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**JOURNAL**

JANUARY 1954—PART I

25c



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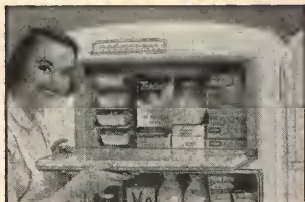
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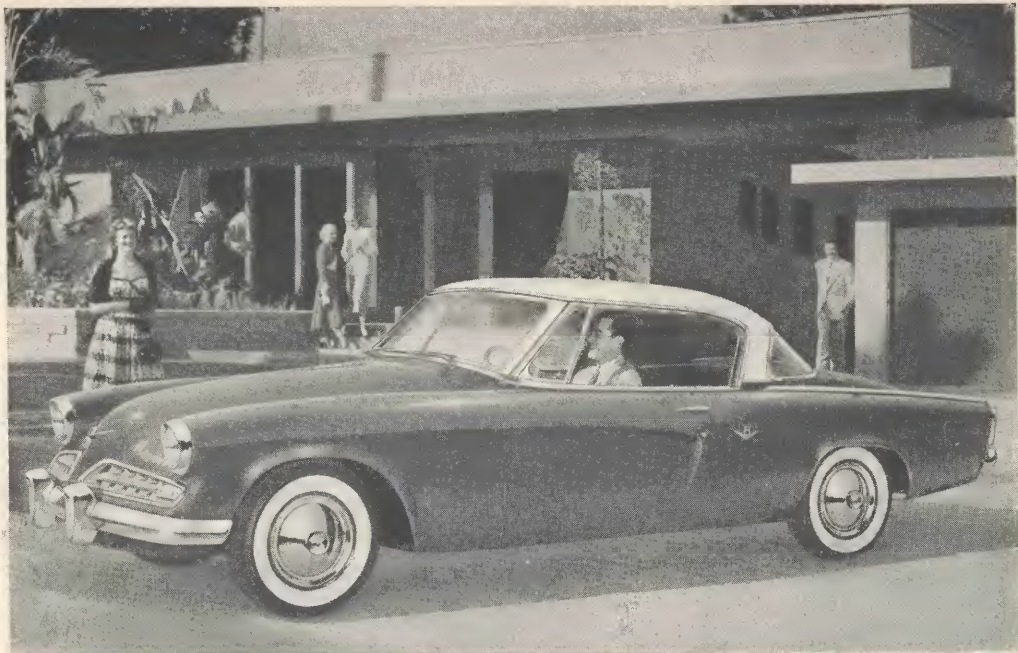
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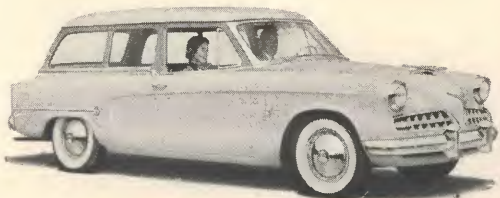
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COVER PICTURE: The Garden in Winter, Consulate General, Yokohama. The garden in summer was pictured on the March, 1952, JOURNAL cover. Photo by Leo J. Callanan.



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## Letters to the Editors

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### CHALLENGES SERVICE DECLARATION

Alexandria, Virginia

October 8, 1953

To the Editors,

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

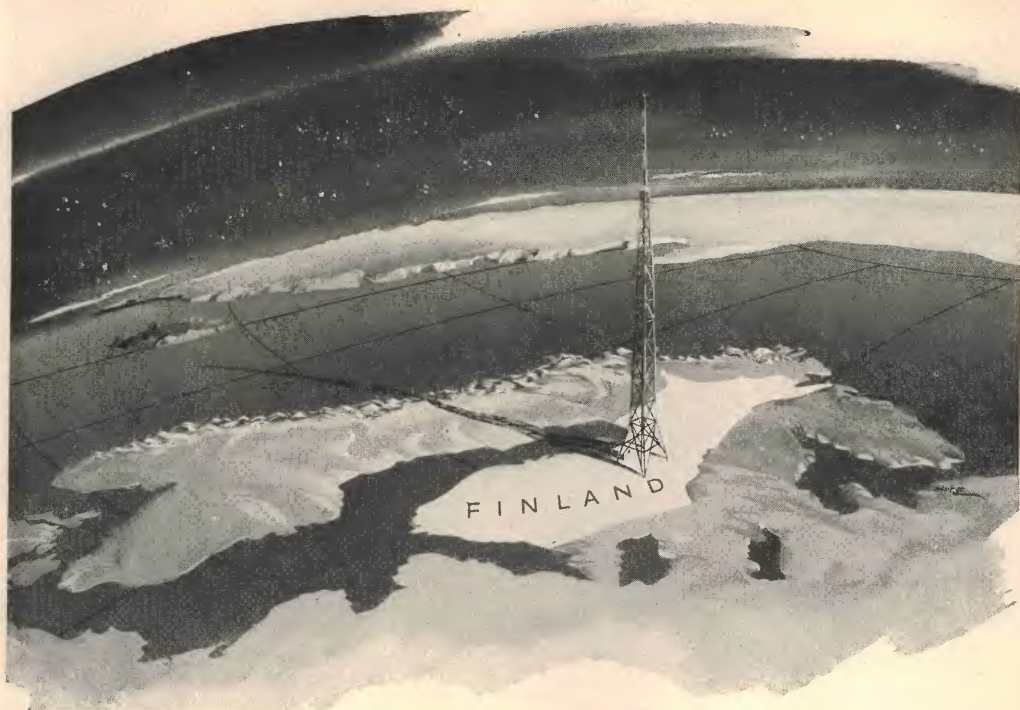
I read your editorial in the October issue with some anticipation and hope that it would carry forward and elaborate the excellent article by Louis Halle which you published recently. I was, however, disappointed. If this declaration of purposes and principles represents the distilled wisdom of the Foreign Service, then it is small wonder it has so far proven so inept in defending itself against attack or has failed to secure the public esteem which rightfully belongs to it.

There is little in the declaration with which anyone could disagree; so much so, in fact, that its contents are axiomatic and it is doubtless a sign of the sickness of our times that anyone should have thought it necessary or desirable to make such statements. What has been left unsaid is the disturbing part. I agree, in theory at least, with the assertion of the non-political and non-partisan character of the Service, although I gather there is no unanimity on this point in view of certain published statements to the effect that policy officers must be taught to think like Republicans or be replaced. The point is not wholly without validity and suggests the need for some qualification of any flat statement about a non-political and non-partisan Foreign Service, unless one assumes all officers to have the personality and intellect of a mirror or a degree of character dishonesty as yet unachieved anywhere. Either prospect is dreary.

It is, of course, a cliché that once a line of policy has been set every officer will carry it out to the best of his ability or get out; and the record of the Service is impeccable in this respect. The argument will then add that the Service exists to report impartially and carry out policy, and that it has no policy function. And, technically, there is only one policy officer in the Department, namely, the Secretary. This argument, however, oversimplifies and ignores the dynamics of policy and of men. There is no such person as an impartial man. All men report through the eyes of their experience, conditioning, outlook, intellect, emotions—however well disciplined. This in no sense implies dishonesty; on the contrary, a basic worth of democracy is recognition of fundamental differences between men and respect for the integrity and sincerity of those differences. Despite the public claptrap of the last few years, anyone who knows the Service also knows that in the main it is composed of very conservative and cautious men and that during the twenty years of the Democratic Administration it never contained more than a handful who were personally in sympathy with the social objectives and attitudes of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Nor am I aware that the Service, to its credit, ever pretended to be other than it was, and it still managed to do an honorable job. It would

*(Continued on page 6)*





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### LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 4)

seem there are now those who would deny it this virtue. To require greater flexibility to change of the Service than is required of other men is one thing; to demand absolute conformity of thought with any changing wind is intellectual harlotry and probably impossible without complete change of personnel.

Furthermore, to deny the Services a vital role in the formulation of policy is to ignore the dynamics of policy and how policy grows and is made. It may well be, as Walter Hines Page once said, that as modern communications improved an ambassador became little more than an office boy and not a very efficient one at that. It is equally true, as anyone who has worked in the Department knows, that many an instruction has been drafted and despatched by a second secretary to his former ambassadorial master. Perhaps Elihu Root in his relatively simple and untroubled world had time to review and sign routine travel orders, but his contemporary successors have been fortunate if they could keep abreast of major developments and current crises. Twenty years ago the immortal and inimitable Charlie Hosmer liked to tell classes of new officers how when he entered the Service he had been under the impression that each morning the Assistant Secretaries foregathered with an item on their agenda which read "What will we tell Hosmer today?" only to find to his chagrin that it wasn't so.

In a very real sense the lowly country desk officer has become an important figure in policy formulation. Due to complexity of modern diplomacy and the variety and number of problems he and his colleagues on the same level necessarily must make many of the routine and day to day decisions. It is inevitable that the accumulation of these actions, each by itself trivial and unimportant, should in the end contribute, sometimes decisively, to the creation of that atmosphere or situation in which a given major solution to a major problem becomes inevitable. And in turn the country desk officer is importantly influenced by what the field reports and recommends. Every officer in greater or lesser degree is a policy officer.

Nor is there anything wrong with this situation. As a highly trained specialist and expert it is precisely what he should be. He becomes blameworthy only when he denies his positive function, lapsing into the passive role of the mythical impartial man, or abdicates the creative aspects of the job for which he draws inadequate pay and rations. The Service becomes blameworthy when it falls back on the negative and fails to insist that a positive role in foreign policy is the only justification for the existence of the Foreign Service.

The tragedy and shame of the attack on the Foreign Service and the Department of State come not from any attack on opinions or attitudes. If he is worth his salt he should have opinions and convictions, he should defend them, and if he believes strongly enough he should be prepared to pay the price. He has no more right to immunity from dissent than any other citizen in a democracy. Anything else smacks too much of the elite class of an Imperial

(Continued on page 8)

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 6)

German General Staff. But he is entitled to something else and this is perhaps what needs most to be emphasized in any declaration of principles.

The disgrace of the attack on the Foreign Service is the attack on personal integrity and honor, particularly since much of it is done for other and cynical purposes. In the past the proper authorities have known quite well how to deal with the rare individual who betrayed his trust and how to do it without headlines and without publicly discrediting the overwhelming honorable majority. No one person can fight the contemporary slander by himself, and unless the Service as a group stands up and fights collectively and vigorously for its honor it will assuredly be reduced by man until it is immobilized into a colorless reflection and imitation of some pressure group. This is the basic value which must be enunciated, fought for, and won; for without it the rest of the words are meaningless. Many a harsh opinion has been expressed in the past about the Service, but they were based on evaluation of judgment, ability, adequacy. This is the first attack on honor and integrity and the consequences to the Service are too obvious to require elaboration.

One final quibble. Please let us stop this plaintive little refrain of "a life spent mostly far from home." Every officer who enters the business knows what he is getting into and if he finds he dislikes it he gets out. Otherwise he figures the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. It is an unusual officer who really prefers duty at home to duty abroad (except for the professional gain from a tour in Washington) and a rare wife who after the first few months of dishes and diapers in the Nation's Capital thinks of much else except of how soon she can get away.

JOHN F. MELBY

**Editor's Note:** While as stated in our editorial comment on the declaration of purposes and principles published in the October issue we do not believe that the declaration represents any kind of final expression of what the Service stands for, we do not share Mr. Melby's low estimate of this effort. To him the principles and purposes enunciated appear "axiomatic" and thus do not merit reiteration. Perhaps he does not fully appreciate the extent to which even so-called axiomatic assumptions regarding the Service are under critical review these days. Even the framers of the Declaration of Independence held certain truths to be "self-evident" but did not therefore refrain from restating them.

As to the question of who makes policy, we have no bone to pick with Mr. Melby's contention that Foreign Service personnel do contribute to the formulation of policy. The point we would emphasize here is that public responsibility for policy is shouldered under our system of government by politically responsible officers who change in accordance with the vicissitudes of domestic politics. Since political change in the United States is predicated upon a broad range of agreement on many issues between the two major parties, we do not see why the Foreign Service cannot

(Continued on page 10)

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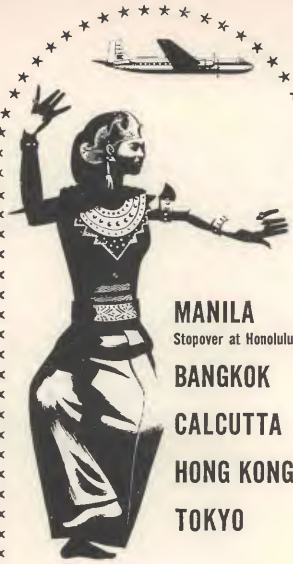
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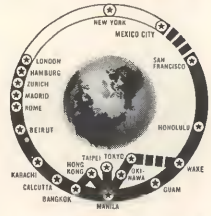
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**LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 8)**

continue to serve different Administrations with loyalty and integrity. That is the *raison d'être* of a career Foreign Service.

**HOW TO SPEAK OUT**

East Hartford, Conn.  
October 21, 1953

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I have read with great interest Robert C. McGregor's letter of July 31, 1953, entitled "Let Us Speak Out," appearing in the October, 1953 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. Mr. McGregor suggests the formation of an association for the utilization of the collective services of retired career officers in the defense of the Service.

The only really discouraging note in Mr. McGregor's letter under reference, it seems to me, is that he is apparently unaware of the fact that an association of more than 460 retired career officers and other personnel of the American Foreign Service has already been organized, and is in active operation at the present; that the said association is named "Diplomatic and Consular Officers—Retired, Inc." (DACOR); that its Executive Director is George G. Fuller, 3816 Huntington Street, N. W., Washington 15, D. C.; and that it is ready and well qualified, it appears to me, to perform the job which Mr. McGregores envisages.

At least five of the seven FSOs named by Mr. McGregor in his letter in question are members of DACOR.

I am sure that a request to Executive Director Fuller would, if it has not already, start the ball rolling.

Mr. McGregor may rest easy in the knowledge that retired FSOs, being seasoned officers of the United States, miss no opportunity to correct misinformation regarding the U. S. Foreign Service. His idea that our activities be coordinated is an excellent one.

The American Foreign Service Association (membership in which retired FSOs are proud to retain) and its organ, the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, might well plan to emphasize to active members of the Foreign Service that DACOR is not competitive with, but complementary to, the American Foreign Service Association; and that each organization is in a position to assist the other, through respectively having qualifications for certain functions of mutual advantage, which the other lacks.

Then too, active members of the U. S. Foreign Service should keep in mind that they are all potential candidates for retirement, which comes all too rapidly, as we FSOs with 30 years' service, or more, can testify.

Schools, colleges, and universities have their Alumni Associations; U. S. War Veterans have their Past Commander groups; and Lodges have their Past Masters. Likewise the U. S. Foreign Service has its DACOR.

With no desire to "preach a sermon," it may be quite appropriate to state here that a seasoned FSO is surprised at nothing, and keeps plugging along day after day in the Service to which he dedicated his life.

GORDON L. BURKE

(Continued on page 16)

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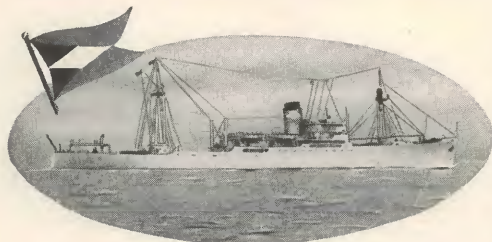
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**25 years ago**

BY  
**JAMES B.  
STEWART**

**1929.** The year of the collapse of the Stock Market and the beginning of the great depression! Where were some of your friends and my friends on the first day of that year? JOE BALLANTINE, whose vivid "Eel House Days in Tokyo" was the leading article in the January JOURNAL, was in Washington, as were BILL CASTLE, WARREN ROBBINS, FRANCIS WHITE, NELSON JOHNSON, ARTHUR LANE, CHARLIE HOSMER, JIMMY DUNN, HARRY ANSLINGER, MARSHALL VANCE, BOB MURPHY and JACK HICKERSON. ON HOME LEAVE were AVRA WARREN, EDMUND B. MONTGOMERY, JOHN BALL OSBORNE, SAMUEL HONAKER, WILBUR KEBLINGER, ERNEST HARRIS and BENJAMIN MUSE.

HAPPY NEW YEAR, MR. SECRETARY! Prior to the era of William Jennings Bryan, Edward Augustus Savoy, our hero messenger, was frequently pressed into extra territorial duty as egg-nog mixer plenipotentiary at the New Year receptions of a long list of Secretaries of State. (From the JOURNAL)

KILL McDERMOTT! MICHAEL J. McDERMOTT, the obliging and soft spoken young chief of the Current Information Division, tells of an experience he had on Secretary Kellogg's trip to Paris for the signing of the anti-war treaty. Halfway across the ocean Mac gave out some news which, to his astonishment, was wirelessly to New York in his name by a lady reporter. He told her that she had better withdraw all mention of him and explained that a simple message to her paper reading "Kill McDermott" would do the trick. When the wireless operator of the French liner was handed the radiogram bearing that terrifying text, he hit the deck and it had to be explained that a CORRECTION not a MURDER was being done. (Frederick William Wile in *Washington Star*)

BRIEFS: FELIX COLE resigned the position of Editor of the JOURNAL and left for his new post, Warsaw, Poland. He was succeeded by AUGUSTUS E. INGRAM, formerly a Consul General and now living in Washington. JAMES B. STEWART accepted the position of consulting editor.

On Wednesday evening, November 21, 1928, Messrs. BALLANTINE, PECK, HAMILTON, STEWART, MURRAY, DAVIS, PACKER, and WARREN, Foreign Service Officers in the Department, were the guests of the officers of the Japanese Embassy, at a Japanese dinner in the Burnt Mill Road Restaurant near Washington. It is hoped to have other similar meetings, the Americans alternating with the Japanese as hosts.

LADIES' LUNCHEON: On December 15, 1928, at the Clubhouse of the American Association of University Women, a group of wives of Consular Officers held a luncheon at which 28 were present. Several of the wives of officers on duty at the Department have met in this way a number of times during the fall. At the luncheon were Mesdames ALLING, G. E. ANDERSON, ANSLINGER, BALLANTINE, BARNES,

(Continued on page 14)





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**TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO (from page 12)**

CALDWELL, COLE, M. B. DAVIS, DUMONT, EHRHARDT, HAMILTON, HICKERSON, HODGDON, JOSSELYN, KEISER, LONGYEAR, MOFFITT, J. J. MURPHY, OSBORNE, PECK, WINTHROP, R. SCOTT, SOKOBIN, J. B. STEWART, VANCE, WARREN, WINSLOW, ARTHUR YOUNG.

**RESCUED FROM THE FILES:** DR. JOHN G. SOUTH, American Minister to Panama, speaking of the affectionate farewells when he left his home in Kentucky for his post, said that none was more appreciated than that of his old friend and former playmate "Bob."

On passing Bob's place of business (Bob was a porter in a barber shop) the day of his departure, the old man rushed out and seizing the Minister by the hand said: "Yas, sir, I does wish you well, but Doctah, it's a funny thing, longest as I knowed you and growed up wid you, and played wid you when we was boys, but now is de fust time I evah is knowed you wuz a preacher."

The Minister's "ole Bob" recalls his counterpart "ole Mose." Rastus looked up from his paper and over his specs and said: "I sees dey hab discovered Columbus's bones." "Dey hab?" replied Mose. "Well dats de fust time I evah is knowed he wuz a gam'lin' man."



A daughter, CAROLINE, was born in Burlington, Iowa, on October 5, 1928, to CONSER and MRS. JOHN RANDOLPH, Baghdad, Iraq.

MR. STEPHEN H. QUIGLEY, assistant chief in the Appointment Section, has many friends in the Service who will join in congratulating him and MRS. QUIGLEY on the birth on November 1, 1928, of a son, STEPHEN ELDRIDGE LYDDANE QUIGLEY.



BUTTERWORTH-PARKER. Married at Boston on November 10, 1928, VICE CONSUL WALTON W. BUTTERWORTH and MISS VIRGINIA PARKER.

CLARK-BERTRAND. CONSUL REED PAIGE CLARK and MISS JEANNE MARIE BERTRAND were married on November 12, 1928, at Laredo, Texas.

**MEMORY LANE**

I remember when MRS. JAMES E. HENDERSON went home from Salonika to have a baby. We were on an American ship from Alexandria to Naples and TED MARRINER from Beirut; BILL CRAMP from Addis Ababa; and ELIZABETH HENDERSON boarded the vessel at Athens. Captain Cluny in an aside asked me why Mrs. Henderson was returning to the U. S. A. alone. I explained that she wanted to bring a little American into the world on its native soil. He blurted: "American women are too fussy nowadays. Why an old vet brought me into the world." I had sailed with the old boy before and so could not resist the opportunity to retort: "Then Captain, perhaps you should have more horse sense."

*Harriette S. Stewart,  
Retired F. S. Wife.*

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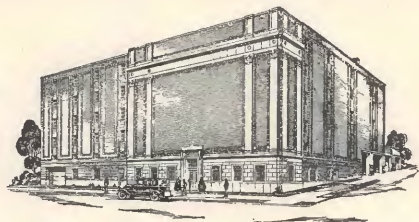
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS (from page 10)

## SINGLE SERVICE PUBLICATION

June 29, 1953  
Hong Kong

To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

This office has just received copies of the June issue of the Department of State Field Reporter and the Foreign Service News Letter and they have been read with questioning interest. While they are fine looking magazines one wonders whether they are really necessary at this time when it would be more practical to concentrate their services in one magazine.

In a period of economic cuts when Foreign Service personnel are being frozen in their posts overseas, I wish to suggest that the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL assume the functions rendered by these two magazines. The JOURNAL which I believe is the oldest of these publications could fulfill this purpose at considerable saving to the Government. It would also help enhance interest in the JOURNAL and make it more representative of persons in all phases of foreign service.

PAUL M. MILLER

## NOT RETIRED, RIFFED

Oslo, Norway  
September 18, 1953

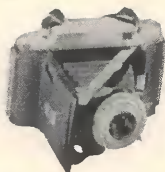
To the Editors,  
FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Reference is made to the August 1953 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, page 60, "Officer Retirements and Resignations" under which my name appears.

I wish to inform the JOURNAL that with "only" 23 years of loyal service in the Foreign Service, I could not be retired; nor have I resigned. I have simply been "riffed," in the present language of Government offices. This, because I was reclassified as a so-called "Resident Employee" in 1950, and despite the fact that my "efficiency valuation points" were "well above average."

It would be appreciated if the error in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL could be corrected, in order that the impression may be removed that I am enjoying the benefits of retirement.

(Mrs.) ETHEL B. FJELLE



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On this page you see four Nelly Don dresses that prove the point beautifully. They are made of a Celanese acetate knit fabric called Jersanese\*. An abiding classic in this field, Jersanese feels irresistibly smooth and soft. Its touch is friendly, warm, *good*. It travels superbly, packs into the smallest space, shakes off wrinkles, stays fresh. And, being acetate, *looks* far more than it costs.

In February you will see these Nelly Don dresses nationally advertised by Celanese and simultaneously displayed in some 1,000 leading stores in the United States.

No wonder that from dresses to lingerie to men's sport shirts, more and more of America's wardrobe is knit with Celanese acetate.

Celanese Corporation of America, New York 16. \*Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.



These Nelly Don dresses of Celanese acetate Jersanese show that excellent styling can be modestly priced.

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By Lois Perry Jones

## Memorable News Conference

At a memorable news conference in the first week of December, SECRETARY DULLES made the following statements concerning our need for allies in response to "widely publicized criticism of this Administration's foreign policy" made by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Said the Secretary:

"The burden of that criticism was that we spoke too kindly to our allies and sent them 'perfumed' notes, instead of using threats and intimidation to compel them to do our bidding.

"I welcome constructive criticism. But the criticism I refer to attacks the very heart of United States foreign policy.

"It is the clear and firm purpose of this Administration to treat other free nations as sovereign equals—whether they be large or small, strong or weak. My grandfather, John W. Foster of Indiana, himself a Secretary of State, said of American foreign policy that from the beginning it had been marked by 'a spirit of justice, forbearance and magnanimity.' I do not intend myself to mar that record.

"The tide of recent events has made our Nation more powerful; but I believe that it should not make us less loyal to our great American traditions; and that it should not blur our dedication to the truths, expressed in our Declaration of Independence, that we owe a respect to the opinions of others.

"Today it is to our interest to assist certain countries, but that does not give us the right to try to take them over, to dictate their trade policies and to make them our satellites.

"Indeed, we do not want weak or subservient allies. Our friends and allies are dependable just because they are unwilling to be anyone's satellites. They will freely sacrifice much in a common effort. But they will no more be subservient to the United States than they will be subservient to Soviet Russia. . . .

"Never in all our history was there a time when good friends and allies meant so much to us. . . ."

The Secretary was widely commended in the press for the courage and eloquence of his words.

## CARR BIOGRAPHY

A biography of Wilbur J. Carr is being written by Mr. Thomas Huntington and it has been suggested that members of the Foreign Service, either "retired" or "active," might be interested in adding to the volume personal anecdotes, reminiscences, experiences or other material, apropos of their association with Mr. Carr during his long tenure in the Department of State.

Any such material would be deeply appreciated by both Mrs. Carr and Mr. Huntington and may be addressed to Mrs. Carr, 2300 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C. In order to be sure that their contributions may be considered before the work is completed, contributors should mail them so that they will reach Mrs. Carr by March 1, 1954.

## Selection Boards

It is anticipated that Selection Boards will meet between the middle and last of January to prepare the 1954 promotion lists. Following completion of their work, Review Panels concerned with Staff Corps promotions will convene.

## Security Dismissals

One hundred ninety-seven out of a total of 1,456 government employees separated since May 27 under the President's executive security order were employees of the Department of State. An additional 109 employees of the Department were dismissed for security reasons from January 20, 1953, to May 27, 1953. In addition, 178 alien employees have been separated on the basis of security considerations.

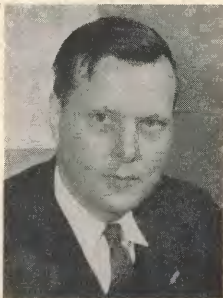
## Appointments

The HONORABLE U. ALEXIS JOHNSON was appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia succeeding the HONORABLE GEORGE WADSWORTH. After 19 years in the Foreign Service, this will be Ambassador Johnson's first European assignment. Although most recently Deputy to ASSISTANT SECRETARY WALTER ROBERTSON, Ambassador Johnson has

(Continued on page 48)



The Honorable Selden Chapin,  
Ambassador to Panama.



The Honorable U. Alexis Johnson,  
Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.



The Honorable Robert C. Hill,  
Ambassador to Costa Rica.



The Honorable Edward J. Sparks,  
designated to remain  
in Bolivia as Ambassador.

"Just as opportunity for choice is the condition of freedom, the deprivation of another's choice is the condition of domination or coercion."

"Responsibility enjoins upon us the qualities of magnanimity, urbanity, and patience, in portions greater than it has been our habit to show in world affairs."

"No riskless course is available."

"It is much easier to be right simply on the basis of one's own premises than it is to act rightly when the deed requires the free concurrence of others with diverse points of view."

"In world politics rightness is not simply to have right ideas in a static way but to work well and reasonably in an endless process."

"A world power cannot lead a double life."

"Our alliances are not gestures of quixoticism but actions essential to our own security."

"What we seek is largely determined by what we can do. What we can do is determined in part by what we are after."

"We find our destiny interwoven not merely with Europe's but with that of the world."

"Authority is a power based not only on capacity to compel compliance but also on trust by those who obey."

## CONSENT

By CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

(No portion of this article may be reprinted without the specific permission of the author)

\* \* \* *world order, in all its forms, from peace between states to legal documents which justify legitimate governments, is a labor of Sisyphus, which man must always begin anew, a structure continually undergoing repair because it begins to disintegrate at the very moment that it is being built. One of the greatest mistakes committed by human indolence is the belief that order is best preserved by keeping it as it stands. The only real guardians are those who reconstruct it.*

—GUGLIELMO FERRERO, *The Reconstruction of Europe.*

President Washington's Farewell Address 157 years ago counseled the young nation to have "as little political connection as possible" with other nations, to regard Europe's primary interests as having at most a very remote relation to America and the causes of Europe's controversies as "essentially foreign to our concerns," to avoid "interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe," indeed "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world" and to suffer participation only in temporary alliances demanded by expediency, never to "quit our own to stand upon foreign ground," and to take "care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture."

In recent years all but one of the items of Washington's counsel have been overturned by events.

Our forces stand on many foreign grounds. Some serve as elements in the defense of Western Europe in Germany and Austria and in lines of communication across France. Some of our forces man bases in the United Kingdom, in Iceland, in Greenland, among countries adjoining the Mediterranean on its southern and eastern coasts, and in island areas of the Far Western Pacific. Our armies remain in South Korea in the still unresolved sequel to a vexing and enormously destructive coalition war. Others of our forces maintain the security of Japan.

We find our destiny interwoven not merely with Europe's but with that of the world. The causes of controversies in other continents, instead of being "essentially foreign to our concerns," have become matters of pressing moment to us, requiring constant effort, huge outlay of resources, and continuous collaboration with many other governments. We are



"Our role must be to advocate for the principles of legitimacy in relationships with the vast external realm because that is the ground on which we stand at home."

"In world politics adversary powers are continually bent on the defensive and on the offensive just as in the relationships of chess, fencing, or Gaelic football."

"In the Preamble of our Constitution is implicit the concept of a people's giving consent as a condition precedent to being governed."

"Consent is slow business."

"The pervasive and enduring issue of politics is one of primacy between consent and force."

## and COALITION

daily involved in the question of the future of now divided Europe, in the efforts to maintain a basis of economic and military strength to relieve the political societies of Western Europe from anxieties and frustrations tending to make them susceptible to Soviet pressure, in the search for better bases of accommodation between the metropolitan powers and the peoples of the Middle East and the Far East new to or aspiring to independence but unused to the usages of responsibility, and in the encouragement of and assistance to a score or more of nations to stand firm against communist pressure both from without and from within.

### *Our System of Alliances*

We have a system of alliances. They are intended not as temporary but as enduring arrangements. They are founded not upon expedients but on principles of political collaboration. Their scope is without example in previous history for any nation, compassing the entire American hemisphere, the North Atlantic area, Western Europe from the North Cape to the Mediterranean, the Mediterranean area itself, stretching thru Turkey to the eastern limits of the Black Sea, and finally embracing the Pacific. One treaty engages us in obligations of mutual defense with twenty American republics to the south of us. Another such treaty embraces Canada, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, France, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Three concurrent alliances bind us to Australia and New Zealand, the Philippines, and Japan. Still a fourth, in formative stage, would so engage us with the Republic of Korea.

Auxiliary to these explicit alliances are mutual defensive arrangements of less formalized contractual character with Spain and Yugoslavia and with the Chinese Nationalist Government at its seat on Formosa. We are intimately concerned too in the defense of Indochina. In the United Nations we are a principal among the group of nations disposed to stand free of Soviet domination. We have in the occupation of Western Germany and Austria a special coalition of responsibility with the United Kingdom and France.

This is enough for the cataloguing of our concerns and coalitions—our deviations from Washington's farewell counsel. The key to these deviations is found in the last and most

important item of his advice—that about keeping a respectable defensive posture. The circumstances of this mid-century make it impossible for us to do this and to follow the rest of his counsel at the same time. We have had to reach out in a system of alliances to keep from hostile hands the control of positions and resources that would shift the balances perhaps irretrievably against us, to secure the time and the space necessary to fend off attack, and to secure the positions for ensuring against encroachments on the seas by forces inimical to our interests. Our alliances are not gestures of quixoticism but actions essential to our own security. Our forces stand abroad not in the service of foreign interests but in the service of American safety.

Once upon a time two cross-eyed men collided. One asked the other why he did not look where he was going. The second asked, "Why don't you go where you're looking?" In former times, as a nation remote from and only intermittently involved in the affairs of the Old World, we were concerned chiefly about looking where we were going. Now as a world power we must take heed that we shall go where we are looking. We must take care to understand the values which our foreign policy must serve and the manner in which they constrain the nation to proceed on the world scene.

Under the conditions of politics in the contemporary world, a world power cannot lead a double life. It cannot espouse one set of values at home and then cheat on them in the world at large. It cannot adopt one mode of action in domestic matters and act by its antithesis beyond the threshold. Its choice of what to be within itself must determine its conduct in the world, or else its conduct in the world must transform the character of its domestic institutions.

The Government of the United States is founded on some general propositions set down in the Preamble of the Constitution. These are the purposes for which the American people gave their consent to be governed.

The first is the perfection of the Union. That expresses the idea of a nation growing in internal strength and concord.

The second is the establishment of justice. That means subjection of power to antecedent standards ensuring against the employment of power as an end in itself.

Third in the enumeration comes domestic tranquillity—meaning a nation at peace with itself, permitting the resolution of issues by reason and compromise.

Next comes the common defense. That means the protection of the nation against penetration by its enemies.

The promotion of the general welfare is listed next. That expresses the idea of a government serving the interests of, and accountable to, the community at large rather than being the instrument merely of the interests of a dominant group.

Finally comes the securing now and henceforth of the blessings of liberty, a situation permitting the individual to choose freely for himself and his children regarding the modes of their lives, their religion, and their thoughts.

Those values prosper in a climate of security. They would wither under the blight of dread. The goal of our foreign policy, enduring until death or defeat, is to preserve in the world a situation permitting the survival of those values as political realities in the United States.

Behind these ideas in the Preamble of our Constitution is implicit the concept of a people's giving consent as a condition precedent to being governed. The Declaration of Independence states that concept explicitly in a phrase declaring the consent of the governed as the sole basis whence a government may derive lawful powers. The ages echo in that phrase. What it conveys is perhaps the most precious and rational idea brought forth through the centuries to rectify and to justify the exercise of political power.

Of this idea we as a nation must be advocates and exemplars in the world to fulfill the highest implications of our institutional values. Let me therefore take a few minutes to deal with it analytically.

#### *The Concept of Intention*

As an initial point in analysis I refer to the concept of intention. The term denotes the whole scope of a contemplated action, including the means as well as the purpose. Continuous adjustment among patterns of intention inheres in all human relations. Individuals, groups, and institutions affect the intentions of other individuals, groups, or institutions and in turn experience action upon their own intentions by others. One continually seeks to get others so to modify their undertakings as to suit one's own purposes, or on the other hand adjusts his own intentions to fit the designs of others.

A power relationship is one involving, on a continued basis, the adjustment of patterns of intention between or among various entities having wills. To bring another regularly to comply with one's own purposes is to exercise power. To accommodate one's intentions regularly to the will of another is to be acted upon by the power of another. Power, let us say, is the capacity to achieve intended results by affecting the actions of others.

In an oversimplification let me point to two general ways of affecting the intentions of another entity.

One way is to bring the other one concerned to an identification of his purposes with one's own purposes. This is the method of seeking a community of will with another. It leaves the other with the opportunity of choice, which is the condition of freedom. It involves essentially also having in some measure and on occasions to bend one's own intentions to accommodate one's counterpart in a merging of wills. Let us identify this as the method of consent.

The other way is that of impinging upon another's means

so as to foreclose him from acting otherwise than in accord with one's own desires. This involves the mastery of one will over another. Just as opportunity for choice is the condition of freedom, the deprivation of another's choice is the condition of domination or coercion. This course requires rigidity of will on the part of the one disposing power, just as in the opposite case some flexibility in the fibre of the will is required.

The basic form of coercion is force. Force, as I use the term here, refers to the direct or the threatened or implicit application of energy in a violent way to compel, to constrain, or to restrain another. The state rests on the establishment of a monopoly to the prerogative to use force in a defined area. Integral to the political organization of a people is the location of a monopoly of force in a government which alone through its agents is entitled to initiate its use or to lay down the conditions authorizing private individuals to use it. This integral relationship between the existence of the state and a monopoly to the title to use force is a concept in classic political theory. I shall merely assert it here rather than attempting to labor the point in argument.

The faculty for eliciting consent as a basis for power I shall call authority. That is not the sole meaning of the word, but it is one of its meanings, and I know of no substitute for it in this sense. By authority I mean a power based not only on capacity to compel compliance but also on trust by those who obey.

Force and authority are not antithetic. The command of adequate instruments of force by government is necessary to that protective capability which in turn is essential as a basis for eliciting consent. On the other hand, coercive power alone is a very brittle base on which to maintain a state. The reliance on force alone as an instrument of compliance generates anxiety among those subject to the power of the governing apparatus and among those exercising the power of the apparatus. The ruled fear the rulership, and the rulers fear the ruled. Fear induces fear, as the history of a hundred tyrannies demonstrates. Even the most ruthless tyrannies covet consent and contrive a semblance of authority by propagating among the ruled slogans and symbols of esteem and affection for the rulers.

The pervasive and enduring issue of politics is one of primacy between consent and force, for this is the key to the question whether the power of a government rests on real or sham authority.

#### *Compliance by Coercion*

An illegitimate rule is one resting solely on the monopoly of force, gaining compliance only by coercion. Despite the trappings of authority used to conceal the nakedness and singularity of the force by which they govern, those in the seats of power can never forget the oppressive character of their rulership. They will tend toward wariness and fearfulness of groups or institutions outside the scope of the governing apparatus capable of eliciting consent. The tendency of such a rule to stamp out such groups and institutions where feasible and to subsume all semblance of authority unto itself—to establish a monopoly on institutional life, to use its coercive instruments to rub out every pattern of loyalty independent of itself, in a word to become totalitarian.

To bring out the differences between government resting on valid authority and government relying on sham authority, I shall cite Guglielmo Ferrero, an historian with great



insight on this question:

Bringing it down to a mere matter of force, government would be no more than a perpetual struggle between those who, considering themselves the strongest, would desire to be in control. Under these circumstances, how can a government assume its proper function as an instrument of reason and a source of laws which limit and direct the unbridled independence of the human mind? \* \* \* In order that a government may accomplish its organic function as the instrument of reason and the creator of laws, its subjects must conform jointly and spontaneously, obeying its commands voluntarily, at least to a certain extent; and they will not give their spontaneous submission unless they recognize that the government has the right to command, apart from the force necessary to impose its orders.

Man's great accomplishment in achieving decency in civil society, Ferrero has written, was

\* \* \* when he asserted that government does not have the right to command because it is strong, but that it must have the strength to command because it has the right to do so. Strength is not the parent, but the servant of the right to command.

In the usages of legitimacy those charged with applying the sanctions of the state are denied the power independently to determine the general purposes for which the sanctions may be applied. Moreover, the coercive power of the state must be withheld from the process of resolving the general purposes for which the use of coercive power is to be authorized.

Here in the antithesis between illegitimacy and legitimacy in use of power among nations—between coercion and consent—we find the key to the basic issue between the Soviet power on the one side and our allies and ourselves ranged on the other.

#### *Captives of a Rulership*

The people of the Soviet area are the captives of a rulership. That rulership rules with fear and in fear. The ideology which it employs conduces to this result—an ideology which denies and inverts the whole set of values integral to the concept of legitimacy in the exercise of political power. The Soviet Union in its present character could not enter into bonds of confidence with other nations different in character from itself and independent of its dominance. Its domestic character forecloses it from being able to do so.

The obverse is true of us. Our role must be to advocate for the principles of legitimacy in relationships with the vast external realm because that is the ground on which we stand at home. To attempt the collaboration of fear and intimidation with other nations would necessarily involve us in the undoing of the principles of free government at home—the principles whose survival must be the pervasive and enduring goals of our foreign policy. As the adversary's design is to dominate by fear, our aspiration must be to do whatever we can to lift the burden of fear from the world so as to give free institutions and usages the best attainable chance to survive and strengthen. Ours is the course of consent.

I wish to speak for a moment about the interaction between the Soviet imperium and the world exterior to it.

The interpretation of world affairs suffers because the range so vastly exceeds personal observation and experience. One is usually at a loss for precise words to convey the

essence of the functions, equipoises, and contradictions making up relationships among states, and so to explain to oneself or to others and tends to borrow language and concepts from other fields. We interpret world affairs in analogies from the bridge table, the stock exchange, medicine, physics, and so on. A favorite source of analogy is sports. In our national sports the contenders take turns in offense and defense, as in baseball at the half innings and in football when the ball goes over. Perhaps this accounts for the tendency to regard the offensive and the defensive in foreign affairs as mutually exclusive; one repeatedly hears the cliché about moving from the defensive and taking the initiative, in a tone of utterance indicating the sayer's assurance of having said something significant and wise. The idea, however, is false and misleading. In world politics adversary powers are continuously both on the defensive and on the offensive just as in the relationships of chess, fencing, or Gaelic football.

#### *Aims and Power Interact*

We should probably have to go into calculus for finding a satisfactory analogy. A nation's intentions and its power interact on each other. What we seek is largely determined by what we can do. What we can do is determined in part by what we are after. Our own aims and power acting as functions of each other are in an interactive relationship with adversary intentions and capabilities, which also are related to each other as interdependent variables.

Such characteristics of complexity make me quite wary of attempts to scan and to plan the future in nice precision. The interval ahead within which our hypotheses can have validity is limited. To carry our speculations beyond it takes us into the realm of fancy. There is a story of a man who tried to board a train with a mongoose on a leash. The conductor told him pets were forbidden. The man insisted the mongoose was not strictly a pet because it was needed to kill the snakes he saw in delirium tremens. The conductor said this was unacceptable since snakes in delirium tremens were not real. The passenger said that, for that matter, it was not a real mongoose. One arrives at this sort of unreality in attempting to project very far ahead hypotheses about the interactive relationship between the Soviet sphere and the areas independent of it.

The Soviet system may be described as an arrangement for expanding the span of control, yet always keeping it rigidly under the will of the central authority, seeking to do with greater effect and imagination what the misguided program of the Nazis tried to do in exercising a claim of allegiance and obedience over citizens and subjects of other states and trying to reverse the trend toward equality and

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Charles Burton Marshall, a Texan, was in turn a newspaperman, an instructor at Harvard, an Army officer, a consultant to the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House before joining the Policy Planning Staff in June, 1950. He left the Department for private employment in December, 1953. The accompanying article presents a portion of a set of five lectures given at Hollins College, Roanoke, Va., in October.



APRIL 15, 1953

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
FOR THE PRESS

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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE, MEMORIAL SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS HOTEL STRAYER, WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1953, AT 10:00 P.M., S.E.C., TO BE BROADCASTED OVER THE RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORKS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

**THE PRESS 90 DAYS**

President Eisenhower, speaking here last Thursday, opened the door to the nation of peace. He invited the Soviet Union to come in. His invitation was not mere rhetoric. Its timing was not chosen at hasard. It marked a planned stage in the evolution of Eisenhower foreign policy. The speech really had its beginning when President Eisenhower took office, which was 90 days ago tomorrow.

The words which President Eisenhower uttered might have been uttered at any time during these past 90 days. But these words gained meaning in significance because they came against a background of decisive, positive action.

When President Eisenhower first took office, a plea for peace such as he made this week might have been interpreted as a sign of weakness or a mere gesture of sentimentality. In order that such a plea should carry weight, and to Soviet leaders in particular, President Eisenhower's will and capacity to develop foreign policies so firm, so fair, so just, that the Soviet leaders might find it expedient to live with these policies rather than to live against them.

I should like briefly to review this 90-day period, which marks the President's historical address.

**—ENDING COMMUNITY**

of the hopes of

# Diplomacy

AND THE

# Press

By HENRY B. COX

Having served both as a political officer and as a public affairs officer I have become increasingly absorbed by the problem of press relations as it affects the operations of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. More specifically, I have become interested in the functions and responsibilities of both the career political officer and representatives of the press in relation to the vital task of keeping the people of a democracy properly informed about developments in the field of foreign affairs. In some sense this article is an attempt to present an analysis of these responsibilities, taking into account the practical considerations which must inevitably apply.

Prior to the first World War the role of public opinion in the formulation and conduct of foreign relations was relatively limited. Most of the activity which we call diplomacy was carried on by the great powers of Europe—Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. With the exception of the first two, these countries had autocratic forms of government and diplomacy was conducted on a dynastic basis with ministers and ambassadors accountable almost exclusively to the head of state. Moreover, it was for the most part conducted in an atmosphere of secrecy. Even in the case of the democracies, the democratic process, which had gradually permeated most aspects of the national life, had had a rather minor impact on the institutions and individuals concerned with foreign affairs. For these reasons, the role of the press was primarily one of reporting final decisions rather than that of presenting a blow-by-blow account of proceedings. At the same time public reaction came at the conclusion of a negotiation or the consummation of an agreement and the pressure of public opinion on day to day diplomacy was minimal.

Beginning roughly with the year 1914 and particularly as a result of the promulgation of the Wilsonian principle of "open covenants, openly arrived at," the interest and participation of the average citizen began to increase. The establishment of the League of Nations with its operations

open to the public eye furthered the trend to more open diplomacy. Another factor of considerable importance was the rapid expansion of mass communications which brought the world closer together and increased the availability of news of every sort. Radio, which broadened the average man's knowledge of other nations and peoples, also brought him a better understanding of international political events as they affected his daily existence and stimulated his interest in the problems of foreign relations. And with this change came an increased responsibility on the part of the press to report more fully international political and diplomatic matters. Later, with the rise to power of the Nazi regime in Germany and the Fascist government in Italy, the democracies were faced with the necessity of combatting the vituperation, lies and distortions of the elaborate totalitarian propaganda machines. At the same time they had to cope with the hostile and subversive outpourings of the Soviet press and radio. Thus the diplomat who had preferred to remain aloof from public affairs matters, found it necessary to take an active interest in propaganda and information problems.

### Strident Propaganda

The totalitarian regimes mounted extensive and strident propaganda campaigns designed to present their political and economic objectives in the best possible light, to undermine the prestige and confidence of the democracies and to sow doubt and confusion. Most significant perhaps is the fact that these campaigns were directed not at governments but rather at the man in the street. It soon became obvious that in order effectively to counteract this hostile propaganda a closer working relationship would have to be established between the political officer and the democratic press.

Since World War II the necessity for this combined effort has continued and has in recent years become even more pressing in the face of the increasingly intensive propaganda





A press conference of the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles

efforts of the Soviet directed world Communist movement.

Because of a lack of experience in public affairs matters, however, many political officers both in the Department and in the Foreign Service are reluctant to venture into this unfamiliar field. But this reluctance notwithstanding, the responsibility for keeping the people adequately and accurately informed concerning United States and free world policies and objectives has become an integral and enduring part of the job of the diplomat. In the discharge of this responsibility he must be prepared to operate through a variety of media—the press, the radio and television. The last medium has placed an even heavier burden on the political officer since he must not only be able to speak intelligently and convincingly; he must also look and act convincingly. In the performance of this broad assignment the political officer must necessarily work closely with representatives of the press. There are very few people in either group who would question the desirability and necessity of this relationship. Those differences which do exist or may arise relate principally to the manner in which this joint responsibility is discharged.

In order properly to understand the difficulties involved in carrying out this joint responsibility it is necessary to be completely aware of the professional and other limitations which govern the operations of the diplomat on the one hand and the practicing newspaper man on the other. Let us mention first a few of the factors which restrict the activity of the political officer in the performance of his duties.

#### Security Factors

The most obvious of these factors are those of security and the national interest and it is in connection with these factors that most difficulties and misunderstandings between the political officer and members of the press corps arise.

In the case of the first of these factors there is often considerable disagreement between government officials and members of the press corps as to what information is actu-

ally of a security nature in the sense that its publication would jeopardize the security of the nation. The question of the over-classification of official papers and documents has been under rather heated discussion of late and the complaints of newsmen concerning the abuses of the security classification system may in part be justified. Since we cannot resolve this controversy here I would prefer to treat briefly the type of situation which comes broadly under the heading of national interest.

There is, for example, the case in which a delicate or highly important matter is in the process of being negotiated between this government and another, the premature publicizing of which would either have a most deleterious effect upon these negotiations or might in fact result in their failure. In such cases it is clearly unthinkable for security and practical reasons for the political officer to volunteer information to the press. No responsible newspaperman would quarrel with this position. But the real conflict arises when a serious leak occurs in the midst of a negotiation or conference and the political officer is confronted with a wire service ticker which contains information previously regarded as confidential and is asked for his comments. He is usually faced with three choices: he can deny outright the

*(Continued on page 52)*

Henry B. Cox, who received degrees from Haverford College and the University of Pennsylvania, did additional graduate work at Heidelberg, Pennsylvania and George Washington University before entering government service in 1941. Formerly an officer in the Office of German political affairs, specializing on Soviet tactics in Germany and the Soviet Zone of Germany, he is now Deputy Public Affairs Adviser in EUR.





A rare old print of St. Eustatius circa 1763

# THE GOLDEN ROCK

By CHARLES F. KNOX, JR.

*(With grateful acknowledgement to Captain M. M. Merens, Royal Dutch Navy, Retired, for assistance in research)*

On November 16, 1776 Captain Isaiah Robinson sailed the *Andrea Doria* into the harbor of St. Eustatius, Netherlands West Indies. Of the numerous ships in the roads, the *Andrea Doria*, a brig designed to carry 14 - 4 pounders, was among the smaller but she immediately attracted attention. At her mast was a strange flag of 13 horizontal red and white stripes with a blue canton containing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew—the new flag of the Continental Congress.

Captain Robinson dropped anchor in front of Fort Orange. He was proud of his little ship, proud of his crew, proud of those colors at the masthead. He ordered the usual salute of 11 guns to the Dutch flag flying above the fort and then he waited, certainly with more hope than expectation. His joy can be imagined when the Dutch governor, Johannes de Graaff, promptly ordered the salute returned with resounding 18 pounders—the first salute to the American flag!

That the Dutch, faithful friends and allies of the United States for 177 years, were the first nation formally to salute the American flag is historically well recorded. Less well known, however, is why the incident took place at St. Eustatius. What was Captain Robinson doing so far afield in the first place? And what was he doing in St. Eustatius, an island so small and now so unimportant that relatively few Americans even know of its existence?

St. Eustatius—or Statia as it was often called—is a small rocky island lying just south of the Virgin Islands and close to the British island of St. Kitts. It has a poor harbor, is not fertile, and its area is not more than seven square miles.

But in the middle of the 18th century it was, in the hands of the Dutch, of tremendous importance, especially to the American colonies.

Situated among the insular possessions of Great Britain, Denmark, France, and Spain, St. Eustatius profited by the absurdities of the old colonial system (exemplified by the Navigation Acts) wherein each of those powers insisted on monopolizing the trade of its colonies. Having long been converted to the principle of colonial free trade the Dutch early established St. Eustatius as a free port and Yankee shippers, in defiance of Great Britain, traded clandestinely with the friendly Dutch merchants there even in times of peace. If, as happened, war prevailed between France, England, or Spain, St. Eustatius immediately became a bustling, neutral port through which commercial interests could continue to trade and escape the blockading fleets of the belligerents.

## *A Startling Opportunity*

The war between Great Britain and her North American colonies gave St. Eustatius a startling opportunity. The conflict, and the non-importation agreements which preceded it, cut off all supply to the colonies. The shrewd Dutch merchants on St. Eustatius were not caught napping. They stocked up. And the private and state trade of the colonies quickly took advantage of the "loophole" in the blockade ring which the mother country imposed, sending agents to St. Eustatius to handle both export and import cargoes even before the Declaration of Independence. Maryland, for example, had its agent, Abraham van Bibber, at St. Eustatius as early as March 1776, while other American agents resided in the French islands. When France and Great Britain declared war and the French islands became in-



eligible to the colonial trades, the island of St. Eustatius became doubly important. By 1776 it had become, in the words of Edmund Burke "... an emporium for all the world; a mart, a magazine for all the nations of the earth. . . . Its wealth was prodigious, arising from its industry, and the nature of its commerce."

Small wonder then that our forefathers referred to St. Eustatius as "The Golden Rock." Small wonder then that Captain Robinson, in search of war supplies, sailed the *Andrea Doria* into that port, the nearest "arsenal of democracy" available to the embattled Americans.

From some official and British reports there can be obtained a general idea of what life was like on The Golden Rock during the period 1775-1781. There is, however, a scarcity of recorded material containing informal eye-witness accounts of those daily details which make up the pattern of a community. This lack of material is possibly owing to the reluctance of the contraband travelers to commit to paper that which might incriminate them if found by the British, but more likely it is owing to the thoroughness with which Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney destroyed the town and all its works when he "scourged" it in 1781. At least one short eye-witness account is available, however, in the travel diary of one Janet Schaw who visited St. Eustatius on January 19, 1775:

#### *A Place of Vast Traffic*

Coming from St. Kitts, Janet Schaw arrived "on St. Eustatius, a free port, which belongs to the Dutch; a place of vast traffic from every quarter of the Globe. The ships of various nations which rode before it were very fine. Nor do I think I would stay on it for any bribe. It is, however, an instance of Dutch industry little inferior to their dykes; as the one half of the town is gained off the Sea, which is fenced out by Barracadoes, and the other dug out of an immense mountain of sand and rock; which rises to a great height behind the houses, and will one day bury them under it. On top of this hill I saw some decent looking houses but was not able to mount it, to look at them nearer. I understand, however, that the whole riches of the Island consist in its merchandise, and that they are obliged to neighboring Islands for subsistence; while they in return furnish them with contraband commodities of all kinds. The town consists of one street a mile long, but very narrow and most disagreeable, as every one smokes tobacco, and the whiffs are constantly blown in your face.

But never did I meet with such variety; here was a merchant vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish, etc. etc. They all wear the habit of their country, and the diversity is really amusing. . . .

From one end of the town of Eustatia to the other is a continued mart, where goods of the most different uses and qualities are displayed before the shop-doors. Here hang rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered muslins, with all the manufactures of the Indies. Flushed by hand Sailors' Jackets, trousers, shoes, hats, etc. Next stall contains most exquisite silver plate, the most beautiful indeed I ever saw, and close by these iron-pots, kettles and shovels. Perhaps the next presents you with French and English Millinary-ware. But it were endless to enumerate the variety of merchandise in such a place, for in every store you find every thing, be their qualities ever so opposite."

But the hard-pressed American revolutionists were not at all interested in "all the manufactures of the Indies" that

so intrigued Janet Schaw. They were after military supplies, and the Dutch merchants of St. Eustatius had them in abundance. Arms, gunpowder, cartridges, canons, blades, rope, sail cloth, ship supplies, tools, and implements of war were sold in immense volume to the Americans. A Dutch rear-admiral recorded that 3,182 vessels sailed from St. Eustatius during the period of the 13 months he stayed there in 1778-79. In 1779 an English observer recorded that during that year the North American Colonists sent, among other things, 12,000 hogsheads of tobacco and 1,500,000 ounces of indigo to St. Eustatius to exchange for war supplies. From the despatches and correspondence of Sir Joseph Yorke, British Ambassador at the Hague, it is learned that as regards gunpowder alone one single ship took 49,000 pounds, while movements of record from St. Eustatius of 14,000 pounds, and later 10,000 pounds (to Philadelphia) and 10,000 pounds (to Charleston) indicate the size of the shipments. Nor were these isolated shipments, but steadily recurring items of supply that flowed to the fighting colonies through the hands of the friendly Dutch.

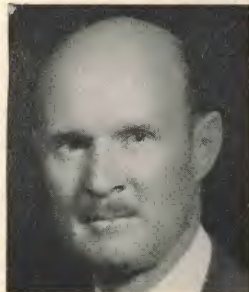
#### *Wealth Amassed*

The wealth amassed on the island was truly impressive, and the flow of contraband supplies to the rebellious Americans was a festering sore in the relations between London and the Hague. The British Ambassador protested repeatedly, and with increasing exasperation, to the Dutch Government. And when the Dutch Governor on St. Eustatius insulted the British flag by taking up "the Salute of a Pirate and a Rebel" (for such was Captain Robinson in the eyes of the British) the fat was in the fire. Great Britain could tolerate the situation no longer and on December 20, 1780 declared war against the Dutch, ordering Admiral Rodney to attack St. Eustatius with overwhelming fleet forces, plus army units under command of Major General Vaughan.

Rodney caught The Golden Rock completely off guard. On February 3, 1781 he struck, and what he found there amazed him. "The riches of St. Eustatius are beyond all comprehension. . . ." he wrote to his wife. The warehouses of the "lower town" extended for a mile and a quarter along the sea front and "All the magazines and Storehouses are filled, and even the Beach covered with tobacco and sugar. . . . He captured upwards of 150 ships and vessels of all denominations in the roads, plus thirty more which had just left for Holland and which he chased and brought back to St. Eustatius. By continuing to fly the Dutch flag over Fort Orange for weeks after the capture, he lured unsuspecting ships into the harbor and seized them. "Upwards of Fifty American Vessels loaded with Tobacco, have been taken since the Capture of the Island," he reported.

(Continued on page 54)

Charles F. Knox, Jr., a member of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, was a Foreign Service Officer from 1939 to 1952. During that time he served mainly in Latin America. Following a detail to the National War College, he was counselor of mission at Tel Aviv in 1948. He is now retired, and lives at Warrenton, Virginia, where he farms and writes.





# Through Lapland

*by  
reindeer*

On a reindeer trail. Two types of sleds are shown, the "boat" in the center and the sleigh following behind. The latter are in more common use.

BY THOMAS P. HILTUNEN

Reindeer usually start off at full gallop so one has to hop quickly into the sleigh to get the benefit of a good start. They gallop for a short distance, then settle down to a steady mile-consuming trot. The animal has not much intelligence and will, if frustrated, sometimes turn upon its driver with flaying hooves and antlers.

This was some of the more immediately practical information which Harold Bigler of USIA in Helsinki and I picked up during a 13-day trip last February and March in Lapland, visiting lumber camps and Lapp villages, where I was to learn about lumbering techniques and something of the life of the workers. Mr. Bigler had arranged for Erik Blomberg, an authority on Lapland who had spent years making movies about the region, to accompany us on this visit. Through his contacts in Enontekiö we secured a local guide, some additional clothing, and a reindeer for each man.

Our clothing, as we set out fully dressed, consisted of

furled overcoats, woolen or fur caps, two pairs of heavy woolen underwear, heavy woolen trousers, 2 or 3 woolen shirts, plus a windproof parka. The most important item of clothing was our footwear, the reindeer skin moccasins with socks of hay. When the Lapp starts out in the morning he carefully packs the inside of the moccasin with a layer of soft hay, wiggles his foot inside it, and then binds the top to his leg with an elastic woolen band. At night he gently shakes out the hay, turns his footwear inside out and places both to dry on top of the fireplace.

Each man in our party of four was equipped also with a light sleigh capable of carrying him and his equipment. The deer was fastened to the sleigh with a two-piece wooden collar and a leather strap. They were strong, lively animals, the guide explained, and we would make good time on the trail. He continued: to steer a deer left, you jerk the strap to the left several times in rapid succession; for a right turn you swing the strap over the deer's neck to the right and



jerk the same way. To stop the deer you say "ptruu" and pull back steadily on the strap. And to speed up along the trail you slap the strap against the deer's side. Under no circumstances, we were cautioned, were we to let go of the strap while on the trail, as this is a good way of losing one's transportation. Feeding and watering presents little difficulty. For water, reindeer merely gulp up some snow, and at night you tether the deer near where they can dig some lichens; or if necessary you may buy "lichen loaves," moss gathered in summer and compressed into cabbage-sized bundles, along the route.

The terrain we covered on our trip to the Lapp villages was virtually barren save for the scrub birch and an occasional fir tree along the lower stretches of the river valleys. The bald-topped tunturit, (Arctic mountains), were brilliant in the sun. Our trail followed along the snow-covered river and lake surfaces with frequent shortcuts across hills and ridges. Our guide had trained his dog to find the trail, erased by the strong winds, and he worked about a hundred yards ahead of the reindeer train.

We had no real difficulty getting accustomed to handling the reindeer, and several incidents gave us an insight into their behavior. The most outstanding of these was a near casualty when Bigler took his turn at riding the "pulkka" (a sort of one-man boat drawn by a single leather thong), and was given a reindeer that was not accustomed to it. As soon as the shaftless "boat" skidded against the hind legs of the deer it took off at a full gallop, jumped over a depression in the snow and turned the tippy boat completely over, pulling its driver along upside down like an Eskimo in a kayak. Bigler kicked loose and stood up, but despite the blood streaming down his face from a gash in the forehead, he remembered the instruction never to let go of the steering throng. Unable to escape, the deer went into a tantrum and began lashing at Bigler and the "pulkka" with its front feet. He quickly snubbed the animal to a small tree, and we proceeded to patch up the gash with adhesive tape.

Our guide switched the rambunctious deer to his own sled



This hardy reddish-brown horse still moves the most timber in Lapland despite advent of mechanized equipment.

A Lapland lumberjack fells a fir. High "stumps" in background are not trees cut during heavy snow but logs stood up on end so they can be located easily.



and placed an older buck to draw the pulkka. He was a wiser creature, who toward the end of the journey had a tendency of slacking down, unmindful of my slapping him with the thong. Finally I picked up a long stick and jabbed the animal in the buttocks. He took off as if jet-propelled, passing the whole column in one grand sweep amidst loud cheers and laughter from the rest of the gang.

A light thaw at one point had turned into slush the bottom three and a half feet of a four-foot layer of snow on one of the rivers. Two of the reindeer crossed all right, but my buck fell through the surface snow. I hopped off the sled to lighten the load, and found myself standing up to the waist in water, some two hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle, with a freezing wind blowing around my ears. After sloshing around and finally rolling onto some firm snow I was able to extricate myself and even help the reindeer out of the slush. Bigler, coming behind, went through the same experience. Our guide, who busily helped us out of the mess, quickly scraped the ice off the bottom of the sleds and told us to drive ahead to the Lapp house only a couple of miles ahead. We whipped our deer into a full gallop and raced on to warmth and safety.

(Continued on page 54)



Lapland lumberjacks listen in rapt attention to talk on American logging methods. (Photo by Harold Bigler.)

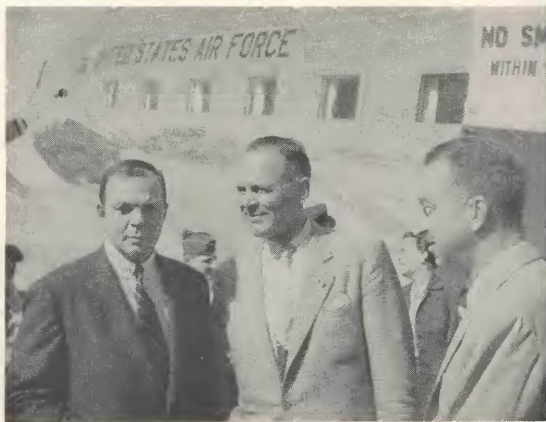


1

## SERVICE GLIMPSES



4



1. The happy group enjoying the punch concocted by Consul General Childs and Administrative Officer Louise O'Grady in Antwerp had gathered to bid farewell to ten local riffed employees. Of the ten employees, three found jobs with Esso Standard Refinery, two with the local Studebaker Agency, three are working for Belgian concerns and two are taking better care of their husbands.

2. At the dedication of the new agricultural research laboratory in Liberia, Henry C. Boles, head architect, U. S. Operations Mission to Liberia, describes construction features of entrance lobby to the President of Liberia, William V. S. Tubman.

3. The Honorable Roy Tasco Davis, Ambassador to Haiti, placed a wreath on the monument of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Together with the wreath, the Ambassador left an envelope containing a portion of Wordsworth's tribute to Toussaint.

4. At a farewell party in The Hague given by the whole American Community, Ambassador and Mrs. Chapin were presented with a rare old Blauw Map of 1650. Here the map is presented by Mr. Morch-Hansen, president of the Netherlands Caltex, while the Ambassador points out his destination, Panama.





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5. The Honorable Robert C. Hill, Ambassador to Costa Rica, left, greets the Honorable John Cabot Lodge, center, and the Honorable Nathaniel P. Davis, former Ambassador to Costa Rica, as they arrive at San José's airport to head the Special Delegation to the inauguration of President José Figueres.

6. A thirty-year service award was presented to Mrs. Beatrice Howland De Caro in Naples by Consul General Alfred T. Nester. Mrs. De Caro actually came to the Consulate General in the fall of 1919. At that period she was with the American Red Cross and for some

time was on loan to the Consulate General.

7. Present this summer at the 50th wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Homer M. Byington at Darien, Connecticut, were Jean and Zebulun Macmillan and son; Homer and Jane Byington and son; Joan and Donald Grant and children; Janice and Lawrence Hinkle and children and Ward Byington. Missing from the family reunion were Mr. and Mrs. James G. Byington and their three children, who were unable to come from Hong Kong, and Mrs. Ward G. Byington, who was detained at Annapolis, Maryland, by the birth of her second child.

# EDITORIALS

## INFORMATION PROGRAM

In our opinion, things were said that needed to be said in the recent series of thoughtful articles in the JOURNAL on the U. S. information program. It has been over a decade since our government first ventured seriously into propaganda. The road from OWI to USIA has been a tortuous one, filled with false turns, dead ends and the wreckage of numerous reorganizations. But lessons have been learned, and there is reason to believe that the next ten years will see fewer casualties and more achievements.

Certain general propositions emerge from the three articles that are worth noting: (1) the function of American propaganda—the attempt to explain to others the motives and nature of our national aspirations—is here to stay as a recognized instrument of American diplomacy; (2) propaganda that is not coordinated with diplomatic action is generally sterile and can be injurious; (3) the propagandists and their departmental and Foreign Service colleagues have yet to attain a satisfactory degree of mutual respect and understanding for one another's skills and respective roles; both a cause and an effect of this shortcoming have been the imperfect and ever-changing organizational links between the propaganda arm and the rest of the foreign policy apparatus; and (4) with respect to the substantive aspect of propaganda—themes, media, approaches, basic guide lines, et cetera—we are still in the tinkering and improving stage.

In brief, what the articles collectively say is that we have adopted a new weapon for our diplomatic arsenal but we haven't yet learned to use it well. That seems to us to be a fair statement of the matter.

Of course, we shall have with us for a long time to come those on the one hand who would throw all forms of propaganda out of the window and those on the other hand who would outdo the most zealous hucksters. If we are mindful that propaganda is only one instrument of total diplomacy, we need not be pulled to one extreme or the other. We simply use the instrument pragmatically in the most effective supporting role that circumstances permit, such circumstances varying from situation to situation and place to place.

One might justifiably wonder what good we are doing in places where our information offices attract hecklers and bombs. But it is precisely where our windows are being smashed that we are least understood and the challenge is the greatest. Solomon's saying comes to mind: "He that considereth the wind shall not sow and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap." The JOURNAL's position is essentially this: we have a story to tell, and there are millions who want to hear it. Let us reach out to these millions as best we can, come high wind or dark clouds.

## THE SERVICE'S FOUR SENSES\*

Knowing my own lack of eloquence, I hope you came here for food and companionship—not particularly to hear my few remarks.

I know that you want me to talk on the Foreign Service, but it is hard to know what would be most helpful to say. The difficulties facing us in this era were outlined and fore-

cast in a moving farewell talk given here by Dean Acheson last year. They were equally recognized and frankly discussed by our able and experienced present chief, John Foster Dulles, a few weeks later. Since then we have experienced drastic budget cuts, the reductions in force, and other disturbing developments.

We can, I think, hope that this is a passing phase in the history of our great Service and that we can look to the future with less unhappiness and with more confidence.

What I would like to say a few words about today are the qualities we need in a Foreign Service—not just today, but permanently. Of all the qualities which a man could have, and which would be helpful to the Service, it seems to me that four are essential. They might be called the four senses of the Foreign Service. Of course many others would be needed to reach the ideal—but these four seem basic. I give them *not* in their order of importance.

First is a sense of humor. That, I think, is especially necessary today. It is, perhaps, best illustrated by the story of the Black Arrow. This story—a famous one which you may have heard, concerns the adventures of a man—an early American—wandering in what was then our forest primeval. His powder horn was empty, his water gone and his food exhausted when an unfriendly American Indian shot an arrow into the air which landed in his back, between two ribs. With the greatest of effort, and suffering from cold, exhaustion, hunger and thirst this man made his way through the forest and over hillsides and meadows to the nearest settlement. Much of his journey he made on his hands and feet, with the black arrow sticking out of his back during the entire time. Well, finally the settlers took him in, and began to attend to his needs. One, particularly impressed with the powers of endurance which he had displayed, inquired, "But doesn't the arrow hurt?" "Only when I laugh," responded the man.

Humor, then, is an effective brake on any tendency we may have to over emphasize our own particular problems or to be carried away by our own importance. It prevents us from such misplaced energy as I once saw in a four page despatch on a personal tribute paid to the writer by local moguls in assigning him the lowest auto number license ever given a man in his position.

Or it prevents the sending of such despatches as a bi-monthly series I once saw headed "Why Consul X should be promoted," the author being that same Mr. X. The facts as he outlined them were always the same: a running, detailed account of how X, serving at a port in the 20's in the banana area, in combatting the nefarious activities of rum runners had been shot in line of duty and in his posterior! Perhaps he deserved a purple heart or even a promotion—but his bi-monthly official plea from his own pen does seem to show a lack of a sense of humor which could hardly have helped his cause or his case.

The second essential sense is a sense of perspective—and this is not entirely unrelated to a sense of humor. By sense

(Continued on page 53)

\*The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL considered that these remarks, made by the Honorable H. Freeman Matthews at a recent luncheon meeting of the Foreign Service Association, should be placed on the Editorial page of the JOURNAL.



## Foreign Service Scholarship Announcement

The American Foreign Service Association wishes to call attention to the various scholarships which are available at the present time for the year 1954-55. The Association hopes to announce additional scholarships in the February issue of the *Journal*. All applications for these scholarships must be presented for consideration not later than May 1, 1954. The Committee on Education of the Foreign Service Association is responsible for the selection of the successful applicants under the Charles B. Hosmer and Foreign Service Association scholarship, the Overseas Service Scholarship, the Wilbur-Franck scholarship, as well as the scholarship offered by the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship is judged by an advisory committee which is composed of two officers of the Manufacturers Trust Company in New York City and two high ranking Departmental officers.

Each of the scholarships available has certain conditions of eligibility and applicants should carefully note these features. Those scholarships which are under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Education for review will be judged with respect to each candidate, not only as regards scholarship but also on the basis of extracurricular activities, the character, aims, and purposes of the applicant, as well as his financial need.

The Charles B. Hosmer and the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship represents a sum approximating \$600 which, at the discretion of the Committee on Education, may be divided between two or more applicants who are children of active and retired members or of deceased former active members of the American Foreign Service Association. These funds may be used only in meeting expenses in connection with regular undergraduate courses at a college or university within the United States.

The Wilbur-Franck Scholarship, established through the generosity of Mr. Brayton Wilbur and Mr. T. G. Franck of San Francisco, principal officers of the foreign trading firms of Cornell Bros. Company, Ltd., and Wilbur-Ellis Company, provides the sum of \$1,000. It is available to children of any officer or American employee of the Foreign Service or in the field service of the Department of State abroad for use in meeting expenses of undergraduate or graduate studies at any college or university in the United States. At the discretion of the Committee on Education, the total amount of this scholarship fund may be divided between two or more deserving applicants.

The Overseas Service Scholarship, which is available through the generosity of an anonymous donor, provides the sum of \$750 to be awarded to deserving children of Foreign Service Officers, Foreign Service Staff Officers, Foreign Service Reserve Officers or any other persons who may be part of the Foreign Service of the Department of State. This refers to children of persons who may be deceased, retired, active or formerly part of the Foreign Service of the Department of State.

Each applicant for the foregoing scholarships must include information covering the following particulars:

Age and sex of applicant; a full statement concerning the education and courses of study pursued by the applicant up to the present time, including scholastic ratings; the courses of study and profession which the applicant desires to follow; whether or not the applicant contemplates the Foreign Service as a career; the need of the applicant for financial assistance (this should include a statement whether the applicant will be able or not to complete or continue his education without the aid of this scholarship); the institution at which the applicant proposes to make use of the scholarship if granted; and evidence that the school experience of the applicant covers the work required for admission to the institution selected. A small photograph of the applicant must be included. The application may include any further information which the applicant deems pertinent and which, in his or her opinion, should be taken into consideration by the Committee.

*A scholarship application is enclosed to JOURNAL subscribers in the field whose JOURNALS are delivered by pouch. Foreign Service members in the U.S.A. may obtain blanks by writing the Association headquarters, 1908 G Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.*

The Foreign Service Journal Scholarship for 1954-55 provides the sum of \$500 and is open to children of active or retired members of the Foreign Service who are either members of the Foreign Service Association or subscribers to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or to children of persons who at the time of their death came within these categories. This scholarship is primarily intended for children entering preparatory schools in the United States, preference being given those commencing the final year in such schools. If no suitable applicant of preparatory school age is found, this fund may then be awarded to a college or university student.

The conditions under which the Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship is handled are somewhat different than those outlined above. Applications should strictly conform to the requirements as outlined in the following paragraphs and should be addressed to the Chairman, Advisory Committee, Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship, care of the American Foreign Service Association, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Scholarship applications prepared for the Oliver Bishop Harriman fund which are unsuccessful in this competition will be considered by the Committee on Education for the other scholarships which are offered by the Foreign Service Association, if eligibility is established.

The Committee calls attention to the following conditions, which should be borne in mind by applicants for the Harriman Scholarship. The amount available for this purpose last year was approximately \$750. At the discretion of the Advisory Committee, this scholarship may be divided among two or more recipients. Funds awarded under the scholarship may be used only in defraying expenses at an American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school. This school may be selected by the recipient. No payments may be made until recipient has been finally admitted to the particular educational institution selected.

It may be recalled that the deed of trust instituting the scholarship provides that in the selection of recipients the Advisory Committee shall be governed by the following rules and regulations:

"(a) The recipients shall be selected from among the children of persons who are then or shall theretofore have been Foreign Service Officers of the United States; and the moneys paid to a recipient from the income of the trust fund shall be used by the recipient in paying his or her expense at such American university, college, seminary, conservatory, professional, scientific or other school as may be selected by the recipient.

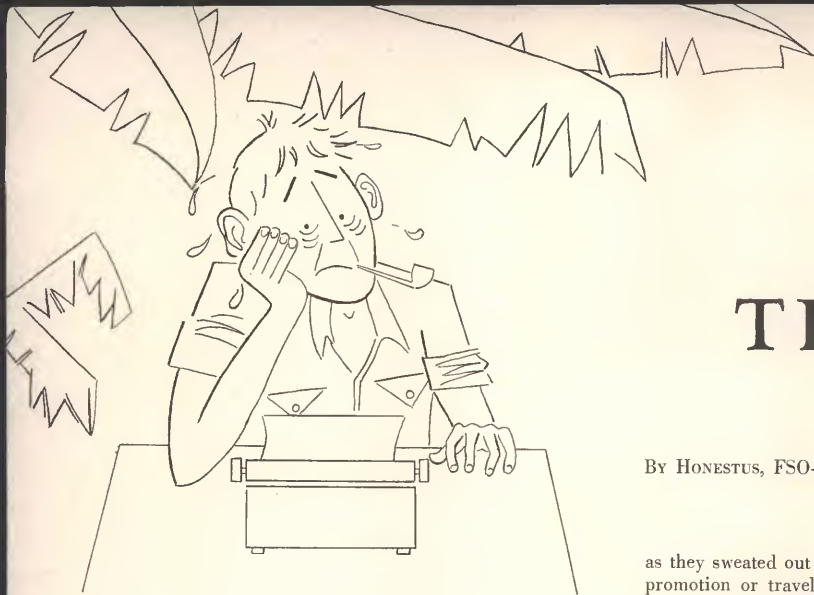
"(b) The scholarship may be awarded to a single recipient or may be divided among two or more recipients in such proportions as the Advisory Committee shall determine.

"(c) The candidates for the award of the scholarship shall apply thereto in writing to the Advisory Committee at such times and at such places as may be designated by it on or before May 1 in each year. Such applications shall be accompanied by letters from the parent or guardian of the candidate and by such other data or information as from time to time may be required by the Advisory Committee. Each application shall be made in duplicate.

"(d) Each candidate shall submit evidence that his or her school experience covers the work required for admission to the American educational institution selected by him or her.

"(e) No payments from the income of the trust fund shall be made to a recipient until the recipient shall have been finally admitted to the university or other institution which he or she may desire to enter and payments of such income to any recipient shall continue only so long as the Advisory Committee shall direct."

The application should be accompanied by a letter, likewise in duplicate, from the parent or guardian of the applicant.



An Officer's

# TROPICAL

BY HONESTUS, FSO-2

You are sitting there in your shirt sleeves on a sweltering afternoon trying to put the finishing touches on a political despatch. There are several tricky angles you have to think about and in this steamy heat which clings around you like a vaporized bath it isn't easy to work them all in with just the right touch. Who up in Washington cares about a minor crisis in the tropics anyway? Still, this has been a hot one and you have to get ahead with it, sweat or no sweat.

Well, as you sit fuming over the next sentence, Jack comes in with a pile of stuff just down from the Department and drops it on top of another stack in the basket. Not as formidable as it used to be, you think. They've cut out a lot of that stale junk you used to get, thank goodness.

Then you see several of those pink and white administrative circulars which you know right away spell bad news. Curiosity wins and you pick up the top one, and there it is—a blunt announcement of a new policy on personnel, wrapped in a lot of legal verbiage which is just put in to make sure that no one gets away with anything. It's clear enough though—another whittling down of the few amenities you had thought attached to the job, and then, as on previous occasions, your blood starts boiling inside of you and the temples pound. This isn't good in the tropics, you know, so after a bit you calm down somewhat and begin to wonder who and what's back of all this petty sniping at the Government's Foreign Service.

You try to imagine a few fellows sitting in one of the temporary Annexes working over the draft on a day when the summer sun beats down on the flimsy, flat roofs, and no breath of cooling air stirs through the ovens called rooms, and you wonder what was stirring in the backs of their minds

as they sweated out some administrative ruling on leave or promotion or travel or RIF or the like. You can picture yourself in their place thinking, "Well, Congress laid down the law, didn't it? It may not be altogether right, but there it is, so let's get ahead with it."

And you imagine what might be going on inside the mind of the Chairman across the table who packs a lot of power in the meeting because he is respected by everyone as an administrative expert, he's a driver, and he knows you've got to get ahead with writing up the rules. He's never served abroad, although he took a junket once, and after a night or so of parties at a post pushed onto the next with the feeling that chaps in the field have it pretty gay and soft. He lives out in Arlington, has a wife and a couple of kids, and a house with a little garden in which he likes to putter around after a tough week in the Department. In about seven—or is it eight?—more years the mortgage will be paid off, and it will all be his own. There are the children to educate, but the schools are good and they aren't far from home; he's got a steady job with a grade that should be near the top in a few years; and after it's all over, there's that nice little spot in which to retire, or if he wants he can sell at a good price in this D.C. market which never seems to go down, and buy another place in the country. Not too bad a life. He's getting a kick out of the job, and serving his country. There's been a lot of hard work, but week-end outings and a summer's vacation over at the place Aunt Emma lets him have on the shore have been good fun and not too expensive. As for those guys abroad—they have it easy, get their quarters paid for, save all their salary, travel a lot, see the world, have a heck of a good time, and never have to sweat it out like people in Washington! What are they griping about leave for? Kee-rist, aren't they getting all the breaks as it is?

And back to the drafting he goes, reminding his fellows that Congress has laid it down and they've got to work it out.

Maybe someone pipes up and says, "Well it isn't very fair. Congress passed this thing in a rush and most of them didn't have a chance to look into it. Maybe if we got topside—



FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

**WORLD AFFAIRS**

A FOREIGN SERVICE READING LIST\*

Compiled by  
Ruth Savord, Librarian  
Donald Wasson, Asst. Librarian  
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.



JANUARY, 1954



Part II — A Supplement to the January 1954 issue of the Journal

\*All books on this list may be purchased by members of the American Foreign Service Association through the Book Club

## WORLD AFFAIRS

### A Foreign Service Reading List

Compiled by

Ruth Savord, Librarian and Donald Wasson, Asst. Librarian,  
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

The purpose of the following Reading List is to suggest to the present or prospective Foreign Service Officer material that will provide a general background and understanding of world affairs. It is unofficial in every sense. The Compilers and the *Foreign Service Journal* deem it advisable to point out that it has no specific connection with preparation for the Foreign Service examinations.

The criteria in selecting material have been: (1) up-to-date-ness; (2) readability; (3) general coverage of areas and subjects (with selected titles on specific countries and areas); (4) impartiality, in so far as possible; (5) availability. This last consideration has eliminated most out-of-print books, but, where particularly important, a few of these have been included. These, indicated by *o.p.*, may be found in the second-hand market and in most libraries.

The Officer assigned to a specific country or area will wish to read material dealing in more detail with that country or area than the limitations of space permit including here.

R. S.

D. W.

#### POLITICAL THEORY—COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT—IDEOLOGIES I. GENERAL

Arendt, Hannah. <i>The Origins of Totalitarianism</i> . New York, Harcourt, 1951. 477p.	\$6.75
Ebon, Martin. <i>World Communism Today</i> . New York, McGraw-Hill, 1948. 536p.	\$5.00
Einaudi, Mario and Others. <i>Communism in Western Europe</i> . Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1951. 239p.	\$3.00
Gross, Feliks, ed. <i>European Ideologies: A Survey of 20th Century Political Ideas</i> . New York, Philosophical Library, 1948. 1075p.	\$12.00
Keezer, Dexter M. <i>Making Capitalism Work</i> . New York, McGraw-Hill, 1950. 316p.	\$3.50
Mac Iver, R. M. <i>The Web of Government</i> . New York, Macmillan, 1947. 498p.	\$5.00
Mac Mahon, Arthur W. <i>Administration in Foreign Affairs</i> . University (Ala.), University of Alabama Press, 1953. 275p.	\$3.50
Morstein Marx, Fritz, ed. <i>Foreign Governments: The Dynamics of Politics Abroad</i> . New York, Prentice-Hall, 1949. 745p. (o.p.)	\$6.35
Ogg, Frederic A. and Zink, Harold. <i>Modern Foreign Governments</i> . New York, Macmillan, rev. ed., 1953. 1016p.	\$6.25
Possony, Stefan T. <i>A Century of Conflict</i> . Chicago, Regnery, 1953. 439p.	\$7.50
Salvadori, Massimo. <i>The Rise of Modern Communism</i> . New York, Holt, 1952. 118p.	\$2.00
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. <i>The Vital Center</i> . Boston, Houghton, 1949. 274p.	\$3.50
Seton-Watson, Hugh. <i>From Lenin to Malenkov</i> . New York, Praeger, 1953. 377p.	\$6.00
Sternberg, Fritz. <i>Capitalism and Socialism on Trial</i> . New York, Day, 1952. 603p.	\$6.50
Toynbee, Arnold J. <i>A Study of History</i> . New York, Oxford University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1947. 617p.	\$5.00
Winslow, E. M. <i>The Pattern of Imperialism</i> . New York, Columbia University Press, 1948. 278p.	\$3.75
Zurcher, Arnold J. <i>Constitutions and Constitutional Trends Since World War II</i> . New York, New York University Press, 1951. 351p.	\$5.00
<b>POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY</b>	
Dickinson, Robert E. <i>Germany: A General and Regional Geography</i> . New York, Dutton, 1953. 700p.	\$10.00
East, W. Gordon and Spate, O. H. K., eds. <i>The Changing Map of Asia: A Political Geography</i> . New York, Dutton, 1951. 414p. (o.p.)	\$5.50
Hoffman, George W., ed. <i>A Geography of Europe</i> . New York, Ronald, 1953. 784p.	\$7.50
Jones, Stephen B. <i>Boundary-Making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors and Boundary Commissioners</i> . New York, Carnegie Endowment, 1945. 268p.	\$3.00
Mackinder, Sir Halford J. <i>Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction</i> . New York, Holt, 1942. 219p.	\$2.60
Moodie, A. E. <i>Geography Behind Politics</i> . New York, Longmans, 1949. 178p.	\$2.50
Shabad, Theodore. <i>Geography of the USSR</i> . New York, Columbia University Press, 1951. 584p.	\$8.50
Strausz-Hupé, Robert. <i>Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power</i> . New York, Putnam, 1942. 274p. (o.p.)	\$2.75
Weigert, Hans W., ed. <i>Compass of the World: A Symposium on Political Geography</i> . New York, Macmillan, 1944. 466p. (o.p.)	\$3.50
_____, ed. <i>New Compass of the World</i> . New York, Macmillan, 1949. 375p.	\$6.00
<b>INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS</b>	
<i>General</i>	
Alexandrowicz, Charles H. <i>International Economic Organizations</i> . New York, Praeger, for the London Institute of World Affairs, 1953. 263p.	\$6.00
Ellis, Howard S., ed. <i>A Survey of Contemporary Economics</i> . Philadelphia, Blakiston, 1948. 490p. (o.p.)	\$4.75
Harris, Seymour E. <i>Economic Planning</i> . New York, Knopf, 1949. 577p.	\$6.00
Loucks, William N. and Hoot, J. W. <i>Comparative Economic Systems</i> . New York, Harper, 4th ed., 1952. 899p.	\$6.00
Marjolin, Robert. <i>Europe and the United States in the World Economy</i> . Durham, Duke University Press, 1953. 105p.	\$2.00
Polak, Jacques J. <i>International Economic System</i> . Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953. 176p.	\$4.75
Staley, Eugene. <i>World Economic Development: Effect on Advanced Industrial Countries</i> . Washington, International Labour Office, 1944. 218p. (Studies and Reports, Series B, No. 36)	\$1.25
Viner, Jacob. <i>International Economics</i> . Glencoe (Ill.), Free Press, 1951. 381p. (o.p.)	\$5.00
Williams, John H. <i>Economic Stability in a Changing World</i> . New York, Oxford University Press, 1953. 284p.	\$5.00
<i>Commercial and Financial</i>	
Chalmers, Henry. <i>World Trade Policies: The Changing Panorama, 1920-1953</i> . Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953. 608p.	\$7.50
Conan, A. R. <i>The Sterling Area</i> . New York, St. Martin's Press, 1952. 192p.	\$3.25
Condiffe, J. B. <i>The Commerce of Nations</i> . New York, Norton, 1950. 884p. (o.p.)	\$7.50
Diebold, William, Jr. <i>Trade and Payments in Western Europe</i> . New York, Harper, for the Council on Foreign Relations, 1952. 488p.	\$5.00
Hawtrey, R. G. <i>The Balance of Payments and the Standard of Living</i> . New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950. 158p.	\$1.75
Kohr, Leopold. <i>Customs Unions: A Tool for Peace</i> . Washington, Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1949. 64p.	\$ .75
Meade, J. E. <i>The Balance of Payments</i> . New York, Oxford University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1951. 432p.	\$5.50



Meyer, F. V. Britain, the Sterling Area and Europe. Cambridge, Bowes, 1952. 150p.	21/	Espy, Willard R. Bold New Program. New York, Harper, 1950. 273p.	\$3.00
Neisser, Hans and Modigliani, Franco. National Incomes and International Trade. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1953. 448p.	\$7.50	Frankel, S. Herbert. The Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953. 179p.	\$3.25
Snyder, Richard C. The Most-Favored-Nation Clause. New York, King's Crown Press, 1948. 264p.	\$3.25	Hoselitz, Bert F., ed. The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952. 296p.	\$4.75
The Sterling Area: An American Analysis. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1952. 672p.	\$3.00	Mack, Robert T., Jr. Raising the World's Standard of Living. New York, Citadel Press, 1953. 285p.	\$4.00
Tew, Brian. International Monetary Co-Operation, 1945-52. New York, Longmans, 1952. 180p.	\$2.25	Nurkse, Ragnar. Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries. New York, Oxford University Press, 1953. 163p.	\$3.00
Viner, Jacob. The Customs Union Issue. New York, Carnegie Endowment, 1950. 221p.	\$2.50	Sharp, Walter R. International Technical Assistance. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 146p.	\$2.50
_____. International Trade and Economic Development. Glencoe (Ill.), Free Press, 1952. 154p.	\$3.50	Stamp, L. Dudley. Land for Tomorrow. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1952. 230p.	\$4.00
Wilcox, Clair. A Charter for World Trade. New York, Macmillan, 1949. 333p.	\$5.00		

#### Other

Bennett, M. K. and Associates. International Commodity Stockpiling as an Economic Stabilizer. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1949. 205p.	\$3.00	Chen, Ti-Chiang. The International Law of Recognition. New York, Praeger, 1953. 479p.	\$15.50
Brandt, Karl. The Reconstruction of World Agriculture. New York, Norton, 1945. 416p.	\$4.00	Dunn, Frederick S. The Protection of Nationals. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. 229p.	\$2.25
Brooks, Michael. Oil and Foreign Policy. London, Lawrence, 1950. 143p.	5/	Higgins, A. Pearce and Colombos, C. J. The International Law of the Sea. New York, Longmans, 1943. 647p.	\$16.00
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# DOLDRUMS

the Undersecretary or someone—to do a little explaining to Congress how this thing is going to hurt, they'd get the law amended."

Perhaps the Committee frowns collectively. Passing the buck! We don't make policy, we are told to spell it out on paper.

One tries to recall all those men—the Section Chief, the Deputy Director, the Director, the Deputy Assistant Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Deputy Undersecretary, and the countless staff assistants and chiefs of staff who would have to work on this if you wanted to get the law changed. And the papers and the meetings and the Budget Bureau hearings! And the Counselor and the staff who work with—and on—Congressmen. All of this in the midst of Korea, the German Problem, Egypt, Iran, Indo-China—just because a few thousand guys (and gals) in the Foreign Service might gripe? What makes them think they've got to be the white-haired boys (and girls) all their lives? This will just put them at the same level as the domestic service, and that's where they belong anyway. . . .

## *The Scene Drifts*

The scene drifts away through the haze of heat and you are there at your post in the tropics (which, administratively, is rated in the temperate zone), sitting at your desk with its incoming basket still stacked, the clock above you with the hour hand pointing to 5, and you know you can't get away for another hour (especially with this day-dreaming), the old electric fan whirring futilely against the muggy office air, your shirt damp and your hands clammy, and you glance again at the new Foreign Service Circular No. 38, September 23, 1953, on how you must use up your accumulated leave at such-and-such a percentage a year.

You have 128 accumulated days or so, the equivalent of the 160 calendar days allowed before they changed the system of counting. You remember how that leave easily piled up. You couldn't get away from the office in those early days for a vacation; there was just too much to do. You thought of the past few years, long after you had accumulated your maximum leave allowance. With just less than

fifteen years' service credit, you were authorized 20 work-days' leave a year. Over the three years previous to your homeleave, you had been able to take 15 days out of 60 allowed. Not bad, at that. This year (up to late October) you had taken 4 days, and you could see no chance of getting more before January. The office had suffered the RIF, George hoped to go on home leave after three years, that Conference coming up in December would take a lot of advance work, the political crisis you had to report on was still hot. There wasn't a chance to get away—and, even if there were, there wasn't a hotel in the area where you could go without spending more money than you and the family could possibly afford.

Next year, the circular told you, you must take your regular 20 days plus 10 days extra (or 10% of the excess accumulation), or else! In 10 years' time, your leave at this rate would be down to the new maximum standard of 30 days. The blood, already well-warmed in the sultry office, gets hot again. O.K., if that's the way they want it, let 'em have it. With all the others on the staff facing the same requirement, you know it can't be done and still keep pace with the work, so why not go the whole hog and close down the office for a couple of months. Let the customers squawk and kick!

## *A Whisp of Breeze*

A whisp of an early evening breeze comes in the window and you cool down a bit. You had, you remember, about 8 years to go before retirement (unless you got selected out earlier, and that was no joke!). You had looked forward to that 6 months' pay upon retirement; also you knew why the Foreign Service—alone of all public services—merited this little boon. Like most of your colleagues, you had no home, no roots, no property in the States. Unlike chaps who worked and retired in Washington, you would never have an opportunity to acquire a house over the years. That \$6,000 bonus on retirement—which you had earned because you had worked when leave was impossible—might have provided a down-payment on a house at the age of 60, although you still couldn't figure out how the pittance pension would carry the annual charges. All that, anyhow, was now out the window. Take your leave—which you knew you couldn't—or lose it all!

Suddenly you smiled—a little crookedly, perhaps. You made a rough calculation, very rough: 6 to 10 extra days enforced leave might average about 8 for officers. Before that you must take your full regular leave of 20 or 26 days. Oh, some took that leave now, especially the single ones. But how many married officers aboard took anything like their full leave? You yourself were averaging 25%; a couple of your associates, both with their maximum accumulation, expected to take none—or at the most a few days—this year. Averaging all the officers, it might be fair to guess that one-half of the earned annual leave is not presently being taken. Call it 12 days per officer: that would make a total of 20 extra days leave next year which is now compulsory. (Of course, the regulations say you might justify a postponement one year, but the next year then becomes that much worse.)

Twenty days out of 250 working days (excluding all holidays) would represent 8% of officer man-power for the

*(Continued on page 50)*

# Reflections of an FSO Wife

## Winter, 1954

BY MRS. PARKER T. HART

A Foreign Service Officer returning to his hinterland home in the United States these days is apt to find himself in a position paralleling that of the fabled Arab tailor who in applying his acquired skill to the production of a lady's gown finds he is about to be hanged for the success of his efforts. The story is a complicated one. A poor man attempting to enter a rich merchant's house by the window falls to the pavement and dies when the sill gives way. His family sues the house owner, who quickly demonstrates that the real fault lies with the carpenter. The latter admits his work on the sill was not up to standard, but, he protests, a beautiful woman passing by seriously distracted him from his work. The woman, called to account, asserts that only her extraordinarily beautiful new gown could have attracted so much attention to her. And thus, the tailor, four times removed from the disaster, is sentenced to hang, for he will not deny that the gown is his best piece of work, and very possibly diverted the carpenter, though it is hard for him to see how that makes him a murderer.

It is difficult for the Foreign Service Officer to deny that he drafts his despatches from the field with any intent other than that of influencing his superiors toward policies he in his experience and observation abroad judges to be correct. But once delivered, neither the despatch nor the ideas it may spawn in others' minds are subject to the officer's control. Removed from the arena and from the assigned responsibility of policy making, he can only hope they will not miscarry, for if they do, he, like the tailor, may be blamed for whatever disaster ensues.

There should be varying degrees of culpability according to the amount of direct responsibility an officer bears in initiating and carrying out what proves to be a disastrous policy, but as every officer of experience knows, so large and diffuse are the organizations directly or indirectly connected with the formulation of foreign policy, so unpredictable are the channels by which information reaches the arena, and so great are the variables of timing, personalities, and foreign interventions and counter moves that individual responsibility is virtually impossible to place. The result is a public assumption that whoever would take the credit if the policy succeeded must take the blame if it fails. If one accepts not what the Constitution says on this point but what the U. S. public seems to believe, the Secretary of State, our envoys, and the Department of State and Foreign Service bear the heaviest responsibility because it was their original and principal job to advise the President on foreign policy. This belief held by the American public is out of date and, in fact, was never strictly correct, but until they come to believe otherwise, we are going to lose some fine tailors for no better reasons than the Arab fable suggests. There seem to be times when blame must be placed for what the public comes to regard as mistakes. But history has proved that the Seward's follies are often not follies at all, and a judgment of what is the best for United States peace and security is an arbitrary and temporary thing. No one living person can be sure he has a full grasp

of all the significant factors, and if he thought he had them today, he would not tomorrow. It is no wonder that the history of our foreign policy is a strange assortment of brilliant and catastrophic maneuvers as different from the newsman's blueprint idea of what foreign policy should be as the military instructor's plan of a campaign from actual wartime engagements.

Few Foreign Service Officers hope for a simplification of the means by which foreign policy comes into being or for insurance against blame for policies they at any given time rightly or wrongly uphold. What they have a right to hope is that the American people will read more history, learn more about the way their constitution and government agencies are operating, and what specific jobs their representatives abroad might be and are currently doing. Foreign Service Officers themselves can help in a program of education along such lines. The scapegoating we now see as such a pervading scourge can be checked only through education.

That we have alienated ourselves from the American public as a group is no longer open to question. Most Americans do not see us as a service group primarily concerned with guarding their interests, and they do not regard us as of themselves. This constitutes a personal behavior problem and a public relations problem neither of which has been squarely faced. A recent picture of a *chargé* in a nationally circulated underwear ad is not the picture of a popular American type, nor is it a picture of any known *chargé*. At times one wonders if a public relations survey and program like that undertaken by the American Medical Association could not be profitably underwritten by the Foreign Service Association even if it involved private subscription to raise the capital for it. Even a limited campaign might remove a number of public misconceptions about Foreign Service Officers, their duties and their offices. Speeches like that given by The Honorable Myron M. Cowen before the Women's National Democratic Club are usually given fair local press but they are seldom delivered or reported outside the Washington-New York area. Few books or movies in which Foreign Service Officers are depicted at their normal occupations have received any recent or wide attention, and the classic diplomatic type which is emerging from the stream of who-done-its and musicals has the untouchable, unreal quality of a Dr. Kildare.

Facing the American public's frequent need for a scapegoat for foreign policy failures, an immense increase in the number of foreign and domestic entanglements, an undiminished public distrust for diplomats, widespread fear for national security, and the State Department's somewhat ambiguous position in the present governmental organization vis a vis foreign policy, no Foreign Service Officer can afford to do less than his best, as an American specially qualified by talents and experience, to battle for the highest interest of the United States and to face out when necessary the personal consequences of supporting unpopular causes. Having dedicated himself, he must convey that spirit of dedication in his home town and abroad.





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## NEWS FROM THE FIELD

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CONSULATES

### THE WRIGHTS IN FRANCE

The 50th anniversary of the Wright brothers' flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903 was celebrated early in October by the City of Pau, France, where the Wrights—or, more accurately, Wilbur—established, in 1908, the first aviation school. There has been frequent resort to French climate, social and cultural, for artistic ventures undertaken by Americans. However, since such enterprises are apt to be private and individualistic in nature, the composite American view of France is probably not greatly modified by this quality of French air, except for the inclusion of certain sublimations, as the bohemian aspect of the Left Bank life.

The proceedings at Pau provided an opportunity for the numerous Americans in the Bordeaux area to learn something of how aviation's pioneers, in a matter-of-fact effort of science, availed themselves both of a characteristic receptiveness to a new idea and certain regional conditions of temperature, dryness and wind. The ceremony of unveiling a monument commemorating the school's founding, with a following display of aviation's modern aircraft and techniques, was organized jointly by the Mayor of Pau—a Mr. Sallenave, friendly towards Americans and one who knew the Wrights, the Bearn Air Club and the committee responsible for the conducting of the city's celebration this year of the fourth centenary of the birth of Henry IV.

It was in 1907 that a French newspaperman, attracted by rumors that two Americans had flown "like birds," convinced the Wright brothers they should make their invention known in France, having failed, apparently, to interest anyone at home. After an exploratory trip to Europe, Wilbur returned to France under contract to perform 20 one-hour flights and to train three pilots. The contract flights were satisfactorily made at a racetrack near Le Mans to considerable public excitement, with Wilbur wearing a gray suit and high, starched collar and taking up a variety of passengers whose selection might well have been calculated to test the reliability of the new mode of transit: the first woman in the air, the 300-pound male, etc. The record flight at Le Mans was two hours and 20 minutes.

When planning for the fulfillment of the second half of their contract, the training of pilots, the Wrights had for consideration the vulnerability of their biplane (540 square feet of surface, 25 horsepower motor) to vagaries of weather, particularly gusts of wind. Through a certain Paul Tissandier, a student of aviation and friend of an earlier Sallenave of Pau, they learned of Bearn's evenness of climate, particularly as regards wind, and established their school in a field near Pau, training Tissandier and two others as pilots. Within a few months, two more aviation schools were opened in the vicinity. Certainly the early focus of European flying, the locality has a continuing legend involving such names, not quite familiar, as Louis Blériot, the Comte de Lambert, Santos-Dumont, Lucas-Girardville.

There is recollection, too, of Wilbur Wright, whose tacit-



The president of the Bearn Air Club delivers the principal address at the unveiling of the monument at Pau commemorating the founding by Wilbur Wright of the first school of aviation.

turn personality seems to have had an enduring fascination for everyone, including newspapermen, who helped push the flying machine and carry tools whenever they appeared. So far as can be drawn from the Mayor of Pau, some of Wilbur's formidability for the French may have been gained from his ascetic mode of living at the school. He was accustomed to sleeping by his plane and did his cooking in a corner of the improvised hangar. When asked at a banquet to make a few remarks, Wilbur's response is said to have been typically chary in words: "Of all the birds that fly the least, it is the parrot that talks the most."

With the passage of fifty years, the F-84's of the United States Air Force's Sky Blazers acrobatic flying team, the French Ouragans, Mystère II's, Sipa 200 (a small, non-military 2-seater jet) and the mass parachuting made what, in the logic of time and progress, could be expected to be a great show of improvement over the Wright's beginning. Referring to developments in application of the invention, CONSUL GENERAL JOHN H. MADONNE remarked at the unveiling that what two simple mechanics of modest origins had brought into being now requires those in position to exercise control over the choice between war and peace to reflect carefully. He added that Frenchmen and Americans, whose fathers or grandfathers shared—as had been seen—in the

(Continued on page 40)



## “The proof of the pudding—”

As to insurance the proof of the pudding is the handling of claims. Here is some proof from letters of Foreign Service Officers in a FIVE MONTH PERIOD 1953.

“I am extremely grateful for the speed and efficiency with which you people have processed my shipping and insurance problems. Your settlement of my claim took about half the time that it did to get a mere survey report made right here in Delhi. My thanks and admiration for your efficiency.”

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first forward steps in the science, would, should it become necessary, know how to unite themselves to preserve their liberties and mode of life.

Charles C. Adams



Pictured in the lounge aboard the S.S. *United States* are, from left to right, Edward P. Wilber, Deputy Ass't Secretary of State for Administration; Frederick D. Hunt, enroute home from Djakarta, Mrs. Hunt, and Albert Morano, member of the House of Representatives from Connecticut.

### THE HAGUE

The Embassy has made its last farewells, both official and unofficial, to AMBASSADOR and MRS. CHAPIN, who are now en route to their new post at Panama, by way of consultation in Washington. Always popular with both the "official" and "unofficial" Americans in The Netherlands and with a wide range of Dutch Government officials and private citizens, the Chapins' last weeks were an unusually intensified round of the usual farewell appearances. So numerous, indeed, were the Ambassador's speeches that he finally all but lost his voice two days before departure!

Ambassador and Mrs. Chapin left on October 30 from the Dutch Naval airfield at Valkenburg, near The Hague, after a final farewell to a hundred or more of their closest friends and associates of the past four years, at a reception in the Briefing Room at the airbase. Attendance had to be strictly limited because the scene was a military base, but the fact that not all who wished to see them off could be accommodated was compensated for in some measure by the gracious farewell of the Royal Netherlands Navy; a guard of honor lining the two hundred yard path to the waiting aircraft and a final musical salute by the Royal Navy Band.

Prior to this leave-taking, the Chapins had been entertained by the Queen at Soestdijk Palace and by many of their colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps. The American community gave a party in their honor at the Hotel Wittebrug, where more than three hundred attended and presented the Ambassador with a rare old world map printed in Amsterdam around 1650. Earlier in the week the staff of the Embassy were guests at the home of the Counselor of Embassy for a "family" farewell. As a token from the staff, the Ambassador was presented with a lovely antique silver platter of the Georgian era, attributed to two English silver-smiths of the year 1810.

It was with deep and genuine regret that the Embassy did bid its final goodbyes to the Chapins, for the "family" here had been a close one.

However, as at every Foreign Service post, the composition of the "family" is a constantly changing one. Among recent departures from The Hague were ECONOMIC COUNSELOR BILL BRAY, who is returning to Washington; SECOND

SECRETARY TOM DONOVAN, transferred to Frankfurt; and FSS DENNIS EGAN to Bonn. Others who will leave within days are FSS's PEARL BAKER to Rome, DICK SORG to Tehran, and MARGARET STANTURF to La Paz. On the USIA side, EVELYN BLICKENSBERGER leaves soon for Habana.

Looking at the matter relatively, the weather has been fine this late summer and fall in The Netherlands, and while the state of the weather may not necessarily be news, the number of lovely weekends we have had has caused much favorable comment here. Knowing the law of averages is going to catch up with us sooner or later, however, we fear that AMBASSADOR and MRS. MATTHEWS may find on their arrival in late November the situation that faced newcomers a few years ago: 42 days without seeing the sun! We will assure the Matthews a warm personal welcome, no matter what the weather.

Robert W. Chase

### SINGAPORE

It was one of those quiet months in Singapore. A flight of B-29's came over from Manila, the aircraft carrier *Lake Champlain* and a division of destroyers dropped in for three days and poured 5,000 sailors into the city; GENERAL OTTO WAYLAND, commanding general FEAF, arrived and then VICE PRESIDENT and MRS. NIXON came in from Indonesia. The Nixon visit gained more favorable publicity than any other United States visit or act in recent years.



Wendy Greene, left, 10-year old daughter of Consul Joseph N. Greene and Mrs. Greene, received a "highly commended" award for her water color "Jaga's House" in a Singapore student art competition. Looking on is Barbara Fikes, daughter of Major Charles W. Fikes and Mrs. Fikes. Major Fikes is assistant air liaison officer, USAF.

There were farewell parties for FILMS OFFICER FREDERICK J. EICHORN III who was leaving for his beloved Seattle and Portland via Europe and for LIBRARIAN HELEN SIMONSON who has been transferred to Kuala Lumpur.

And there were house-warming parties in their new Bintong Park homes given by CONSULS JACK R. JOHNSTONE and ROBERT J. JANTZEN.

It was a good month for the Arts, also. This included an impressive performance of "Dial M for Murder" at Victoria Memorial Hall, a school art exhibit in which CONSUL JOSEPH N. GREENE'S 10-year-old daughter won a "highly commended" award for her water color of a "Jaga's House," and the singing of "Elijah" by a local chorus that included VICE CONSUL CLIFTON V. RILEY.

Robert J. Boylan

(Continued on page 46)





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## THE BOOKSHELF

### NEW AND INTERESTING

by FRANCIS COLT DE WOLF

1. **Boswell on the Grand Tour**, Edited by Frederick A. Pottle, published by McGraw.....\$5  
This is Volume 3 of Boswell's private papers. Here is the tale of Boswell's trip to Italy, Germany, etc. But the *pièce de résistance* of this volume is the account of his visits to Voltaire and Rousseau.
2. **Out of These Roots**, by Agnes E. Meyer, published by Little, Brown.....\$4  
The autobiography of the wife of the publisher of the *Washington Post*. The account of a full, interesting life—with a major in social service.
3. **Russian Assignment**, by Vice Admiral Leslie C. Stevens, USN (Ret.), published by Little, Brown.....\$5.75

The author was Naval Attaché in the American Embassy in Moscow from 1947 to 1949. A nonpolitical, open-minded account of what he saw and heard in the Soviet Union—he traveled widely and observed a lot—some of which he liked, some not.

4. **Tahiti, Voyage Through Paradise**, by George Eggleston, published by Devin-Adair.....\$6  
A trip to Heaven-on-Earth in a 32-foot schooner. Gay and lively—with fine photographs—you will find it hard to resist the urge to see for yourself.

**Ventures in Diplomacy**, by William Phillips. *The Beacon Press, Boston, 1953, 477 pages with index. \$5.50.*

Reviewed by FRANCIS COLT DEWOLF

Bill Phillips, as he is affectionately known in "the" Service, belongs to that small band of early pioneers in the United States career diplomatic service. Joe Grew is another. In these prehistoric times—before the Rogers Act—there were no Foreign Service Boards, no orals, and no writens: you just had to know somebody. And in this case, it was Ambassador Choate who, in February 1903, wrote a very proper Bostonian who had recently graduated from Harvard: "Would you like to come to London as my private secretary (unpaid) on or about the first of April? It can hardly be called an opening to the diplomatic service but it might possibly lead to that. . . ." And so began the diplomatic career of William Phillips.

The next step was in June 1905 when he "embarked on a definite career with a government salary of \$1800 (no post allowances!)" and became Second Secretary at the Embassy at Peking. "There was no stability whatsoever in our missions abroad and naturally no incentive to a young man to adopt diplomacy as a career." Fortunately, Phillips came from a distinguished Boston family, was a Republican, and,

perhaps more important, knew Senator Lodge. . . .

Then there was Washington under T.R. when single handed, and notwithstanding the early animosity of old Sidney Smith, he created the first geographic division of the Department: the Division of Far Eastern Affairs. In December 1908, he became Third Assistant Secretary of State at the age of 30. In 1910, Senator Hale of Maine, having intimated to Mr. Philander C. Knox, the new Secretary of State, that a certain much needed appropriation for the Department would not be forthcoming unless the Senator's son was given Mr. Phillips' position, the latter went back to London but this time as Principal Secretary of Embassy. Space does not permit the following of Mr. Phillips' varied career (this is just another way of urging you to read this most readable book!). He was twice Under Secretary of State, once under a Republican administration and once under FDR. He was Minister to the Netherlands under Wilson, Ambassador to Belgium under Hoover, he was our first Minister to Canada, and finally Ambassador to Italy during the fateful years immediately preceding World War II. After Italy declared war on the United States, he was engaged in several semi-diplomatic activities: he established the London branch of the Office of Strategic Services; he went to India as the Special Representative of President Roosevelt; was the Political Adviser to SHAEF, and an observer in Palestine.

William Phillips has had a varied and, I think, happy career. Although he did not always achieve his goals, i.e., Italy joining with Germany in the war against the United States in spite of all his efforts: his hope for a united India was not fulfilled. Bill Phillips is essentially an aristocrat: he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, he is a very good looking man, well-educated, and has charming manners. In other words, he was a natural for a career in diplomacy and all American administrations, from T.R. onward whether they be Republican or Democratic, have recognized this.

Nowadays there are increasing tendencies for direct negotiations between political heads, short circuiting regular diplomatic channels. Diplomacy is one of the few fields of endeavor in the modern world where the expert appears to be losing ground. Some of the results of direct negotiations are not so happy, i.e., Hitler and Mussolini.

I think the world could stand some more Bill Phillips and Joe Grews. William Phillips stands out as a most engaging specimen of the American Foreign Service. His "Ventures in Diplomacy" is a most interesting chronicle of American diplomatic life in the last 50 years and it is written with charm and modesty. I recommend it most highly to all the readers of the JOURNAL.

**Geography of Living Things**, by Margaret S. Anderson, *Philosophical Library, New York, New York, 1952. 202 pages, \$2.75.*

Reviewed by DR. LLOYD D. BLACK

Mrs. Anderson, who, until her untimely death in September, 1952, was Lecturer in Geography at the University of Cambridge, England, has produced a very interesting volume in the Teach Yourself Series. She emphasizes that her objective was not merely to relate facts but rather to induce an attitude of mind. This attitude of mind that

(Continued on page 44)



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she would have her readers achieve is an awareness of the "altogetherness" of unity of a landscape, the balance of Nature. The subject matter deals with the direct and indirect effects of the environment upon Man, and more important, the effects of Man upon the physical environment, both animate and inanimate. We are reminded that Man ". . . . is still just an animal, with all the physical and biological limitations that that fact implies. . . . We can split atoms, fly faster than sound, and talk familiarly to our friends half a world away, but we can neither live without plants to feed us, nor choose the sex of our children, nor even control on the large scale the rate at which our numbers shall increase." Although recognizing the wide range of choice open to Man in the way he uses his environment, Mrs. Anderson leans closer to a philosophy of environmental determinism than to one of "possibilism."

The most interesting sections of the book deal with various aspects of food. Examples of diet and nutrition in many parts of the world are given. Considerable emphasis is placed on soils and water as "the link between the inanimate inorganic world and the world of living things." Pests and diseases are stressed, not only as destroyers of food but also as killers of men or reducers of human efficiency.

Throughout the book there is frequent reference to population growth, with an undertone of Malthusian concern for the ability of the land to keep up the pace. Examples of famine conditions in many areas are cited. Loss of food production from soil erosion, floods, pests and diseases is mentioned frequently. Mrs. Anderson is deeply concerned that in so many places Man abuses Nature and thus reduces the base for support of rapidly increasing populations. Her viewpoint is essentially pessimistic, and her plea is that Man live in closer harmony with Nature.

Mrs. Anderson has dealt in charming style with a subject of universal interest. In these days of scientific achievement and political crisis it is well to be brought down to earth and to realize that, after all, Man is just an animal and depends for his very existence upon plant life, soil, and water. Foreign affairs specialists will discover that this book provides an unfamiliar but useful approach for the analysis of the basic relations of man and environment in a given area—relations "governed by biological laws . . . . although their existence is often ignored by planners and politicians."

**High Jungles and Low**, by Archie Carr. *University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1953. pp. 223. \$4.50*  
Reviewed by ALICE RAINE

Dr. Carr's book opens up the rather virgin field of Honduran and Nicaraguan fauna and flora which, as visiting Professor of Biology at the United Fruit's *Escuela Agrícola Panamericana*, he got to know well. For those of us who have lived or traveled in the American Tropics and have often wished for a Who's Who of its strange animals and plants, the first section of *High Jungles and Low* is a handy guide. As all literature which conveys the author's deep knowledge of and interest in his subject, this section is the best part of Dr. Carr's book. The lives and loves of beasts and plants are vividly described, often in inspired prose.

But abruptly the author leaves his turtles and *tamagás* to give his seven-point program on how to improve inter-American relations, followed by a third section on

Nicaraguan history, and as a bonus 75 pages of his diary, recounting a jungle expedition. This reader could not help regretting that Dr. Carr, having taught for five years under the famed Dr. Popenoe at the school mentioned above—a most successful experiment in inter-American cooperation,—did not instead describe it at greater length.

The introduction, written by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, erudite Ambassador of Honduras in Washington, is a poetical essay on his country where "in the high forests midday is prolonged dawn, and on the crisped steppes phantom faces seem to hang in the golden shimmer of the air."

**The Parliament of France**, by David W. S. Lidderdale, *Praeger, Inc., New York, 296pp., \$4.75.*  
Reviewed by ALICE LIBBEY

Foreign Service personnel who are assigned to France will find in D. W. S. Lidderdale's "The Parliament of France" a very useful handbook on French parliamentary rules and practices. The major part of the book is devoted to a full description of the procedural steps which regulate the introduction and passage of legislation in the two legislative Houses; in this sense, it is a short cut to the Parliament's Manual of Rules (*The Règlements*). A few chapters are given over to a somewhat summary treatment of the historical origins of French parliamentary procedure and to the development of parliamentary government in post-war France.

The book's interpretive passages are less comprehensive and therefore less satisfying to the reader. Mr. Lidderdale properly draws attention to certain constitutional weaknesses that are responsible in part, for governmental instability in France. He pertinently assesses the power of the Lower House and the relative weakness of the Upper, as well as their relationships to the Council of Ministers. But he does not discuss the imbalance of the legislative and executive powers which results from the unequal blend of opposing principles of "government by assembly" and parliamentary government peculiar to the Fourth Republic.

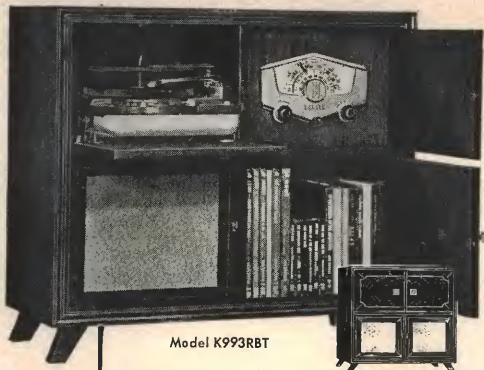
Very few errors mar the book as a whole, although the constant revision of the Rules does necessitate re-checking the Articles' numbers as cited in the footnotes. There are a few serious omissions: the author fails to mention that the Lower House may kill a piece of legislation in the final vote on the ensemble of the Bill after it has voted favorably on each of the Bill's separate articles; he omits details as to how Articles 51 of the Constitution has been circumvented, resulting in frequent government crises; and, finally, although it is true that the Constitution itself does not confer upon the Lower House the power to dissolve itself, an ordinary law passed by the Lower House amending the deputies' tenure of office would permit of dissolution.

(Continued on page 46)

## BIRTHS

JERNEGAN. A son, Brownrigg, born to Mr. and Mrs. John D. Jernegan on November 11, 1953 in Washington, D. C.  
STEELE. A daughter, Cynthia Jean, born to Mr. and Mrs. Owen L. Steele on September 8, 1953 in Monterrey, Mexico.  
HART. A daughter, Judith Ella, born to Mr. and Mrs. Parker T. Hart on November 7, 1953, in Washington, D. C.  
WHITE. A son, Rollie H. III, born to Mr. and Mrs. Rollie H. White, Jr., November 15, 1953, in Washington, D. C.





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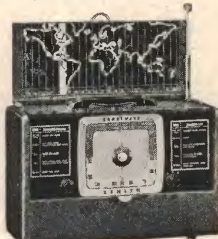
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## MONTERREY

Having participated in the inaugural ceremonies at the Falcon Dam site on the international border, CONSUL GENERAL GERALD A. MOKMA returned to Monterrey on October 19th with members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. This Committee, composed of Senators Capehart (Indiana), Bricker (Ohio), Frear (Delaware), Congressman Spence (Kentucky), officials of the Business Advisory Committee, Banking Committee, Departments of State and Treasury, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Import-Export Bank made Monterrey the starting point for travels that would take them through various Latin and South American countries.

On the evening of the 19th the Committee and staff members, together with 150 prominent American and Mexican businessmen, were honored at a dinner given by the Consul General and the Governor of the State of Nuevo Leon, Jose Vivanco, at Mr. Mokma's home.

On the following day one of Monterrey's leading industries gave a large luncheon followed by a conference of leading businessmen of the area. The meeting which discussed the manner in which trade between the two countries could be increased drew loud applause from local press and radio.

In the evening of the 20th the Committee was present at a dinner given by one of the local steel mills where they witnessed the blowing of a Bessmer furnace and rolling mill operations.

A great deal of the Committee's success in Monterrey can be attributed to the behind-the-scenes work of the Consul General and his staff: EXECUTIVE OFFICER, RALPH S. SCHWEITZER; Liaison Officer, JOHN C. CREEDEN, JR.; and PAO RICHARD C. SALVATIERRA of USIA. These gentlemen spent many hours in planning and ironing-out details.

Owen L. Steele

## SAN JOSÉ

Morning coats emerged from their mothballs in November for the inauguration of Costa Rica's new President, Jose Figueres. The colorful state ceremonies, held at the stadium to accommodate cheering thousands, were the midway point in a week of intense social activity.

Members of the Embassy staff, the Foreign Office and the score or more of visiting delegations—from countries as remote as Liberia and Japan—turned into quick-change artists as they rushed to the airport to greet dawn arrivals, hurried home for the white gloves necessary to 11 a.m. functions, converted to cocktail dress at 6 p.m. and bust wearily out of ball gowns and wing collars as another dawn came up.

Apart from the rites of protocol, highlights of the week were the reception offered by outgoing Foreign Minister Fernando Lara Bustamante at San José's Union Club, a dinner given by the HON. ROBERT C. HILL, Ambassador to Costa Rica; a production of Moliere's "The Miser" by the University Theater Group at the Teatro Nacional, a Country Club luncheon given by incoming Foreign Minister Mario Esquivel, and a full-dress banquet with President Figueres as host.

Head of the U.S. Special Delegation was the HON. JOHN CABOT LODGE, Governor of Connecticut, named by President Eisenhower as Special Ambassador and Personal Representative.

Other delegates, accompanied by their wives, were Ambassador Hill; the HON. BROOKS HAYS, House of Representatives; the HON. NATHANIEL P. DAVIS, former Ambassador to Costa Rica; MR. JACK D. NEAL, Deputy Director of the Office of Middle American Affairs (State); MR. CHARLES ALLAN STEWART, First Secretary of Embassy, San Jose; COL. CHARLES B. LAYTON, Army Attaché, resident in Panama; CAPTAIN WILLIAM KIRTEN, JR., Navy Attaché, resident in Mexico; COL. VERNON P. MARTIN, Air Attaché, resident in Guatemala; MR. DAVID A. DELUMA, Commercial Attaché, San Jose, and MR. JOHN B. CRUME, Second Secretary of Embassy, San Jose.

Agnes S. Crume

## THE BOOKSHELF (from page 44)

**The Redeemers**, by Leo W. Schwarz; foreword by General Lucius D. Clay. Farrar, Straus and Young, New York, 1953. 385 pages, \$4.50.

Reviewed by RICHARD STRAUS

"And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, God of the Hebrews: Let my people go!" And after many trials and forty years in the wilderness, the people reached the promised land. *The Redeemers* is the saga of these same people, many centuries later, when they were kept in DP camps in Germany and when they and their leaders also demanded: let the people go. This book is not a novel. It is a deeply moving, well-documented account of the life of the Jewish displaced persons in the American Zone of Germany, of their struggle for existence and of their constant demands for entry into Palestine. Leo W. Schwarz has captured the spirit of the years from 1945 to 1949 with a unique intimacy which only one who was closely associated with these people could achieve.

Many of the leaders of these Jewish camp communities are unknown, yet their achievements have left an indelible mark on world history. Their pressure for a Jewish homeland, perhaps more than any other factor, was responsible for the establishment of the state of Israel by the United Nations. For here, in camps in Germany, were the remnants of the Jewish population of Europe following the Nazi attempt at their complete eradication. Constantly increasing in number as a result of the influx of Jews from behind the Iron Curtain, this group was to a large extent responsible for the recognition of the U.N. Commission that only immediate opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration could relieve the miseries of camp life and establish a long-range solution to the uprooting of these people during the war years.

Those who have forgotten the story of the ship, *Exodus*, 1947 and the events leading to its tragic history will find in *The Redeemers* a rewarding account of the struggles, the hope, the courage which led to the final accomplishment which these people sought—a homeland. In retrospect one cannot but agree with General Clay's statement in the Foreword: "Their story deserves to be told, for perhaps the telling will help to prevent it from ever happening again."

## CORRECTION

Frederick A. Kuhn, whose name appeared on a recent "Officer Retirements and Resignations" list, is with USIA at Lima, Peru.



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spent most of his career in the Far East and Latin America.

The HONORABLE W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH, now Ambassador to Sweden, has been assigned to London as Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission, replacing JULIUS C. HOLMES, who is undertaking a temporary assignment in the Department of State in relation to Trieste. WARE ADAMS will be chargé d'affaires until a new Ambassador is appointed.

The HONORABLE DAVID MCKENDREE KEY, former Ambassador to Burma and most recently advisor to the American Delegation to the United Nations has been appointed Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs. He succeeds the HONORABLE ROBERT D. MURPHY, designated Deputy Under Secretary of State.

#### Personals

HARRY C. HAWKINS, formerly director of the Office of Economic Affairs and Minister for Economic Affairs at London, will direct a study of United States Foreign Trade Policy since 1932 at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. The study will be made with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation as part of the activities of the School's recently established Clayton Center for International Economic Affairs.



Ellsworth Bunker



Robinson McIlvaine

The HONORABLE ELLSWORTH BUNKER, former Ambassador to Italy and Argentina, has become the new, full-time salaried President of the American Red Cross.

ROBINSON MCILVAINE, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, was appointed Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Caribbean Commission.

The HONORABLE C. DOUGLAS DILLON, Ambassador to France, and MRS. DILLON have announced the engagement of their daughter, Miss Phyllis Ellsworth Dillon, to Officer Candidate Mark McCampbell Collins, U.S.M.C., son of Mr. and Mrs. Francis J. Collins of Cleveland.

The HONORABLE GEORGE C. MCGHEE, former Ambassador to Turkey, praised the foreign policy enacted by President Truman in Greece and Turkey in an address to the Woman's National Democratic Club.

The HONORABLE JOHN J. MCCLOY, former United States High Commissioner to Germany, was elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations.

HENRY PARKMAN, JR., a Boston lawyer, was appointed United States Assistant High Commissioner. Mr. Parkman

will be especially concerned with Berlin's prosperity. His aim will be to get more business for the city, increase its industrial output and reduce unemployment.

CHARLES M. SPOFFORD, former United States deputy representative on the North Atlantic Council, was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

In an address given at the Study Center for International Reconciliation in Italy, the HONORABLE CLARE BOOTH LUCE stated, "Somewhere in the fusion of European pessimism and American optimism we shall find the middle ground of confidence without illusions, faith without fanaticism, sober realism without cynicism, that we shall need to deal with the problems of this disordered age."

HERBERT HOOVER, JR., and Vice-President Richard M. Nixon met in Tehran to discuss aspects of the British-Iranian oil problem.

MRS. RICHARD SANGER, whose husband is Public Affairs Adviser to Assistant Secretary Henry A. Byroade, entertained Lady Rama Rau during her week in Washington. While Lady Rama Rau was here, she spoke at the Friends' Meeting House under the joint auspices of the Planned Parenthood Associations of the District of Columbia and of Montgomery County.

Former Secretary of State GENERAL GEORGE C. MARSHALL recovered from an illness in time to sail for Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

#### Public Affairs Reorganization

A reorganization of the Office of Public Affairs resulted in the establishment of the following Divisions: Public Services Division (SEV) (Formerly PL and Special Program and Writing Staff), composed of the General Publications Branch, Speech and Special Drafting Branch, Magazine and Feature Press Branch, Organization Liaison Branch, and the Public Correspondence Branch; Public Studies Division (PS) (remains as is); Historical Division (HD) (formerly RE), composed of the Policy Studies Branch, the Research Advisory Branch, Foreign Relations Branch, and German Documents Branch. In addition, the functions, supplies, equipment and personnel of the Radio and Television Branch of the former Division of Public Liaison are transferred herewith to the News Division.

#### Leopold Figl

Leopold Figl, former Austrian Chancellor featured in "A Glass of Beer for the Chancellor" published in the July JOURNAL, was appointed Foreign Minister in place of Dr. Karl Gruber. Herr Figl spent the war years as a prisoner in German concentration camps. The day after Hitler's entry into Austria he was arrested and sent to Dachau for five years. At the very end of the war he was sentenced to be shot, but the arrival of the Russian troops saved him. He served as Chancellor of Austria from November, 1945, until March, 1953.

#### FOA Reductions

The Foreign Operations Administration has reduced its Washington administrative staff by 350 persons or 25%, and has reduced its administrative staff in Europe from 789 on January 1 to about 398 in late November, an *Associated Press* story stated. Overall, the FOA now has one-third fewer administrative jobs paying \$12,000 a year or more,



and has instituted administrative savings amounting to 15 million dollars a year, it was reported.

#### **Wives' Luncheon**

The two ranking ladies greeting guests at the Foreign Service Wives' luncheon recently were Mrs. JOHN FOSTER DULLES and Mrs. WALTER BEDELL SMITH. Other ladies in the receiving line were Mrs. HENRY A. BYROADE, Mrs. CARL W. MCCARDLE, Mrs. JOHN M. CABOT, Mrs. LIVINGSTON T. MERCHANT, Mrs. EDWARD T. WAILES, Mrs. JOHN FARR SIMMONS, and Mrs. GERALD A. DREW.

Mrs. FREDERICK W. JANDREY was chairman of the luncheon committee for the group and Mrs. V. LANSING COLLINS and Mrs. HENRY B. DAY were co-chairmen of the decorations committee, with Mrs. JOHN I. GETZ assisting. Mrs. JAMES E. HENDERSON was the chairman of the hostesses' committee.

#### **Retire Near San Diego**

The San Diego Union devoted almost a full page of its Sunday society section to a story about retired State Department and Foreign Service Officers living near San Diego. Listed as members of this group were Dr. and Mrs. ALFRED WILL KLIEFORTH, Mr. and Mrs. C. PAUL FLETCHER, Mr. and Mrs. SAMUEL S. DIXON, and Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM WARWICK CORCORAN. Also Mr. and Mrs. RICHARD MARMADUKE DE LAMBERT, Dr. and Mrs. GEORGE LEWIS PHILLIPS, and Mrs. JOHN L. CALDWELL.

#### **Despatch Agents**

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(Continued on page 50)

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and New Orleans over the past two years has been reported. This represents an increase of 9,555 shipments since 1951.

#### New Department Building

A presentation of the Department of State's housing problem made to the General Services Administrator and the Commissioner of Public Buildings included material which estimated that it is costing the American taxpayer 2¼ million dollars extra per year to maintain the Department's Washington operations in 22 separate buildings. Moreover, it was pointed out, security hazards are much greater than they would be if the Department had one building large enough to accommodate all its functions. A new building, furthermore, would pay for itself in 10 or 12 years time, it was estimated. Presenting the case of the State Department to the Administrator and Commissioner were UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE DONOLD LOURIE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY WAILES, and W. D. WRIGHT, Director of the Office of Operating Facilities.

#### Allowances and Differentials

A higher cost-of-living index in Washington lowered post allowances in some posts, the *Newsletter* stated last month. Allowance decreases affected Bari, Milan, Palermo, Turin, and Venice; more favorable exchange rates eliminated the allowances for Haifa and Tel Aviv, and lowered the allowance in Jerusalem; Trieste was reduced, as were Nassau, Baghdad, Aruba, and Basra. Damascus and Beirut lost their post allowances completely, and Moscow, Jidda, and Dhahran dropped two classes.

Heavier import duties caused post allowance increases in Bangkok and Dacca, and a variety of factors caused increases for Karachi, Saigon, Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Vietnam, Ankara, and Istanbul.

Madras and New Delhi dropped 10% while Bombay and Calcutta dropped 5%. Maracaibo, Tegucigalpa and Cairo went off the differential list altogether, as did all Japanese and Israeli posts. Reduced differentials are also in force in Djakarta, Medan, Surahaya, and Taipei.

#### FOA to States

Jerry Klutz's *Federal Diary* reported that an attempt will be made to further decentralize the new Foreign Operations Agency and to assign more of its functions to private concerns and state institutions. Mr. Klutz reported that Mr. Stassen has told his top staff that he plans to shift the operation of some of FOA's technical services to the land grant colleges and to private organizations.

#### Reduction in Force

"One of the difficulties with a reduction-in-force program is that while it meets, very effectively, the immediate financial objectives it is intended to achieve, unexpected resignations or a change in the calculated attrition rate may reduce the size of the working force following a reduction-in-force to a figure below that which should be maintained continuously. This situation has arisen in several categories, particularly that of stenographers and accounting clerks where unexpected large numbers of resignations immediately after the announcement of the reductions made it possible to cancel some separation notices issued to employees in these categories. It is possible that additional voluntary sep-

arations in the future will enable the Department to re-employ some employees who have been separated." (From the *Foreign Service News Letter*.)

#### Foreign Buildings Operations Show

Reviewed at full column length by the *New York Times*' Aline B. Louchheim was the FBO show at the Museum of Modern Art called "Architecture for the State Department." The models and photographs of the nine buildings displayed included embassy and consulate office buildings as well as staff housing units and library-information centers. Stated Miss Louchheim, "Although several different architectural firms are represented, they share a common, twentieth-century architectural vocabulary. It is one that aims at frank expression of both structure and function; clear separation and articulation of parts; use of modern technology and such materials as steel, glass and reinforced concrete; beauty through clarity, relationships of parts and careful detailing. Above all, there has been an attempt to achieve dignity without pomposity, to create a sense of importance but not of overbearing officialdom, to express the idea of an official government building and yet not to lose sight of human scale."

#### "Leave It to the Girls"

"There is also the question whether it is right and legal to employ women as ambassadors. . . . One would not with good success have women bear arms, for there is not to be found in women as often as in men the invincible courage that provides the greatest protection in time of war. The peculiar qualities of women are tenderness, mercy, pity, virtues which even in a most successful war are oftentimes dangerous. . . . However, on embassies one does not apply force, but rather intelligence, diligence, alertness, threats and flattery, of which women are capable, sometimes even to greater degree than men. . . . But I shall not say more lest I encourage the vanity of women, a failing to which they are usually prone. . . ." (Cornelius van Bykershoed, *Questionum Juria Publici Libri Duo*, Leyden, 1737, pp. 219-222.)

#### TROPICAL DOLDRUMS (from page 35)

year. The Department is telling its employees that, despite the RIF, its work requirements for the next ten years are such that the actual man-years can be reduced a further 8%. Has it told the Budget Bureau? the Congress? the White House? Why didn't it say so before the appropriation bill was passed, when everything was supposed to be cut to the bone? Brother, you're glad you're not in Washington! You won't have to explain it. Wouldn't it have been better to have fought the leave accumulation case with vigor from the beginning? Maybe it was; you don't know. You're way down here in the tropics.

You wonder about the legal obligations under Section 931 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Congress can change it, but can it take away the rights you acquired before the change was made?

You remember when just after the war the Army cut down its maximum leave accumulation from 120 days to 60 days. Congress did the right thing and provided the money for lump-sum payments. No one chiselled away at those extra 60 days—the obligation was honored and the men were paid in full. Maybe Congress was mindful of the mil-



lions of votes involved. Maybe somebody fought the Army case. Who was fighting the case for the Foreign Service now—the fight for honesty in the discharge of a public indebtedness?

There were those earlier regulations which had irked. The new home leave regulation in 1952 deprived you after 2½ years overseas of the 60 calendar days previously promised by law, and gave you 5 work days (7 calendar days) instead. You borrowed 15 on the future (which you have only just paid back), took your 20 days' annual, and "enjoyed" 40 days at home, half of it in buying, preparing, and packing for your next post. All in the game! And now you can't even "borrow" anymore.

Then there was the one about the period for home leave now being extended from two to three years. Well, three (or more?) years in this day-in-day-out sweat-box, without any break in going to the States (which might be in summertime anyway) wouldn't kill you, so what the hell! But those chaps at some swanky, temperate, comfortable post in Europe—they could choose to stay four years (who wouldn't?), and get a prize of a paid-for home leave in between for doing so. Well, it's wonderful to have your cake and eat it too—if you are assigned in the right spot. Who dreamed that one up? Wonder what's happened to all those fellows who were talking a few years ago about how the Foreign Service employee needed frequent "re-Americanization," to keep him a good U.S. representative abroad. Is anybody fighting that battle now? And you think of your kid. Going to a foreign school, getting home now, they say, every three years (they'll make it four, five or more) instead of the two promised in 1946. How was she going to grow up to be an American? Who was fighting for the kids?

Somehow, behind all this fol-de-rol, there must be some assumptions and reasoning that make sense. If so, why don't they tell us? Oh yes, one can blame it on the Budget Bureau, the Civil Service, and all the "levelers" who see public service solely in terms of the scrupulous Washington clerk who demands, and usually gets, all her "rights." And then there is the Congress which passes laws for a generalized public service without being shown the necessity for maintaining a small specialized Foreign Service, as unique from the Civil Service as is the Army or Navy.

But there are people, you remember, who fought the battles for the armed services, and also for the Civil Service. Who, you wonder, fights the battle for the small Foreign Service? A battle not for special privilege, but just to retain enough of the conditions of a professional service to compensate for being out of the States all your life, for taking the knocks pretty consistently, and for being on the job 24 hours a day. Not a battle for any victory, but at least a defensive skirmish to bolster the flagging morale of a great body of men and women who seem to have been forgotten in levelling procedures at home, the assumptions of which do not apply to them.

The hour-hand shows 6, and the basket is still piled high. The early tropic twilight is beginning to descend and there is that cocktail party of the Capricornia Consul at 6:30. Oh well, there will be plenty of time during that enforced extra leave of the coming year to catch up on back-work. And plenty of time in years to come to reflect on the decline and fall of the Foreign Service. Unless—the people who can, start fighting!

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truth of the story, he can decline to comment or he can indulge in a bit of circumlocution which permits of no definite conclusion. To choose the first alternative is extremely hazardous since, if frequently resorted to, it will result in undermining the confidence of the working press and the public in the integrity of the Department and the Foreign Service. Such a loss of confidence in turn affects seriously the effectiveness of the Department in discharging its functions.

If he declines to comment, his reticence may in some cases be interpreted as indirect confirmation of the story. Such a result is clearly undesirable but it would in most cases be far preferable to the unfortunate consequences of choosing the first alternative. As for the last alternative—an inconclusive response—it is not a device which will earn the political officer a great deal of respect from the press. On the other hand, it must be admitted that there are instances in which it is the only practical way in which an inquiry based upon a serious leak can be handled without violating security or doing considerable damage to United States interests.

#### *On the Positive Side*

So far I have been speaking about the limitations of the political officer in dealing with the press. On the positive side, there are many occasions on which the geographic desk officer in the Department or the Foreign Service Officer in the field can be helpful to the press in furnishing background information which tends to place critical developments in their proper historical perspective. Frequently, this type of guidance can be as valuable to a newspaperman as more specific spot information. Moreover, it can usually be done without in any way jeopardizing security.

In this connection I am thinking particularly of a crisis-type situation such as we have recently experienced in the case of Trieste. Obviously, in view of the sensitive nature of the problem, its highly emotional content, and the fact that a final resolution of the problem is still pending, it would not be feasible to make public details concerning the course or status of the negotiations. It is, however, both possible and desirable to brief the press on the historical background of the problem, the nature of the United States interest and the various factors and forces which are at play. To a limited extent the political officer may also be able to correct certain items of misinformation picked up by correspondents without in any way jeopardizing the outcome of the discussions.

Another way in which the political officer can cooperate with the press is by making available to correspondents information which can be used effectively to explain the United States position on a given issue and at the same time refute or counteract propaganda charges leveled against us or our allies by Communist spokesmen or organizations.

A briefing of this sort can be utilized by the press as a general yardstick against which to measure the flood of rumors and statements emanating from the various capitals involved. While not necessarily guaranteeing a completely accurate presentation of developments, it may result in reducing to a tolerable minimum the damaging distortions and inaccuracies.

Let us look for a moment at the problems of the working newsmen in dealing with the Department or an Embassy

abroad. The first fact which must be understood here is the highly competitive nature of the newspaper business, particularly in the United States. Translated into very human terms, this means that the given correspondent has to produce or he is out on the street. Not only is he under heavy pressure from his paper to get a story on this or that development—usually in a ridiculously short time—but he is constantly faced with the threat of a “scoop” or “exclusive” by one of his colleagues. Thus, when his office requests a story on some fast-breaking development abroad involving this country, he has no choice but to write such a story. Sooner or later he is going to approach a political officer in the Department (or the Embassy as the case may be) for assistance. As we have indicated, there are instances in which the political officer is powerless to help because of security and other considerations. In so far as it is feasible to do so, however, it is patently in the interest of the Department to see that the story that is written is as accurate and free of distortion as possible.

In preceding paragraphs I have devoted some space to the responsibilities of the political officer in this joint endeavor of public enlightenment and have emphasized the necessity of a scrupulous regard for honesty and frankness in dealing with the press. This requirement applies equally to the members of the press in their relations with the Department and the Foreign Service. The correspondent who misuses information furnished to him on a strictly “background” basis or distorts facts made available to him in the course of open discussions should not be surprised when he finds a general reluctance on the part of political officers to deal with him at all.

There is another subject I would like to touch on very briefly, namely, the responsibilities of the press with respect to the national interest. I referred above to this phenomenon of newspaper world known popularly as “exclusive.” One type of “exclusive” originates when a newsmen or columnist uncovers a headline story on his own initiative or is on the receiving end of confidential or classified information given to him by an irresponsible or careless official. In such a situation he is torn between the desire to earn kudos in his profession by filing a sensational story and the realization that publication of the facts may be directly or indirectly prejudicial to the interests of the United States or its allies. Too often the decision is made in favor of the “scoop,” the story is filed and the damage is done. With the United States thrust by circumstances into the position of leadership of the free world, the responsibilities of both the political officer and the newspaperman have become much more serious. We are playing “for keeps” and every member of the team must assume his fair share of the responsibility for guarding the national interest. This interest must be the overriding consideration whenever a choice such as I have mentioned must be made. To their credit it must be said that the great majority of responsible newsmen have accepted this challenge of responsibility.

By way of conclusion I should like to reemphasize the point which I have tried to make above—that the task of keeping the American people adequately informed on international developments is a joint responsibility of the diplomat and the newsmen. It is a responsibility which must be carried out in a spirit of cooperation and mutual trust.



#### FOUR SENSES (from page 32)

of perspective, I mean the ability to distinguish what is important, what is basic, and worth fighting for, from what is temporary, a trivial vanity, a superficial irritant on which we should wisely "give," roll with the punch, humor a whim or a national prejudice.

I think this sense of perspective is vital today. It is this quality which gives the needed flexibility and resilience to our conduct in our position of world leadership. It is what makes us understand that American leadership is not a popularity contest. Rather it is the ability to inspire confidence and belief in our calm wisdom, our basic character, our moderation, patience and restraint, our tolerance and understanding—the qualities so often misunderstood and abused at home with cries of "appeasement."

Without this sense of perspective, we would misdirect our energies and waste our leadership, our great power, on the wrong objectives.

The third sense is the sense of integrity. This is so obvious that it needs little more than listing. I mean it in the broadest, intellectual meaning and no one will question its importance. It excludes the "smart," the "cunning," being "tricky," "pulling a fast one" or emulating the popular conception of Machiavelli in dealings with foreign governments or peoples and in dealings with our own.

I may illustrate this last by describing the technique employed by a former nameless Foreign Service Officer to build a high score for himself for accuracy in his political reporting forecasts. I learned about it when I was assigned to one of his former posts, and fell heir to his secretary.

This FSO sent in to Washington two despatches each week, both of which went into the pouch which left at noon on Friday. On Friday morning it was his habit to summon his secretary, and dictate for an hour or two a despatch dated "Friday" which covered the political events of the preceding week. Then, that despatch completed, he would dictate a second, shorter despatch dated the previous "Monday" in which he would summarize his amazingly accurate forecasts for the week.

Those who lack this vital sense of integrity are invariably discovered and are known over the years and throughout the world. They help destroy that confidence in us at home and abroad which is so essential to our leadership and to the dignity and spirit of enlightened self-interest with which we must conduct ourselves.

The fourth, or common sense, has frequently been called horse sense though whether that term is too flattering a tribute to that great but passing steed I am too poor a horseman to say. We all know what common sense is, even those of us who don't have it. However, defining it is hard. It involves the ability to determine what is practical of attainment and what is not; what is the practical way of attaining it and what is not. Above all, it seems to me it implies a knowledge and understanding of men and their motives, their capabilities and their intentions, in this imperfect world, without which the most tragic errors would be committed.

These four senses then, I think, are what we need and what to a high degree we have in our Foreign Service today. It is a Service of which there is none better in the world and in tribute to it I should like to read a quotation many of you have read in our JOURNAL and which was also quoted in a recent speech by General Smith. It bears repetition in

(Continued on page 60)

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#### **GOLDEN ROCK (from page 27)**

"The numerous letters found on board them, plainly prove that (their Hulls and Masts excepted) all their Rigging, Sails, Canon, Powder, Ammunition, and stores of all Kinds, in order to navigate them, were sent from this island, without whose Assistance the American Navigation could not possibly have been supported."

Rodney was not only amazed at what he found on St. Eustatius. He was also greatly angered. "A nest of vipers," he called the island. "a nest of villains; they deserve a scourging, and they shall be scourged." and in this temper he acted with great severity. All property on The Golden Rock, both public and private, was declared forfeit to the British King (an act for which he was later severely criticized). The great warehouses were unroofed, the fortifications dismantled, the coffer dams broken to let in the sea, the records (official and private) burned, and large numbers of prisoners (including more than 2000 unfortunate American seamen) were taken. The booty in merchandise was enormous; although never inventoried, its value has been variously estimated at from £3,000,000 to \$40,000,000, exclusive of the value of the ships. By one means or another this vast store was shipped away, or disposed of, to the ruin of the original owners. The Golden Rock was shattered, never to glitter in like fashion again.

One of the interesting conjectures of history is whether the American Revolution could have succeeded without the supplies obtained from St. Eustatius. Sir George Brydges Rodney (who was raised to the peerage by a grateful Sovereign for destroying the island) was no amateur in matters of strategy and logistics and he blamed all on The Golden Rock. In a letter to Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Rodney states "The taking of St. Eustatius has been a most severe blow to the French and the Americans. I may venture to affirm, that had it not been for this infamous island, the American Rebellion could not possibly have subsisted." And in a letter to Lady Rodney, he declared "This rock of only six miles in length and three in breadth, has done England more harm than all the arms of her most potent enemies, and alone supported the infamous American rebellion."

And so St. Eustatius passed into history. In destroying it, and ruining the American and Dutch "villains" who supplied the revolution from that island, Rodney hoped that he had effectively closed the barn door. But he was too late. The horse had escaped, the wave of supplies had already reached American shores. The Golden Rock died on February 3, 1781, but nine months later Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown and the Revolution was won.

#### **THROUGH LAPLAND (from page 29)**

Late one afternoon as the snow was falling in large flakes, we caught up with a reindeer train which had stopped to rest on the route. There was only one driver, but he had about eight deer, tied one behind the other to the sleighs, and all the sleighs bearing merchandise. The Lapp turned out to be a friend of our guide and we stopped to talk and give our deer a little rest also. Knowing that good whiskey is scarce in this region, we offered our friends some which we had taken along. After a couple of swallows they were in very good humor. We decided to push on to the next village as the deer were now sufficiently rested, and the Lapp suggested he would lead the way since he was most familiar with the trail. He mounted his sled, slapped the lead rein-

deer into a gallop and we moved on. "Yoikkaa!" yelled our guide to the other. The leader leaned back in his sleigh and sang out in a good strong voice one of the "yoigus," a kind of Lapp song in the Saame language. It was a strange but fascinating melody, in a minor key, rising and descending rapidly, and in parts a sort of modulated wail.

Along the route the Lapps rested their deer a couple more times and had some more whiskey. We were offered in turn a drink out of a small bottle, which we politely declined. It was ether! Our leader took a small sip himself, however, and again mounted his sleigh. We expected him to fall off any moment but he hung on and broke forth into another of his "yoigus." The snow kept falling, but the deer, evidently calmed by the sound, kept trotting steadily on into the black night.

Because the people in places we spent the night were friends of our guide and Mr. Blomberg, we had no difficulty being accepted into their homes. The family members spoke the "Saame" Lapp language among themselves but most of them spoke fluent Finnish to us.

The Lapps used to live in turf huts or skin tents like those of the Eskimos. Now many of them have permanent homes built of wood in the manner of the average Finnish cabins, though smaller in size, more primitive, and more crowded. (Those who follow the reindeer herds still make some use of tents.) Immediately on approaching a home, a pack of yapping, snarling dogs rushes out to greet you. These heavy-furred creatures are very useful in herding, particularly in bunching the herds for the periodic roundup, and they run freely in and out of the homes unmindful of children crawling around on the floor. The better Lapp homes are neat and clean, but many others are unkempt and have no semblance of order.

Inside, the rectangular house is generally divided in half, and one of the halves again divided, giving one large room and two small ones. One of the small rooms forms the entrance into the building, with a door leading into the main room from which, in turn, a door leads into the other small area. The larger room is the living, dining, kitchen and guest room and the small room is the family bedroom. The entrance room serves also as a woodshed and storeroom. The combination fireplace, cooking stove and baking oven—heated by scrub birch wood—is built of brick and stands in the center of the house.

As visitors we ate simple meals of sandwiches and hot coffee prepared by our guide from the provisions he had taken along. We used the stove and table of the house after the family had finished their own meal. Reindeer hides were spread out for us on the floor on top of which we unrolled our sleeping bags and slept with considerable comfort.

Except for the Lapps along the shore of the Arctic Ocean, who make their living by fishing, these people live completely on a reindeer economy. Their basic meal is reindeer meat, either boiled, fried, baked, smoked or cured in the sun. Most of their heavier clothes are made of reindeer skins tanned with the fur on. The reindeer is the beast of burden both in summer and winter, and, until the appearance of one ski-bottomed, caterpillar-tread snow bus about a year ago, the only means of transportation. Reindeer are raised for commercial meat production. Our guide, the day before we arrived, had slaughtered over one hundred head of reindeer, having contracted for their sale through a regional



marketing cooperative. There are said to be 20,000 reindeer raisers in the province and the total reindeer population is estimated at around 140,000. What meat is not used domestically is exported to the USA, Germany and England.

In general, Lapland is the poorest section of Finland, largely a desolate wasteland spreading out over an area of some 100,000 square kilometers (equal to the combined area of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland), with most of it north of the Arctic Circle. The people eke out an existence from the barren land, fighting off the cold in winter and the hordes of mosquitos in the summer. Agriculture is limited mainly to small scale dairying, with hay, potatoes and barley as principal crops and these mainly in the southern third of the province. The total population is 167,000, but only 2,500 are original Lapps. They live in the northernmost regions and speak their own language.

The principal occupation in the southern region of Lapland is a combination of small farming and timber cutting, with the timbering industry, Finland's basic export industry, taking precedence during the winter. Trees grow to marketable size in Lapland, but it takes twice as long as in southern Finland because of the shorter growing season. Yet Lapland holds 18% of Finland's forest reserves, accounts for nearly 10% of the country's annual timber production, and employs about 15,000 persons in the logging industry.

The principal market trees are pine and spruce, about half being produced as sawn timber and the remainder as pulp wood. Most of the cutting has taken place along the valleys of the Kemi, Tornio, Ounas and Muonio Rivers and their tributaries. Marketable timber grows as far north as the 68th parallel in the western half of Lapland, and as high as the 69th in the eastern, (Inari), region. A lower altitude and more abundant water makes better growth possible in the latter area; however, virtually none is marketed from there because of the distances plus the fact that the divide comes between the two parallels, and these northern waters flow toward the Arctic Ocean.

Cutting operations usually begin in November and end in March. The last two weeks of December they are at a standstill as a result of darkness during the Arctic midwinter plus the year-end holiday vacations. In February and March with the transport roads opened and iced, the timber is hauled down to the waterways for its all-summer journey to the mills at Kemi and Veitsiluoto.

Contrasted with American methods, the operations in the Finnish forests are slow. The waterways carry the logs despite the six months' delay in the floating. A small part of the logs sink to river and lake bottoms. The horse is still predominantly used in hauling the timber from the woods to the river ice. Caterpillar tractors and trucks are gaining in usage, but the hardy reddish-brown horse still moves the most timber, drawing singly loads many times its own weight along narrow roads in the hilly terrain. Reindeer are used in some logging operations in the Muonio area especially in terrain too difficult for a horse. This sinewy creature not only carries a forest of antlers on its head but draws a load of three 12"x12' green pine logs, plus driver, for distances up to three kilometers, jerking the load along at a rapid clip, red tongue hanging out and breath vaporizing in the cold air.

In the lumber camps the personnel consists of the fellers, who perform the basic operation, the drivers, orderlies, work

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directors, counters, cashier, and camp boss. Less than 10% of the lumberjacks belong to trade unions. In 1953 the wages of the feller averaged 1,015 Finnmarks per day, from which amount he had to pay for his food, clothing, tools and taxes. If a lumberjack fells a seed tree, marked as such by the government supervisor, even by mistake, he pays 2,000 Finnmarks.

The daily routine of the lumberjack begins at 6 a.m. when the crew in the bunkhouse is awakened with the arrival of morning coffee. After drinking it, he dons the woolen socks, underwear and other clothes that have been drying on the cross beams around the central stove. At about 7 a.m. he eats a regular heavy breakfast of bread, margarine, meat and potatoes, following which he takes his tools, mounts his skis and heads for the timber, usually from 1 to 4 kilometers away. Here he works steadily through the day, cutting the larger trees into saw timber and the smaller ones into pulp wood, standing the logs on end in the snow so they can be found.

At 4 p.m. he heads for the camp and another heavy meal of more meat and potatoes, perhaps another vegetable, a swig of homemade weak beer, and a simple dessert. The rest of the evening is spent in sharpening tools, mending clothes, and a little recreation, such as checkers and cards, reading newspapers or just talking. Around 9:30 he eats a bowl of gruel, and prepares for bed. Lights go out at 10 p.m., by which time most of them have already turned in. Strict discipline is maintained against making noise after 10 for the night must be quiet so the men can rest for the heavy routine of the morrow.

Most of the lumberjacks originate from the Lapland area, usually having been born and raised on one of the small farms of the region, working on the farm during midsummer and in the camps during winter. These are solid citizens. There are a considerable number of lumberjacks who come up from the southern provinces in search for employment, attracted northward by the "spell of the Lapland."

A grizzled old lumberjack explained the "spell" to me:

"A young man comes up from the south and works one winter in the cold and the snow. He swears he will leave and never come back. With all his pay in his pocket he heads for home, passing through Rovaniemi along the way. That's as far as he gets for in a few days his money is gone and he can't return home with empty pockets. So back he heads to the lumber camps, only to fail again in a renewed attempt later on. I know, because that's what has happened to many, including myself."

I had the opportunity to meet three groups of lumberjacks at Tulkaselkä, Venejärvi, and Takasajo. USIS films began at 7 o'clock in one of the larger bunkhouses, the screen being located at the back of the room and the projector near the entrance with the men sitting on the bunks along both sides of the long, low building. The films presented were "Tennessee Holiday," a travelogue color, plus a number of shorts including the cartoon "Brotherhood of Man" with the German language sound track.

As was the original intention I introduced myself afterwards as an American accompanying the films for the purpose of answering any questions the audience might have about life in America. In an effort to tie the film to something of immediate current interest to the group I called attention to the section on TVA in the Tennessee film point-

ing out the similarity between the TVA and the Kemi River power development project of the Finnish Government. This project is intended to provide a cheap source of power for the industrialization of northern Finland.

Then I moved into a field much closer to the lumberjacks—personal experiences in the logging operations in northern Minnesota and a comparison of American methods with those I had observed in Finland. This brought a large number of questions, first on the logging methods, but changing later to a general discussion of the American standard of living, wages and salaries, trade unions and so forth for nearly two hours. There were no loaded political questions. The only untoward reactions had been some muttered comments on the German language of the film, "Brotherhood of Man," (the Germans had burned the Lapp villages during the "Second War" retreat in 1944), and a couple of growls from one or two surly lumberjacks who got up and walked out when I got up to speak. But the meetings were mutually interesting and ended in warm friendship and good will. Our understanding of the logging practices and workers was greatly broadened by these personal contacts.

And so we returned to Helsinki very much refreshed in mind—if not in body—and stimulated by our trip. All we saw in our four-day trek to the villages will remain vividly with us. Our appreciation must necessarily extend beyond our guides, our hosts, and the U. S. Government—to the half-wild creature, the reindeer of Lapland.

#### CONSENT AND COALITION (from page 23)

freedom among the world's components and to extend a central imperial dominion over areas of established independence. The primary source of the coercive element holding this system together is in the Kremlin. If the central element were deprived by circumstance of its capability to dispose the power of fear throughout its system through its armed forces and the disciplined Communist apparatus, the satellite system would fall apart, and the partnership in coercive design with Communist China would be riven.

Strength and determination in the world outside present a constant challenge to the foundations of power within the Soviet system. Firm and united in the will to stay clear of Soviet domination and to resist Soviet expansion, the nations outside that system give the hope of a better day and keep alive courage among many millions in thrall to Communism.

Anxiety over the challenge and competition to its own domination within its own sphere from the areas beyond its control impels the rulers within the Soviet system to press on the areas beyond—like the mythical man in Texas who bought up seven counties bit by bit because he liked to own the lot next door. As unity and strength in the world beyond its periphery will block the Soviet from further aggrandizement, the Soviet rulers will continue constantly to bank on and to press for disunity among the outside powers, always seeking a return to the more advantageous times when the Soviet Union could turn the flank by dealing with one adversary against the interests of rival adversaries in the style of the deal with Weimar Germany against the West at Rapallo, of the simulated rapprochement with the West against Nazi Germany in the phase of the United Front, and of the past with Germany against the West in 1939.

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STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE  
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Negotiations for Soviet advantage by using one adversary against others is categorically different from negotiation with united powers, for negotiations of this latter character can succeed only in the direction of an abatement of tensions and a solution of issues—that is, toward accommodation. Negotiation in this latter direction runs counter to the ideological view of life underlying the Soviet system and the view of the outside world logically necessary to the maintenance of the interior conditions essential to the continuance in power of the present regime as it is.

So, wishing to avoid war and yet determined to prevail, the Soviet rulers anticipate a schism among the adversaries to provide the opportunity for the Soviet Union to serve the end of its ultimate triumph.

One logically possible course for the powers ranged in opposition to Soviet encroachment is to precipitate a general war in an attempt to redress the balance with the Soviet Union in their favor by acting radically on the factors of force. This offers unconditional assurance only of so worsening the conditions of the world in the sequel to hostilities that the survivors, such as they might be, would look back on present times, with all their dangers, anxieties, and frustrations, as a golden age.

A second logical possibility is, by giving consent to present divisions, to seek to settle our differences in a *modus vivendi* on a world scale. Here again the idea is not apposite to the problem. Such a deal would not alter the character of Soviet rulership. It would merely write off to Communist domination, without contest, the strategic shortest land range between the Baltic and the Mediterranean. It would consign to Soviet domination, beyond hope of redemption as a basis for moral resistance, the populations of Communist-dominated areas in Europe and Asia. It would permanently surrender to unimpeded Soviet exploitation an area of Europe of high importance in industrial development and raw material resources. It would write off the people and the resources of China. It would strengthen the Kremlin's hold on the entire *imperium* and foreclose what Secretary Dulles has called "the vast possibility for peaceful change." It would magnify the Kremlin's capacity for exerting pressure across the periphery. It would enormously enhance the prospect of eventual Kremlin success in the world contest and thus encourage rather than hinder Communist subversion within the appeasing countries themselves.

One may suppose that, behind the concealment afforded by the freedom of Soviet power from accountability, the dilemmas confronting the rulership are exigent. The risks of playing out the course in the hope of a verification by destiny of Soviet hopes to divide the powers ranged in opposition must press on every major decision.

The best course for the power ranged on our side appears to be to intensify that dilemma by so holding on, so husbanding strength, so discovering and developing among themselves common purposes as to compel the Kremlin to revise its expectations.

This is not a riskless course. No riskless course is available. In persevering in it, it is well to keep in mind one true element in Hegelian analysis—that resolution occurs at the point of sharpest contradiction. The best hopes lie in creating the circumstances for a heightening of the dilemma within the Soviet framework, eventually to move it along

(Continued on page 58)

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the course of accommodation and thereby toward its own historic transformation—always with a knowledge that the pressure on the rulership to resort to general violence as a solvent may well increase as the point of crux is approached.

A modicum of unity in the areas free of Soviet domination is an essential condition of this process. Maintaining it will not be easy.

Just as the Soviet Union is the wellspring of the coercive forces binding its system, so is the United States in a central and determining position on the side of its interests. No combination of nations adequate to deal with the factors of fear engendered by the Soviet system is conceivable without the participation and fostering interest of the United States. If through internal contradictions, want of insight, failure of will, failure to take adequate measure of our tasks, or failure to abide by Washington's still valid advice to maintain a respectable posture for defense, we should fall short of that responsibility, then surely the coalitions on our side would disintegrate.

This responsibility enjoins upon us the qualities of magnanimity, urbanity, and patience, in portions greater than it has been our habit to show in world affairs.

Often in speaking in public I am asked by someone whether it is true that we are permitting ourselves to be influenced by our allies. The answer is that of course we are. Often the questioner then asks whether by entering into alliances we are not losing our freedom. The answer is obvious. We do lose our freedom to act like a nation not belonging to alliances.

One thing we are called upon to recognize is that to generate the consent necessary to maintain coalitions of the free we must interpret our national interest on a basis wider than long experience has accustomed us. It calls upon us to learn, in words of my one-time superior, Mr. Paul Nitze, that "the essence of leadership is the successful resolution of problems and the successful attainment of objectives which impress themselves as being important to those whom one is called upon to lead."

I noted recently in a magazine article by a friend of mine this remark about our world mission: "Americans—of all white peoples—should be best qualified to talk man-to-man with anyone." What this leaves out of account is that our role entails not simply the need of talking far and wide, a relatively easy task, but more importantly the duty of listening, a much more exacting business. The very assumption of universality implicit in a friend's view somewhat disqualifies us as listeners, because in assuming universality we tend also to assume our inherent and obvious rightness, and nothing else so impinges on one's capacity to listen as an assurance of being right beyond peradventure.

Since we are right, why should we sometimes have so much trouble in getting our friends to agree with us? This question comes naturally to many Americans. In answer, I should say that it is much easier to be right simply on the basis of one's own premises than it is to act rightly when the deed requires the free concurrence of others with diverse points of view. In world politics rightness is not simply to have right ideas in a static way but to work well and reasonably in an endless process. This is true in domestic politics. It is so in world politics as well. We Americans like to make these things too simple. We admire Davey Crockett's terse formula: "Be sure you're right, then go ahead." That is

much too facile for purposes of world politics. The best we can expect is some such paraphrase as this: Be as sure as you reasonably can of the rightness of your premises. Take care as best you can to see that the conclusions you draw from them are tolerably right. Take adequate account of the legitimate interests and viewpoints of others. After you have done your best to meet these obligations, go ahead as far as the circumstances taken as a whole warrant, getting others to go along as far as you can.

Consent is slow business. We must learn to recognize this. We Americans tend to think of everything as having been accelerated by the processes of modern times. This is not so. Even in material aspects the retardation of some factors is a function of the acceleration of others. For example, the increase of the speed of airplanes to some seven or eight times their speed in World War I has multiplied by about fifteen the time required to develop a plane from conception to actualization. Because of the mechanized acceleration of movement and fire power of modern armies it takes some four times as long to train a division as it did only a couple of generations ago. Machines run more rapidly. Brains think no more rapidly. The mind proceeds still only at a pace allowed by its inherent limits. Thus the concurrence of wills in a process of consent is even slowed by the circumstances of modern times, for the range of things necessary for consenting minds to understand and to accept in circumstances of modern world politics is vastly greater, the factors themselves are more complex, and the diversity of the minds which must be brought to unison is far wider than in the former periods.

Our responsibility calls upon us also to renounce the temptation to reach out for all-purpose solutions and to contrive systems of world order purporting to have all the answers for all time. In Justice Holmes' words, "to rest upon a formula is a slumber that, prolonged, means death." According to the counsel put forth by some among us, in self-defense we must match the Soviet system in overweening promise to having the total answer. This is fallacious.

"The great strength of a totalitarian state," Adolf Hitler wrote, "is that it forces those who fear it to imitate it." Is it true that totalitarianism can deprive its adversaries of the possibility of choice in such matters? Is it true that our adversary, merely by confronting us with a system of coercion pushed to dogmatic completeness, can foreclose us from the advocacy of consent? Those propositions will be confirmed or refuted only as we choose to act. We must act, however, on the clear assumption of their invalidity, for to accept them would be to yield the prize without struggle. Moreover, the guilt of any failure to uphold our values in the world should be clearly recognized as our own and not imputed to the antagonist.

The way of consent looks like the best bet for the long pull, despite its vexations and uncertainties. It is less rigid, more adaptable, and therefore more durable than a system built upon the primacy of force. Let us stand on the premises of our system, leaving the rest to Providence, and keeping in mind the wisdom of Herbert Butterfield's words:

The hardest strokes of heaven fall in history upon those who imagine they can control things in a sovereign manner, as though they were kings of the earth, playing Providence not only for themselves but for the far future—reaching out into the future with the wrong kind of farsightedness \* \* \*



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JANUARY, 1954

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## CHANGES OF STATION FOR NOVEMBER

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO
Abbott, George M.	Budapest	Stockholm
Alexander, Thomas L.	Alexandria	Bonn
Anderson, Hilda M.	Manich	Taipei
Andrew, Jack C.	Rangoon	Bangkok
Aylward, Robert A.	Berlin	Hong Kong
Baldwin, Marion A.	Dept.	Ola
Behrens, Robert H.	Santiago	Salzburg
Bloom, Hyman	Naples	Naples
Bowen, Martin S.	Munich	Moscow
Brown, Willard O.	Dept.	Dept.
Burns, Norman	Ankara	Beirut
Carrigan, James	New Appt.	Saigon
Chapin, Selden	Nuernberg	Panama
Chapin, Vinton	The Hague	Paris
Collip, Walter F. S.	Dept.	Manila
Dean, Emily M.	Dept.	Manila
Dillon, Thomas P.	Ankara	Lahore
Dorman, John	Dept.	Reykjavik
Dorr, Robert J.	Rabat	Addis Ababa
Drew, William J.	Dept.	Sydney
Eilers, Xavier W.	Dept.	Leopoldville
Elliot, James A.	Montreal	Yokohama
Evans, Gillespie S.	Sapporo	Fukuoka
Forster, Clifton B.	Sydney	Dept.
Fraleigh, William N.	Kobe	Sapporo
Gleyston, Culver	Rome	Dept.
Gossett, John G.	Bonn	Djakarta
Grant, Constance L.	Bonn	Recife
Green, Casper D.	Bonn	Berlin
Grover, John C., Jr.	Rio De Janeiro	Sao Paulo
Hadravsky, Theodore	Manila	Manila
Hare, Raymond A.	Ankara	Dept.
Henneke, Annie Mae	Jidda	Beirut
Hill, Heyward G.	Cairo	Tehran
Hopman, Abraham N.	Marseille	Asuncion
Howell, James A.	Salzburg	Vienna
Jacoby, Rolf	Salzburg	Naples
Jochem, Frederick L.	Bari	Florence
Johnson, Cecilia F.	Bologna	Singapore
Johnston, James R.	Manila	Karachi
Jones, Gerald G.	Dept.	Istanbul
Jones, John Wesley	Yigo	Dept.
Jones, Matthew G.	Madrid	Paris
Keep, Henry B.	New Appt.	Rangoon
Kekich, Emil A.	Dept.	Ottawa
Kerrigan, William M.	Dept.	Montreal
Kirkpatrick, A. O.	Quito	Sao Paulo
Krueger, Herbert T.	Istanbul	Tunis
Lakas, Nicholas S.	Cork	Alexandria
Lecomte, Marcelle	Paris	Tehran
Lukens, Alan Wood	Istanbul	Kuala Lumpur
Mallon, John C.	Frankfurt	Monrovia
Mallory, Lester D.	Buenos Aires	Amman
Mathews, H. Freeman	Dept.	The Hague
Mazonis, John	Paris	Paris
McLaughlin, Thomas C.	New Appt.	Athens
McNertney, Donald E.	Genera	Calcutta
Mistach, Edward C.	Madras	Paris
Moffly, Charles K.	Budapest	Dept.
Mueller, Charles G.	Paris	Tijuana
Older, Joseph P.	Tegucigalpa	Guatemala
Padberg, Eugene L., Jr.	New Appt.	Tehran
Palmer, George E.	Fortaleza	Palerme
Peters, Richard B.	Barcelona	Kobe
Peterson, Avery F.	Tokyo	Canberra
Peterson, Peter J.	Dept.	Manila
Pliitt, Edwin A.	Cebu	Bonn
Ramirez, Bernard	Habana	Habana
Renchard, George W.	Quebec	Quebec
Rice, Charles M., Jr.	Mexico City	Mexico City
Rocantick, Joseph H.	Berlin	Berlin
Rood, Leslie L.	Rome	Rome
Ruggles, Glenn A.	Rio De Janeiro	Sao Paulo
Rutter, Peter	Dept.	London
Sanders, William	Santiago	Santiago
Sanne, Donald J.	Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv
Scharff, Arthur B.	Manila	Manila
Schoenfeld, Rudolf E.	Bogota	Bogota
Sedgwick, Cabot	Malaga	Tokyo
Shields, Elanor M.	Hong Kong	Athens
Shillock, John C., Jr.	Asuncion	Geneva
Smith, Archibald K.	Brussels	Paris
Smith, Shirley B.	Nairobi	Leopoldville
Stranburg, Edward	Koebing	Salgon
Stauturf, Margaret A.	La Paz	La Paz
Stoppani, Charles F.	Naples	Naples
Stryker, Gerald	Taipei	Taipei
Taylor, Elester Paul	Genoa	Genoa
Thomas, Edward J.	Praha	Bangkok
Thurston, Walter	Dept. Apt.	Dept.
Tremblay, Theodore A.	Johannesburg	Athens
Wadsworth, George	Praha	Jidda
Wall, Edith C.	New Delhi	Madras
Welch, Majorie F.	Tokyo	Bern
Wilson, Evan M.	Calcutta	London
Wilson, Helen B.	Rome	Rangoon
Winn, Martha V.	Praha	Moscow
Woods, Harris	Tokyo	Sapporo

## OFFICER RETIREMENTS AND RESIGNATIONS

FSO	RESIGNATION
Benningshoff, H. M.	
Bone, Robert C., Jr.	
Cluff, John M.	
Colladay, M. H.—Retirement	
Erickson, Carl J., Jr.	
Hubbard, Phillip H.—Retirement	
Hudson, Joel C.—Retirement	
Miller, Ralph G.—Retirement	

FSO	RESIGNATION
Anderson, Dorothy	
Booth, Charles W.	
Burleigh, Betty L.	
Hart, Walton C.	
Hart, William B.	
Hawley, John C.	
Klemm, Elsie A.	
Lundgren, Maynard	

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO
Marvin, David K.		
Minor, Harold B.—Retirement		
Ocheltree, John B.—Retirement		
Phelps, William W., Jr., Retirement		
Podder, Kenneth F.—Retirement		
Reed, Barrett M.		
Touchette, Joseph—Retirement		
Wendt, Erwin W.		

NAME	POST FROM	POST TO
McGinnis, Fayola		
Post, Albert		
Samsel, Howard M.		
Schwartztrauber, E.		
Singer, Dudley G.		

## CANCELLATIONS AND AMENDMENTS

Abbey, Glenn A.	Barcelona cancelled, now retirement
Anderson, Edick A., Jr.	Baghdad cancelled, now transferred to Dusseldorf (IIA)
Brown, Willard O.	Pusan cancelled, to remain in the Department
Forster, Clifton B.	Sapporo cancelled, now transferred to Fukuoka (IIA)
Geoghegan, Kathryn M.	Madras cancelled, now transferred to Calcutta
Mariot, Elizabeth J.	Belgrade cancelled, now transferred to Vienna
McClintic, Stephen H.	Paris cancelled, now transferred to Salisbury
Ocheltree, John B.	Genoa cancelled, now retirement (Vol.)
St. Pierre, Rita I.	Bonn cancelled, to remain at Paris
Thackara, E. Constance	Brussels cancelled, to remain at London
Thurston, Walter	Dept. cancelled, now transferred to Mexico City
Wharton, Clifton R.	Madras cancelled, now transferred to Marseille
Williams, Harris H.	Madrid cancelled, now transferred to Cork

## FOUR SENSES (from page 53)

these times. The quote is from Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart's book, *My Europe*. He says, "But the career American diplomats are a remarkable body of men, thoroughly trained for their job, eager, receptive, more alive to the social convulsions of a changing world and less conservative in their attitude than many of their British colleagues. I think that ever since 1918 they have been more often right in regard to Europe than we have and that man for man they are fully our equals."

I am leaving in a few days for a post which interests me greatly and pleases me greatly, but I am not going to say goodbye for I know that our paths will cross again somewhere around the world that is in effect the large Foreign Service clubhouse.

I thank you all for coming and for listening.

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