with the policies of his own Government. . . .

"Only second to an understanding of the world problems of the day is the necessity on the part of a Foreign Service officer of remaining in close and constant touch with his own country."⁸

The statements quoted above were made just as he was appointed Ambassador to Turkey following his service as Minister to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. At that time, 1933, Ambassador Skinner was sixty-seven. That he lived by his own precepts was recognized by the fact that President Herbert Hoover, by executive order, had decreed in 1931 his retention in the Service beyond the statutory age of retirement, for a "period of years not to exceed five." In commenting upon the appointment the *Washington Star*

(Continued on page 51)



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ated by the mere fact of these officials' existence—he is not the man to shirk his duty. He reads through the draft with care, deletes the fussy paragraphs added by C and H and restores the thing back to the form preferred in the first instance by the able (if quarrelsome) F. He corrects the English—none of these young men can write grammatically—and finally produces the same reply he would have written if officials C to H had never been born. Far more people have taken far longer to produce the same result. No one has been idle. All have done their best. And it is late in the evening before A finally quits his office and begins the return journey to Ealing. The last of the office lights are being turned off in the gathering dusk which marks the end of another day's administrative toil. Among the last to leave, A reflects, with bowed shoulders and a wry smile, that late hours, like grey hairs, are among the penalties of success.

The Scientific Proofs

From this description of the factors at work, the student of political science will recognize that administrators are more or less bound to multiply. Nothing has yet been said, however, about the period of time likely to elapse between the date of A's appointment and the date from which we can calculate the pensionable service of H. Vast masses of statistical evidence have been collected and it is from a study of this data that Parkinson's Law has been deduced. Space will not allow of detailed analysis, but research began in the British Navy Estimates. These were chosen because the Admiralty's responsibilities are more easily measurable than those of (say) the Board of Trade.

The accompanying table is derived from Admiralty statistics for 1914 and 1928. The criticism voiced at the time centered on the comparison between the sharp fall in numbers of those available for fighting and the sharp rise in those available only for administration, the creation, it was said, of "a magnificent Navy on land." But that comparison is not to the present purpose. What we have to note is that the 2000 Admiralty officials of 1914 had become the 3569 of 1928; and that this growth was unrelated to any possible increase in their work. The Navy during that period had diminished, in point of fact, by a third in men and two-thirds in ships. Nor, from 1922 onwards, was its strength even expected to increase, for its total of ships (unlike its total of officials) was limited by the Washington Naval Agreement of that year. Yet in these circumstances we had a 78.45 per cent increase in Admiralty officials over a period of fourteen years; an average increase of 5.6 per cent a year on the earlier total. In fact, as we shall see, the rate of increase was not as regular as that. All we have to consider, at this stage, is the percentage rise over a given period.

Can this rise in the total number of civil servants be accounted for except on the assumption that such a total must always rise by a law governing its growth? It might be urged, at this point, that the period under discussion was one of rapid development in naval technique. The use of the flying machine was no longer confined to the eccentric. Submarines were tolerated if not approved. Engineer officers were beginning to be regarded as almost human. In so revolutionary an age we might expect that storekeepers would have more elaborate inventories to compile. We might not wonder to see more draughtsmen on the pay roll, more designers, more technicians and scientists. But these, the dockyard officials, increased only by 40 percent in number, while the men of Whitehall increased by nearly 80 per cent.

For every new foreman or electrical engineer at Portsmouth there had to be two more clerks at Charing Cross. From this we might be tempted to conclude, provisionally, that the rate of increase in administrative staff is likely to be double that of the technical staff at a time when the actually useful strength (in this case, of seamen) is being reduced by 31.5 per cent. It has been proved, however, statistically, that this last percentage is irrelevant. *The officials would have multiplied at the same rate had there been no actual seamen at all.*

It would be interesting to follow the further progress by which the 8,118 Admiralty staff of 1935 came to number 33,788 by 1954. But the staff of the Colonial Office affords a better field of study during a period of Imperial decline. The relevant statistics are set down below. Before showing what the rate of increase is, we must observe that the extent of this department's responsibilities was far from constant during these twenty years. The colonial territories were not much altered in area or population between 1935 and 1939. They were considerably diminished by 1943, certain areas being in enemy hands. They were increased again in 1947, but have since then shrunk steadily from year to year as successive colonies achieve self-government.

COLONIAL OFFICE OFFICIALS

1935	1939	1943	1947	1954
372	450	817	1,139	1,661

It would be rational, prior to the discovery of Parkinson's Law, to suppose that these changes in the scope of Empire would be reflected in the size of its central administration. But a glance at the figures shows that the staff totals represent automatic stages in an inevitable increase. And this increase, while related to that observed in other departments, has nothing to do with the size—or even the existence—of the Empire. What are the percentages of increase? We must ignore, for this purpose, the rapid increase in staff which accompanied the diminution of responsibility during World War II. We should note rather the peacetime rates of increase; over 5.24 per cent between 1935 and 1939, and 6.55 per cent between 1947 and 1954. This gives an average increase of 5.89 per cent each year, a percentage markedly similar to that already found in the Admiralty staff increase between 1914 and 1928.

Conclusions Regarding Staff Increments

Further and detailed statistical analysis of departmental staffs would be inappropriate in such an article as this. It is hoped, however, to reach a tentative conclusion regarding the time likely to elapse between a given official's first appointment and the later appointment of his two or more assistants. Dealing with the problem of pure staff accumulation, all the researches so far completed point to an average increase of about 5.75 per cent per year. This fact established, it now becomes possible to state Parkinson's Law in mathematical form, thus:

In any public administrative department not actually at war the staff increase may be expected to follow this formula:

$$x = \frac{2k^m + p}{n}$$

Where k is the number of staff seeking promotion through the appointment of subordinates; p represents the difference between the ages of appointment and re-

(Continued on page 56)

noted that he had served successively under eight Presidents.

At Istanbul Ambassador Skinner, with the same wide intelligence which he had used in Marseilles to embrace the poetry of Provence and the problems of cultivating macaroni wheat, sought to understand Turkey. His interest in both the old and new Turkey was represented in the JOURNAL by the publication of "The New Turkey," in April 1935, and "Troy, Ephesus, Pergamum," in March, 1936.

The latter article concludes on the page which announces his retirement. On the page is quoted the letter which Secretary of State Cordell Hull sent him in January, 1936. It states, in part:

"Your high integrity, moral and physical courage, boundless and loyal devotion to the best interests of the Government, and your readiness to meet every call of service has commanded the attention and admiration of your colleagues. I thank you for your unfailing cooperation with the Department and for your contribution to the development of the Foreign Service. I congratulate you upon a career which has been such a success—one which should provide inspiration to those, who, in their turn seek to achieve recognition."⁹

Charles C. Eberhardt, whose span of years in the Service almost coincided with those of Ambassador Skinner, sent the JOURNAL a letter which corroborates the Secretary's words:

"Having known Robert P. Skinner for many if not most of his active years of service (and since retirement) I am sure none who knew him, and his conscientiously efficient devotion to duty through the years will disagree when I write that our Government never had a better or more successfully distinguished Diplomatic or Consular representative abroad than Robert P. Skinner, for years the ace of such representatives."

The Honorable Robert P. Skinner, in Belfast, Maine, provides a closing note. In a letter sent recently to the Honorable James B. Stewart, also retired, he said: "Strange to say, being retired I somehow feel a deeper interest in our glorious Service than ever before, and I strongly suspect that you feel pretty much the same way."

¹E. T. Heald, *History of Stark County, Ohio*, 1950.

²Mr. Skinner's remarks before the June class of the Foreign Service Officers' Training School; *Foreign Service Journal*, July, 1933, p. 258.

³Contributed by Harry A. McBride.

⁴E. T. Heald, *op. cit.*

⁵*American Consular Bulletin*, July, 1919, p. 2.

⁶*ibid.*, August, 1921, p. 5.

⁷*Foreign Service Journal*, August, 1926, p. 255.

⁸*ibid.*, July, 1933, p. 259-60.

⁹*ibid.*, March, 1936, p. 163.

The staff of the JOURNAL wishes to thank Ambassador Skinner's friends, who, on being notified of the JOURNAL's hope to honor him, contributed their remembrances of him. Besides those persons mentioned in the article, they are: the Honorable James B. Stewart; George D. LaMont who served with him in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia; Miss Marie E. Johnson, his secretary in Istanbul; Miss Marie Rose Courant, his secretary in Paris; Raymond C. Miller, who was then commercial attaché in Paris. Albert Hise, curator of The Museum, Massillon, Ohio, helped the JOURNAL staff obtain material concerning Mr. Skinner's early life.



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and large the rule applies to the vast bulk of the trade carried on between the GATT countries.

The Agreement would be nothing without Article I since it embodies the general trade agreement obligations and benefits for which the Geneva negotiators worked in 1947. Exceptions to its provisions have been permitted only rarely, and then only with elaborate safeguards to protect the trade of the countries primarily concerned against unnecessary damage. Its role as the keystone of the Agreement is indicated by the fact that Article I can only be amended with the unanimous consent of all of the GATT countries.

Article I, like so many other parts of the Agreement, reflects United States trade agreement experience. The United States has applied "unconditional most-favored-nation" treatment to the products of countries with which it has commercial agreements since 1923 when this policy was initiated by Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes with the approval of President Harding. The insertion of this "most-favored-nation" clause, generalizing the benefits of the Agreement to all of its participants, therefore was completely consistent with past U.S. commercial policy.

Article I is associated with Article II in what is called Part I of the GATT. Article II incorporates into the Agreement all of the tariff concessions which the GATT countries have made to each other. It provides, quite simply, that the products on which the GATT countries have made concessions to each other are not subject to duties higher than those shown in the lists of the products incorporated into the Agreement. Exceptions to this general rule make it possible for countries to protect themselves against wholesale dumpings on their domestic markets by imposing special offsetting duties; to apply an internal revenue tax to imports, provided the same tax is applied to like domestic products; and to charge reasonable fees for governmental services rendered in connection with the importation of foreign goods. The tariff concessions are further protected by provisions in this Article which take into account the possibility of adverse modifications in the rates of exchange or tariff valuations of the importing country. Article II, as is the case with Article I, can be amended only with the unanimous consent of all of the countries adhering to the Agreement.

Having provided for equality of commercial treatment, the negotiators in 1947 still faced the problem of import quotas. This was a tough one, and the articles that were devised to deal with it reflect an important series of compromises.

A general principle prohibiting the imposition of either import or export quotas was embodied in Article XI, but exceptions to it reflecting post-war materials shortages were inserted in the Article to take care of special situations, such as a scarcity of foodstuffs or critical commodities. The most important exception, however, in terms of its long-run implications was the one which permits a country to limit imports of agricultural products where necessary to protect a domestic program involving restrictions on marketing or production, or for the removal of surpluses.

Agricultural Exception

This "agricultural exception," as it is called, was of special interest to the United States because of its farm price support programs which might occasionally require limitations on imports of agricultural products in order to be effective. Article XI made it possible for the United States to limit imports in connection with such programs provided that limitations were also placed on the domestic marketing or production of the agricultural commodity concerned. Restrictions on agricultural imports without restrictions on the sale or production of the same or similar American product, even though taken in connection with a price sup-

port program, would not be consistent with the GATT.

Originally broad enough to permit the United States to impose import restrictions consistently with the Agreement, the Article XI exception was soon found to be too narrow. In 1948, a few months after the GATT became effective, the Congress amended the Agricultural Adjustment Act by requiring the imposition of import controls where necessary to protect domestic agricultural programs, regardless of whether those programs also included domestic marketing or production controls.

In order to eliminate the occasional conflict that could arise between United States domestic legislation affecting agricultural products and the requirements of Article XI of the GATT, the United States Delegation at the Ninth GATT Session in 1955 negotiated a waiver of this country's obligations under that Article to the extent necessary to apply the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended.

Another important exception to the general prohibition in Article XI against quantitative restrictions is found in Article XII, which, perhaps more than any other article, reflects the chaotic post-war period in which it was drafted in that it permits countries to restrict imports where necessary to conserve monetary reserves or to build them up to a reasonable level.

Article XII has frequently been criticized by opponents of the GATT as a wide open escape for any country desiring to restrict imports of goods from the United States. These critics maintain that the United States "gave away" tariff concessions to the GATT countries and received nothing in return since many of those countries in effect cancelled their tariff concessions to us by fixing limits on imports of American products under the guise of protecting their monetary positions.

This criticism overlooks several important considerations. The first is that the conditions under which import restrictions for these "balance-of-payments" reasons may be imposed are quite specific in the GATT, and are subject to findings by the International Monetary Fund regarding the state of a country's financial health. The United States is represented in the Fund, where it has a weighted vote, so it has an opportunity to scrutinize carefully the supporting data offered by a country desiring to justify the retention or imposition of import restrictions for monetary reasons.

In addition, countries imposing such restrictions are required under the GATT rules to consult regarding them with all of the other countries wherever they are invited to do so. This feature of the Agreement makes it possible for the United States (or any other country adversely affected by the import restrictions) to ask some sharp questions regarding the need for certain of the controls and to press for their relaxation or elimination. Under the GATT as amended during the 1954-1955 review these consultations with countries restricting imports for monetary reasons will become a regular, automatic feature of the sessions of the Contracting Parties.

Finally, it must also be noted that the "balance-of-payments" exception was drafted to cover temporary situations; it is not a permanent cloak for import restrictions imposed for protectionist reasons. The situation it was meant to cover—the post-war economic dislocation with its resultant currency disorders—was regarded by the Geneva negotiators in 1947 as essentially transitory in character, and as their economic conditions have improved the GATT countries have progressively dismantled their import controls.

Consequently, the picture that critics of the GATT have of the United States standing alone against a host of other countries discriminating against its trade and using the

(Continued on page 53)

GATT to justify that discrimination is a distorted one. While it may have had some substance in 1948 or 1949, it has had less and less as the post-war international economic situation has improved. Proof of this was found in the negotiations on the balance-of-payments provisions of the GATT during the recently concluded review of the Agreement when the United States was joined by other principal GATT countries in its effort to tighten these provisions further.

It seems clear that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade could not have been negotiated without provisions permitting countries to preserve their monetary reserves, since no government in 1947 could agree to remove all restrictions on imports and watch its reserves, needed for the essentials of reconstruction, dwindle away. Instead of giving up the right to protect their limited financial resources they almost certainly would have refused to adhere to GATT—and would have continued to restrict imports from the United States as well as from each other.

To Get General Commitment

Given this plain fact, the important objective in 1947 was to get a general commitment from these countries to relax their restrictions as their monetary situation improved. This objective was achieved as were others, including the obligations of countries to eliminate their restrictions entirely when their financial condition no longer justified their retention; to consult regarding the necessity for the restrictions and their effect on specific United States products; and to administer the restrictions on a non-discriminatory basis, with deviations from this last rule permitted only in certain specific situations.

The fact that the United States Delegation in 1947 secured wide acceptance of these commitments by other governments may someday be recognized as a major victory against capricious policies in the international trade field.

In addition to the problems of equality of commercial treatment and of import quotas, the Geneva negotiators in 1947 were also concerned with the problem of tariff walls and tariff stability.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is probably best known for the tariff reductions that have been negotiated within its context. There have been three rounds of tariff negotiations conducted under the GATT: at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947 (between the original 23 countries); at Annecy, France, in 1949; and at Torquay, England, in 1951. A relatively limited negotiation took place in 1955 at Geneva in connection with the accession of Japan to the General Agreement. A fourth general round of negotiations is scheduled to take place early in 1956.

The result of the negotiations is that the tariff duties on nearly 60,000 items either have been reduced, or the GATT countries have committed themselves not to increase them. Because of Article I, all of the countries adhering to the GATT are entitled to all of the tariff concessions that have been negotiated under it. This means that the United States exporters get the benefit of the concessions negotiated between, say, the United Kingdom and Germany, even though the United States may not have negotiated any concessions with either country.

This sharing in a general pool of the tariff benefits on the basis of equality goes far to explain why the number of countries adhering to the General Agreement has risen from 23 in 1947 to 35 today.

Associated with the problem of tariff walls is that of tariff stability. During the 'thirties, tariff wars were a nightmare to foreign traders in the United States and abroad, and made long-range marketing plans hazardous and the expansion of trade difficult.

Nevertheless, when the GATT was first negotiated one of

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its articles (Article XXVIII) permitted any country on or after January 1, 1951, to withdraw or modify any concession it had granted under the GATT, if it followed certain procedures. This article, which was really a tariff truce, was defective in that it contained the possibility of new tariff wars after January 1, 1951, since if one country started to withdraw concessions it would almost certainly be joined by others, and there was no way of telling where the process would stop. The result could be a complete dissolution of the Agreement. To meet this problem, at the Torquay tariff negotiations in April 1951 the date in the article was changed to January 1, 1954, and at the Eighth Session of the Contracting Parties in October 1954 the GATT countries agreed not to use the provisions of Article XXVIII prior to July 1, 1955. In other words, the truce maintaining the tariffs at their existing levels was extended.

These arrangements to maintain the stability of the tariff concessions were not worked out without considerable difficulty, and some re-negotiation and withdrawal of concessions did take place before they were concluded.

By and large, however, the GATT countries came to recognize that a world of fluctuating tariff levels could not be one in which the volume of trade could be expected to expand. At their Ninth Session in 1954-1955, they decided to meet this problem of tariff stability by a declaration which would keep the concessions at their existing levels until January 1, 1958. After that date, under the amended GATT the stability of the concessions would be assured by their *automatic* continuance for three year periods. Arrangements were made to permit the modification and withdrawal of some concessions under special circumstances during the period when action to modify or withdraw them normally could not be effected.

The various articles briefly noted above are found in Part II of the Agreement which contains other important rules of trade. Among the most important are those relating to the administrative barriers to world commerce, such as customs regulations.

Obviously one way of frustrating the purposes of the Agreement would be for a government to make its customs regulations and procedures so complex, cumbersome, and costly as to discourage imports. Article VIII of the Agreement addresses itself to this problem by setting forth as an objective of the GATT countries the decrease and simplification of their customs formalities. Recently, the United States acting in the spirit of this objective, abolished the requirement that imports be accompanied by a certified consular invoice. The same article also sets forth the principle that any fees a businessman must pay in connection with the import or export of goods should be limited to the actual cost of the services rendered, and should not be used

(Continued on page 54)

to protect domestic industries against foreign competition or as a source of government revenue.

Article VII of the Agreement is also concerned with this problem of customs formalities. It contains certain principles aimed at insuring that the flow of goods between countries is not clogged by the use of arbitrary or fictitious standards for their valuation, and that whatever standards are used are stable and sufficiently well publicized to permit members of the foreign trade community to estimate with a reasonable degree of certainty how much duty will have to be paid on a given shipment of goods.

It is important to note that these rules contained in Part II of the Agreement, including those relating to customs formalities, constitute agreed objectives on the part of the GATT countries and not binding obligations. They are applied only "provisionally" which means that the GATT countries are not required to amend existing legislation or to promulgate new legislation in order to adhere more closely to them. Governments are expected, however, not to enact any new legislation that would be inconsistent with these agreed principles and objectives.

The "Escapes"

The fact that countries need not revise their laws and practices in order to make them square with the GATT rules of trade is obviously a limiting factor on the effectiveness of the Agreement. In addition, a number of articles contain built-in exceptions to the general rules they contain. It was noted above that Article XI which calls for the general elimination of quantitative restrictions on imports contains an important exception designed to protect certain types of domestic farm programs. The "balance-of-payments" exception designed to protect a country's monetary reserves was also noted.

There are others. Article XVIII permits import restrictions in connection with economic development and post-war reconstruction programs. Article XXI permits a country to limit imports and exports when necessary to protect its essential security interests. Article XXIV permits countries desiring to form a customs union to discriminate against the trade of the other GATT participants. Article XIX (the escape clause) permits the withdrawal of a concession as a result of a conflict between obligations assumed by a country in adhering to the Agreement and developments that were unforeseen when it negotiated a particular concession.

Potentially, the most important release from the obligations of the Agreement, however, is found in Article XXV.

This article makes it possible for a GATT country to obtain a release from any of its obligations under the Agreement if a two-thirds majority of the GATT countries support its application for the release. The majority must also consist of more than half of the countries participating in the GATT. Under this article the six countries which now constitute the European Coal and Steel Community were relieved of certain of their obligations under the GATT. These countries, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, The Netherlands, Italy, and Luxembourg, required a waiver in 1952 because of the preferential trading arrangements they proposed to extend to each other in coal and steel involving discrimination against the trade of the other GATT countries. The waiver granted in March 1955 to the United States in connection with import restrictions on agricultural products was also granted in accordance with the provisions of Article XXV, as was the waiver granted to the United Kingdom at the same time which permits it to extend preferential treatment to the trade of its dependent overseas territories.

At first glance, Article XXV appears to constitute a serious

gap in the Agreement, and there is no doubt that it could be. However, the detailed procedures a country must follow in applying for a waiver, the rather stiff vote necessary to secure the release, and the right of the GATT countries to define the conditions under which the release from GATT obligations is being granted have served to deter countries from having extensive recourse to the article. At the same time a tendency has arisen recently that will have to be watched carefully for governments to seek exemptions from the general trade rules in order to meet their special problems, particularly in the areas of agriculture and economic development.

The GATT as an International Forum

Equality of commercial treatment, limitations on the use of import restrictions, the reduction of tariffs and the attainment of tariff stability, some rules about administrative barriers to trade—all these are embodied in the GATT and all of these are good. Just how good, however, depends on the arrangements designed to prevent them from becoming merely pious expressions of intention.

To prevent this from happening certain *ad hoc* arrangements were early developed by the GATT countries to permit consideration at their annual sessions of problems arising under the Agreement. The necessity for such arrangements also stemmed from the fact that certain provisions of the Agreement require the GATT countries to act in their collective capacity. Under Article XXIII, for example, the GATT countries acting as a body can authorize one of the countries participating in the Agreement to suspend certain of its obligations toward another GATT country when a situation has arisen between these two parties which appears serious enough to warrant such suspension.

Acting under this article the GATT countries several years ago authorized the Netherlands to suspend certain of its obligations toward the United States as a result of the import restrictions imposed by the latter on dairy products which, according to the Netherlands, the GATT countries concurring, nullified a benefit which it had expected to receive as a contracting party.

The United States, for its part, has found the annual sessions of the Contracting Parties to the GATT quite useful as an international forum for raising problems adversely affecting its own commerce. Recently a Western European government imposed a tax on imports which in the United States view decreased the tariff benefits that government had granted to us. As a result of the United States protest to the GATT countries, the tax was temporarily suspended and then abolished completely. Several years ago a Latin American government levied a sales tax on imports of lumber and exempted domestic lumber producers from its payment. The United States protested against this discrimination as inconsistent with the GATT, and as a result the tax was applied by the Latin American government to domestic lumber also.

Still another instance of the usefulness of the GATT as a forum for the settlement of trade disputes was demonstrated when a difficulty arose between two important Asian governments which threatened to have grave political repercussions in an area of strategic concern to the United States. The commercial policy problem involved was settled on the basis of a recommendation by a working party of the GATT countries.

More cases in which an appeal to the GATT for relief has led to the settlement of a trade problem could be cited. Undoubtedly, however, the best tribute to the effectiveness of the GATT is the number of problems settled on an amicable basis between countries party to the Agreement without the case being brought to the attention of all of the other participants in the Agreement.

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Usually, the GATT countries meet once a year to consider problems arising under the Agreement. The importance of the trade covered by the Agreement, the detailed character of many of the articles, and the fact that many of the GATT countries are passing through veritable economic revolutions requiring frequent reviews of government policy, have considerably increased the work of these sessions. In an attempt to facilitate their work, a few years ago the GATT countries created an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business. Seventeen countries, including the United States, are members of the Committee which normally meets twice a year. The Contracting Parties have tended recently to broaden somewhat the area of responsibility of this Committee, although it is still far from being an executive committee empowered to act on behalf of all of the GATT countries.

The annual meetings of all of the GATT countries, and the more frequent meetings of the Intersessional Committee have partly filled the institutional gap deliberately created when the GATT was drafted in 1947 at Geneva, but they have not been a substitute for a permanent organization that could keep the operation of the GATT under constant surveillance. It was to fill this gap that the Agreement on the Organization for Trade Cooperation was drafted during the review of the GATT from November 1954 to March 1955.

The OTC Agreement, unlike the GATT, is a very simple document, and the Organization it would create reflects that simplicity. As the President pointed out in his message to the Congress on April 14, 1955, the OTC, in addition to administering the General Agreement:

"... would provide a mechanism through which arrangements for trade negotiations could be facilitated. It would also serve as a forum for the discussion of trade matters and for the amicable adjustment of problems involving the trade rules. The organization would have no supra-national powers. It would conduct no trade negotiations; this would be done by the countries who choose to participate in the negotiations and to whatever extent they choose."

The OTC would consist of an Assembly, an Executive Committee and a Secretariat. The Assembly would consist of all of the countries which adhere to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and would normally meet once a year as is the case with those countries now. The Executive Committee would consist of seventeen countries, including the five countries of chief economic importance. In this way the United States, which accounts for more than twenty percent of the trade of the GATT countries, would always be a member of the Executive Committee. The functions of this committee would be determined by the Assembly. A small Secretariat, headed by a Director-General, would complete the Organization's institutions.

In requesting Congressional authorization for United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, the President noted the commercial advantages gained by United States adherence to the General Agreement. He pointed out that as a contracting party this country obtains more tariff concessions on our exports than would be forthcoming from the old bilateral negotiations, and that some measure of the value of these negotiations was indicated by the fact that we have been able to obtain concessions covering about fifty percent of the value of our sales abroad. The President referred to the removal between 1953 and the beginning of 1955 of foreign restrictions on imports from the United States and indicated that without the General Agreement it would have been more difficult to persuade countries to relax such controls.

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He then went on to emphasize the broader policy considerations which made United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation desirable, declaring:

"I believe the reasons for United States membership in the proposed Organization are overwhelming. We would thus demonstrate to the free world our active interest in the promotion of trade among the free nations. We would demonstrate our desire to deal with matters of trade in the same cooperative way we do with military matters in such regional pacts as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and with financial matters in the International Monetary Fund and in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We would thus cooperate further with the free world, in the struggle against Communist domination, to the greater security and the greater prosperity of all."

On July 4, 1955, Representative Jere Cooper, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, wrote to the President and indicated that the heavy work load of the committee and the prospect of an early adjournment made it unlikely that proper notice and consideration could be given at that late date to the President's request for legislation authorizing United States membership in the OTC. In noting that ample notice for hearings on the proposed legislation would also be necessary, he asked the President whether the committee should try to proceed on the OTC legislation in the limited time which remained in the session of the Congress.

Representative Cooper, who had been one of the Congressional members of the United States Delegation to the Geneva Conference at which the OTC Agreement was negotiated, indicated his realization of the "extreme importance" of the proposed legislation from the international point of view, and his intention to schedule it for consideration very early in the next session of the Congress if the President felt that full hearings and consideration were necessary on the matter.

In his reply the President stated that he shared the view that it would be ill-advised for the Ways and Means Committee to begin consideration of the OTC legislation when so little time remained in the session; a matter of such vital importance should have thorough hearings, discussion, and debate. He expressed his pleasure at the assurance given by Representative Cooper that consideration of the proposed legislation would be among the very first measures to be taken up by the Ways and Means Committee in 1956.

Throughout 1955 the issues involved in United States membership in the OTC were thoroughly aired. Advocates and opponents of the proposed body seem to realize the seriousness of the decision the Congress has been called upon to make. The same is true of this country's friends and enemies abroad who are now waiting to see whether we shall rise to the opportunity offered by the OTC for constructive leadership in world economic affairs.

PARKINSON'S LAW (from page 50)

tirement; m is the number of man-hours devoted to answering minutes within the department; and n is the number of effective units being administered. The x will be the number of new staff required each year.

Mathematicians will of course realize that to find the percentage increase they must multiply x by 100 and divide by the total of the previous year, thus:

$$\frac{100(2k^m + p)}{yn} \%$$



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where y represents the total original staff. And this figure will invariably prove to be between 5.17 per cent and 6.56 percent, irrespective of any variation in the amount of work (if any) to be done.

The discovery of this formula and of the general principles upon which it is based has, of course, no emotive value. No attempt has been made to inquire whether departments ought to grow in size. Those who hold that this growth is essential to gain full employment are fully entitled to their opinion. Those who doubt the stability of an economy based upon reading each other's minutes are equally entitled to theirs. Parkinson's Law is a purely scientific discovery, inapplicable except in theory to the politics of the day. It is not the business of the botanist to eradicate the weeds. Enough for him if he can tell us just how fast they grow.

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